From [redacted]
Hughes, John. To [redacted] P.
Mar 15, 07.

COMPLETE WORKS

OF THE

MOST REV. JOHN HUGHES, D.D.,

ARCHBISHOP OF NEW YORK.

COMPRISING HIS

SERMONS, LETTERS, LECTURES, SPEECHES, ETC.

Carefully Compiled from the best Sources,

AND EDITED BY

LAWRENCE KEHOE.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

HAVING heard many persons, admirers of the late Archbishop HUGHES, express a wish that his public lectures, letters and speeches might be collected and published in book form, the compiler of this volume has, after some deliberation, undertaken the task, which, he trusts, will prove acceptable to the Catholic community in general. The following pages are the first installment, and will be immediately followed by another volume of about the same size, which will complete the work. The biographical sketch merely touches upon the principal events in His Grace's career, but is the most complete one yet published. The speeches of His Grace on the SCHOOL QUESTION—a question which first brought him prominently before the New York public—will, no doubt, be read with pleasure as well as profit by thousands who have heard of these great efforts of Dr. HUGHES, but who have had no chance heretofore of reading them. His speeches before the Board of Aldermen, as well as his great THREE DAYS' SPEECH IN CARROLL HALL on this question, will be found in this volume in full. Other important documents are also given entire. The concluding volume will also contain important writings of Archbishop HUGHES, which should be read by every Catholic in the land.

THE EDITOR.

NEW YORK, *September*, 1864.

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LIFE

OF THE

MOST REVEREND JOHN HUGHES, D. D.

"Lives of great men oft remind us
We can make our lives sublime,
And, departing, leave behind us
Footsteps on the sands of time."
* * * * * *
"He was a man; take him for all in all,
We shall not look upon his like again."

IRELAND, prolific land of genius, has given to Europe some of the most profound divines, greatest generals, and ablest statesmen. England, France, Spain, Austria, all have had the benefit of Irish talent and Irish worth. But it is America that has received the great influx of Irishmen,—men of exalted, as well as of humble birth, and she received them with open arms and generous heart, for which generosity they have paid her back, in the pulpit, the council-chamber, and the battle-field, an hundred-fold. It is only in America that Irish genius and talent have had a "fair field and no favor," and, consequently, have taken the lead in almost every department of life. Among those who came to this country in the early part of the present century, from that misgoverned "Isle of the Ocean," was the father of Archbishop Hughes. He settled in Chambersburg, Pa., where his only surviving son, Mr. Michael Hughes, now resides, and where the ashes of the beloved parents of our late Archbishop repose.

The Most Reverend John Hughes, D. D., was born in the town of Clogher, County Tyrone, Ireland, towards the close of the year 1798. He was the son of a respectable farmer of small means, and emigrated to America in 1817 on account of the disabilities to which his religion was subjected in his native country. His father had preceded him to this country a short time, and had purchased a small farm, and taken up his abode near Chambersburg, Pa. On young Hughes' arrival in this country, his father placed him with a florist to learn the art of gardening; but having little taste for such pursuits, and feeling within himself a call to till and cultivate the "Garden of the Lord," he devoted his spare time to study, and as soon as his engagement expired, entered the Theological Seminary at Mount St. Mary's, Emmettsburg, Md., where he remained for seven years, being employed almost from the first as a teacher. He was ordained Priest in the year 1826, in Philadelphia, and was appointed to the pastoral charge

of St. Joseph's Church of that city. Here his sermons attracted general attention, and were attended by the *élite* of Philadelphia. In 1829 he preached a powerful sermon in St. Joseph's Church, in commemoration of the great event just accomplished in Ireland through the untiring efforts of Daniel O'Connell—Catholic Emancipation. This sermon was his first *great* effort at pulpit eloquence, and it was a grand success. It was published in pamphlet form, and was inscribed to Daniel O'Connell.

About this time, the Anti-Catholic feeling in the United States was just commencing. This opposition was due, in great part, to the rapid progress Catholicity was then making, which opened the eyes of the bigots of the various sects to the fact, that there was a *living* Church in their midst; as well as to several filthy Anti-Catholic publications of the "Maria Monk" class, which had a large circulation throughout the country. Among the champions who was determined to put down the "Power of Rome" in this country was the Rev. John Breckenridge, a Presbyterian minister. In 1830, Mr. Breckenridge challenged the Rev. J. Hughes to discuss the question: "Is the Protestant religion the religion of Christ?" The controversy was carried on in the Catholic and Presbyterian newspapers for several months, and attracted so much attention, that the articles were subsequently collected in a volume, which had for a time a wide circulation. In 1834, Mr. Breckenridge renewed the challenge, by proposing an oral discussion on the question: "Is the Roman Catholic religion in any or in all its principles and doctrines inimical to civil or religious liberty?" Bishop Hughes, then only a priest, immediately came forward as the Catholic champion. The debate was published in book form in 1836, and has gone through several editions since, all of which have been published by Catholics, and was regarded with great interest by the public of both parties. In 1832, he founded and had erected St. John's Church, in Philadelphia, and was its pastor as long as he remained in that city.

In 1837, Bishop Dubois, of New York, having demanded, on account of age and infirmity, some relief from the cares of the Episcopate, the Holy See appointed Bishop Hughes Coadjutor. He was consecrated Bishop of Basilopolis, in New York, January 9th, 1838, by Bishop Dubois, assisted by Bishops Kenrick, of Philadelphia, and Fenwick, of Boston. In about two weeks after, Bishop Dubois was attacked by paralysis, from which he never wholly recovered. In the following year the Pope appointed Bishop Hughes Administrator of the Diocese; and although he did not succeed to the full dignity of Bishop until the death of Bishop Dubois, in 1842, the government of that portion of the Church was thenceforth entirely in his hands. His first measures were directed to a reform in the tenure of Church property, which was then vested in lay trustees, a system that had more than once given rise to scandalous conflicts between the congregations and the Episcopal authority. All the churches in the city, at that time only eight in number, were heavily in debt, and five were bankrupt, and on the point of being sold. Bishop Hughes resolved to consolidate the Church debts, to remove them from the management of laymen, and to secure the titles in his own name. In this undertaking he was violently

opposed by the Trustees, and was at the time only partially successful, but the most pressing debts were paid off, and harmony was eventually restored. His plan, however, succeeded in the end, and before his death he had the pleasure of seeing the eight churches more than quadrupled, and all of them nearly out of debt. Such was Bishop Hughes' foresight, that all his undertakings proved successful in the end.

In 1839, Bishop Hughes visited France, Austria, and Italy, to obtain pecuniary aid for his diocese. On his return he applied himself with great energy to the cause of Catholic education. Already, during the previous year, he had purchased property at Fordham, in Westchester County, for the purpose of establishing a college. He now completed its organization, and it was opened in 1841, under the name of St. John's College.

During his absence in Europe, the School Question was discussed in weekly meetings, held by the Catholics, in the school-house attached to St. Patrick's Cathedral. The Bishop arrived from Europe early in July, and attended the weekly meeting in the school-room, on July 20th, at which he made his first great speech against the Common School System then existing in this City and State, and in relation to the Common School Fund. This speech will be found in full in another part of this book, and will be read with interest, as it will give the Catholics of to-day a knowledge of what the Bishop and the Catholics of that day had to contend against.

The dispute on the School Question continued, and brought the Bishop still more prominently before the public. He made speeches at nearly all the meetings. These speeches attracted the attention not only of the Catholics of this country, but even of Europe; and the *exposé* of the school-books then in use was extensively copied and commented upon by the European press. It was charged by Catholics that the Common Schools were sectarian in character, and they complained of the injustice of taxing them for the support of schools to which they could not conscientiously send their children. An association was formed for obtaining relief. It was demanded either that the taxes should be removed or that a change should be made in the system of education. The Catholics petitioned the Common Council in September, 1840, to designate seven Catholic Schools as "entitled to participate in the Common School Fund, upon complying with the requirements of the law." This petition will also be found in its proper place in this volume. Remonstrances to this petition were sent in on behalf of the "Public School Society," by its president, R. C. Cornell, the pastors of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and other Protestant clergy, and on October 29th and 30th, both parties appeared before the Common Council, and occupied the two days in debate. "The Public School Society" was represented by Messrs. Theodore Sedgwick and Hiram Ketchum as counsel; the Rev. Drs. Bond, Bangs, and Reese, and *a* Mr. Peck on behalf of the Methodist Episcopal Church; Rev. Dr. Knox on the part of the Reformed Dutch Church, and Rev. Dr. Spring for the Presbyterian Church. Bishop Hughes answered them all in an elaborate speech of several hours, which can be found in full in this volume. It is a most interesting document, and will be read with general

interest. But notwithstanding the able and lucid speech of the Bishop, the petition was not granted.

The Catholics, under the lead of their talented Bishop, were determined not to give the matter up so easily. They presented a petition to the State Legislature, praying for redress. A bill in their favor passed the Assembly, but was lost in the Senate, and was finally referred to Hon. John C. Spencer, Secretary of State and Superintendent of Common Schools, who reported unfavorably of the Public School System. This alarmed the Society, and they sent a remonstrance to the Legislature against granting the petition of the Catholics. Both parties had a hearing before a Committee of the Senate; Hiram Ketchum appearing for the Society, and James W. McKeon and Wright Hawkes for the Catholics. A bill was framed in conformity with the recommendations of the Secretary of State, and put before the Senate, but after a long debate was finally postponed. As Mr. Ketchum's speech was published in full, and extensively circulated, while those on the Catholic side were not even noticed, Bishop Hughes announced that he would publicly review and refute Mr. Ketchum's speech in Carroll Hall in this city. The meetings took place on the evenings of the 16th, 17th, and 21st of June, 1841, and were attended by immense audiences. These speeches are very long, and on account of their importance in regard to the School Question, are given in full in these pages.

In the ensuing election the School Question assumed a striking prominence in the political canvass. The Catholics, by the advice of Bishop Hughes, held meetings in what was then known as "Carroll Hall," (now St. Andrew's Church), and nominated an independent ticket. The result of the election showed them to be so strong that some modifications of the existing School System were soon effected. Throughout this exciting controversy Bishop Hughes was the animating spirit of his co-religionists, and was called on at times to defend himself through the press against the personal attacks of his opponents. About eight o'clock on election night, April 12th, 1842, a gang of ruffians proceeded stealthily to the residence of the Bishop, who was absent at the time, as were also the clergymen belonging to the Presbytery, and proceeded to demolish the windows with stones, brickbats and clubs. After wreaking their malice to a considerable extent, they ran away to prevent recognition. At this time Bishop Hughes was accused of abetting discord by some of the papers, in reply to which he thus nobly defended himself: "I am not a man of strife nor contention. My disposition is, I trust, both pacific and benevolent. As a proof of this, I may mention that I have never had a personal altercation with a human being in my life—that I have never had occasion to call others, or be called myself, before any civil tribunal on earth. It is true that public duty has not unfrequently forced upon me the necessity of taking my stand in moral opposition to principles which I deemed injurious and unjust. But even then, I trust, I have made the distinction which Christian feeling suggests between the cause and the person of the advocate arrayed against me." What was true of him then, was true of him to the hour of his death.

In 1841 he established at Fordham the Theological Seminary of St. Joseph. In August, 1842, he held the first Diocesan Synod of New York, and in a pastoral letter dated September 8, enforced its decrees respecting Secret Societies and Church property. His "Rules for the Administration of Churches without Trustees," published in 1845, embody the system adopted by this Synod. About 1843, the extent of his diocese led him to ask for a Coadjutor, and the Rev. J. McCloskey, now Bishop of Albany, was accordingly appointed, and was consecrated March 10, 1844. During the Philadelphia riots in 1844, Bishop Hughes addressed a letter to Mayor Harper, refuting slanders published against him by the *Herald*, *Commercial Advertiser*, and other papers; in which the following passage occurs in relation to himself: "He landed on these shores friendless, and with but a few guineas in his purse. He never received the charity of any man; he never borrowed of any man without repaying; he never had more than a few dollars at a time; he never had a patron—in the Church or out of it; and it is he who has the honor to address you now as Catholic Bishop of New York." This letter is also published in our pages, and is well worthy of attentive perusal, as it shows who were the enemies of the Bishop in these trying times.

In December, 1845, Bishop Hughes sailed again for Europe, in order to procure the services of some of the Jesuits, Brothers of the Christian Schools, and Sisters of Mercy. He was successful in his efforts, and returned in the spring of 1846. A few months afterward he was solicited by President Polk to accept a special mission to Mexico, but declined, on account of having other more pressing duties to attend to. In 1847, at the request of both Houses of Congress, he delivered a lecture in the Hall of Representatives at Washington, on "Christianity the only Source of Moral, Social, and Political Regeneration." In this year his diocese was divided by the erection of the Sees of Albany and Buffalo, Bishop Hughes retaining all the counties of New York south of the parallel of 42 degrees, with a part of New Jersey. In 1850 New York was raised to the dignity of an Archiepiscopal See, and Archbishop Hughes went to Rome to receive the pallium at the hands of the Pope. The first Provincial Council of New York was held in 1854, and attended by seven suffragans, the new Bishoprics of Brooklyn and Newark having been created the preceding year. Soon after its close the Archbishop made another visit to Rome, in order to be present at the definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. On his return he was involved in a controversy with the Honorable Erastus Brooks, editor of the New York *Express* and member of the State Senate, growing out of the Church Property question. At the petition of the Trustees of St. Louis' Church, Buffalo, a bill, which subsequently became a law, had been introduced into the Legislature designed to vest the title to all Church property in Trustees. In supporting this measure, Mr. Brooks stated that Archbishop Hughes owned property in the city of New York to the amount of about $5,000,000. The Archbishop,

who was absent in Europe when Mr. Brooks made this assertion, came forward as soon as he returned, and denied these assertions of Mr. Brooks as incorrect, stating that the property was not his, but belonged to the Church. A long discussion through the newspapers was the result. The Archbishop subsequently collected the letters on both sides and published them in a volume, with an introduction reviewing the Trustee system (New York, 1855). The bill passed at this time, and which gave rise to this discussion, was repealed by the Legislature of 1863.

On August 15th, 1858, he laid the corner-stone of a new Cathedral, designed to be one of the grandest church edifices in America. The walls are several feet high, but alas, he did not live to see the grand idea of his life fulfilled. Shortly before the war broke out, the work on it was stopped, to allow the foundations to settle, and has not yet been resumed. At the ceremony on this occasion, it was computed that 150,000 people were present. The Archbishop preached the sermon, and gave an outline of his plan for its erection. He had sent circulars to several prominent Catholics, stating that he wanted one hundred persons to subscribe one thousand dollars each. To this circular one hundred and three persons replied favorably; two of whom were Protestants. In reference to the new Cathedral, the following extract from his sermon will not prove uninteresting:

"Its special patron, as announced, is the glorious apostle of Ireland, St. Patrick, —originally selected as patron of the first Cathedral commenced by our Catholic ancestors in Mott Street fifty-two years ago. Their undertaking was indeed an example of zeal and enterprise worthy of our imitation. They were very few, they were very poor, but their minds were large as the Cathedral which they projected, and theirs were the hearts of great men. It might be said of them what is mentioned in the Scriptures, but in a different sense, that "there were giants in those days." They laid the foundation of the first Cathedral, at a period when it is said that the Catholics of New York were not numerous enough to fill the small Church of St. Peter in Barclay Street—and that ten years after, when the Cathedral was opened, it was necessary, during a short period, to shut up St. Peter's on alternate Sundays, in order to accustom the people to find their way to the new church, which was then considered to be far out of the city. Honor to the memory of our ancestors of that period! On the parchment containing the names of the first patrons of the Cathedral now projected, the United States of America, Ireland, Scotland, England, Belgium, Spain, France, and Germany, are all represented. The names of members belonging to the Catholic Church from all these countries will slumber side by side on the parchment that engrosses them, and is to be deposited in the cavity of that corner-stone. Neither can I omit to mention that two gentlemen, who are not Catholics, have spontaneously contributed each the amount specified in my circular. Their motive is not their belief at the present moment in the Catholic religion. But it is that they are New Yorkers by birth—that they have traveled in Europe, and that they are ambitious to see at least one ecclesiastical edifice on Manhattan Island of which their native city will have occasion to be proud. With regard to this anticipation, I can only say, that so far as depends on me, they shall not be disappointed."

But alas for the uncertainty of this life, the great Archbishop did not live to see the greatest work of his life accomplished; but the broad foundations and plans are laid, and will no doubt be completed by his successors.

Since that time the Archbishop has been a constant worker for the

progress of the Church, laying the corner-stones of new churches, dedicating them, administering confirmation, etc., and continually preaching on all these occasions. All these efforts were gradually undermining his constitution, and the close observer could see that he was fast failing in general health. On the 1st of July, 1860, he made a most eloquent appeal in St. Patrick's Cathedral to the Catholics of the diocese for their substantial aid for the Holy Father, who at the time was reduced to dependence on the Faithful throughout the world by the loss of a portion of his dominions. The appeal was nobly responded to, the amount raised being over fifty thousand dollars. The Pope acknowledged the gift, and sent with his reply a massive silver medal in testimony of his appreciation of the service rendered him by the Catholics of New York.

In the fall of 1861, after the breaking out of the rebellion, Archbishop Hughes, at the instigation of the Government, proceeded to Europe to exert his influence in behalf of the Union cause. He then proceeded to Rome, where he assisted at the ceremonies of the canonization of the Japanese Martyrs, after which he visited Ireland on his way back to the United States; assisted at the laying of the corner-stone of the new Catholic University in Dublin, and preached the sermon on the occasion, at which nearly one hundred thousand persons were present. On his return (September 26th, 1862,) he was the recipient of a vote of thanks adopted by both branches of the Common Council of the City of New York, ex-Senator McMurray making the presentation address, which was replied to by his Grace, and which was published at the time of its occurrence. Shortly after his return from Europe he delivered a discourse in St. Patrick's Cathedral, in which he referred to his mission as follows: "I had no message to deliver. Another could have carried the message; but none was committed to me except the message of peace—except the message of explanation—except the message of correcting erroneous ideas—as opportunity might afford me the chance of doing, in the same spirit and to the same end. I have lost no opportunity, according to my discretion, and that was the only qualification connected with my going. I have lost no opportunity to accomplish these ends, to explain what was misunderstood, to inspire, so far as language of mine could have that effect, the spirit of peace and good-will unto the people of foreign States towards that one nation to which I exclusively owe allegiance and fidelity. The task was not so easy as some might have anticipated; its accomplishment has not been so successful as I could have desired. Nevertheless, I trust that, directly or indirectly, my going abroad, in great part for the purpose of aiding the country, has not been altogether without effect."

On the 1st of November, 1862, Archbishop Hughes wrote a letter to Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, concerning his European mission, in which he said: "What occurred on the other side I think it would be, at present, improper for me to make public. I am not certain that any word, or act, or influence of mine has had the slightest effect in preventing either England or France from plunging into the unhappy divisions that have threatened the Union of these once prosperous States. On the other hand,

I may say that no day—no hour even—was spent in Europe in which I did not, according to opportunity, labor for peace between Europe and America. So far that peace has not been disturbed. But let America be prepared. There is no love for the United States on the other side of the water. Generally speaking, on the other side of the Atlantic the United States are ignored, if not despised; treated in conversation in the same contemptuous language as we might employ towards the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands, or Washington Territory, or Vancouver's Island, or the settlements of the Red River, or the Hudson Bay Territory. . . . From the slight correspondence between us, you can bear me witness that I pleaded in every direction for the preservation of peace, so long as the slightest hope of the preservation remained. When all hope of this kind had passed away, I was for a vigorous prosecution of our war, so that one side or the other should find itself in the ascendency."

Although he did not place much stress on what he accomplished in Europe, yet it is inferred from events which have since occurred, that his mission was in great part successful. His correspondence with the State Department, if there were any, has not been published. With the remaining portions of his Grace's life our readers are familiar, as, in fact, most of them are with his whole life; for he was a man dear to the hearts of all the Catholics in the land, and all his sermons, speeches, letters, etc., were read with the greatest avidity, even by those who differed from him in religion. In July last, when the great riot was in progress, Archbishop Hughes was requested by the Governor to address the people of his faith, and thus assist in restoring peace. He consented, and, though very weak, spoke to an immense assemblage from the balcony of his residence, corner of Madison Avenue and Thirty-fourth Street. Since then his health has gradually failed. And Sunday, January 3d, 1864, at seven o'clock in the evening, he resigned his pure spirit into the hands of his Creator. The last Sacraments of the Church were administered to him by Father Quinn, of St. Peter's, Barclay Street, some days previous, after which he gradually sunk, until death relieved him of suffering. The immediate cause of his death was "Bright's disease of the kidneys." He was at the time of his death in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

His last moments were marked by the the calmness and resignation of the true Christian. From eleven o'clock on Saturday night until one o'clock Sunday afternoon, no great change was noticed in his condition. He remained in the most feeble state, unable scarcely to lift his hand or utter a word louder than a whisper, and that with the utmost difficulty. About one o'clock Sunday afternoon he became unconscious, and lay in that condition, with slight intervals of reason, until he died. He was surrounded at the solemn moment by Bishop McCloskey, of Albany; Bishop Loughlin, of Brooklyn; Rev. Dr. Neligan; Very Rev. Father Starrs, V. G.; Rev. Francis McNeirny, Secretary of the Archbishop; Mother Angela, Superioress of St. Vincent's Hospital, and Mrs. Rodrigues (both sisters of the Archbishop); Drs. James R. Wood and Alonzo Clarke, and a number of clergymen and friends. About two hours before his

death he was seized with a series of slight spasms, or gentle twitches. Father Starrs stood by his bedside reading prayers for his happy death, and all present joined in the solemn ceremony. Bishop McCloskey recited the prayers for the departing spirit, and while the voices of all were repeating, in broken accents, the words of the responses, the soul of the illustrious Archbishop quitted its earthly tenement. He died without the slightest evidence of pain, peaceful, calm, and collected. His two sisters stood by his bedside at the awful moment, and one of them, Mother Angela, who has been for many years a Sister of Charity, performed the melancholy office of closing his eyes. So passed away one of the greatest men of the age. A good Christian, an eloquent speaker, a profound scholar, and a patriotic citizen; one who loved his adopted country dearly, and whose greatest earthly ambition, next to his religion, was to see her the noblest, most powerful, most united, as she is the freest nation on the globe. In him America has lost a true citizen, and the Church ar able defender and pious Divine. *Requiescat in Pace.*

THE OBSEQUIES.

SERMON OF BISHOP M'CLOSKEY.

So much has been written and said about the obsequies, and ceremonies attending them, as well as the "lying in state" of his Grace's remains, that we think it unnecessary to recapitulate them here. Suffice it to say that the body lay in state in the grand aisle of the Cathedral, for two days, and was visited during that time by over 200,000 people of both sexes, many of whom were Protestants. On Thursday, January 7th, 1864, the last ceremonies of the Catholic Church were performed over the mortal remains of the Most Rev. John Hughes, Archbishop of New York. To say that St. Patrick's Cathedral was crowded, would convey but a faint idea of the state of the building that day. Thousands could not gain admittance, and had to stay in the streets adjoining the building.

The scene within the Cathedral was one peculiarly Catholic in all its magnificent details—one which out of the Catholic Church could not be seen on earth. The mournful drapery that hung in heavy folds from the arched roof to the floor, wrapping aisle, and arch, and column, wall and doorway, in one sable veil, broken only by the no less funereal white; the stately catafalque occupying the centre aisle, and the statue-like figure that lay beneath its gorgeous canopy, majestic even in death, yet placid and calm to look upon—ay!

"Calm as a child's repose;"

the sanctuary and a great part of the grand aisle crowded with surpliced priests, amongst whom were eight Bishops of the Church; the sad, sweet music, swelling at times into wild sublimity of sound, filling the holy fane with the strangely-mournful "melody of sweet sounds;" the vast concourse of men and women that filled every part of the sacred edifice—all conspired

to form a scene of unequaled grandeur and solemnity. Let the reader imagine eight bishops and some two hundred priests, assembled from the dioceses of Baltimore, Buffalo, Portland, Hartford, Philadelphia, Burlington, Boston, Newark, Brooklyn, Albany, and from all parts of the Diocese of New York; Jesuits were there, and Benedictines, Augustinians, Passionists, Paulists, and Redemptorists, with two Canadian priests, sent by the Bishop of Montreal to represent the Church of Canada. In addition to these were present in the body of the Church a large number of the Sisters of Charity and Sisters of Mercy, with several of the Christian Brothers. So much for the Clergy and the Religious Orders. Amongst the Societies represented were those of St. Vincent de Paul and the Xavier Alumni Association.

The City of New York was represented by its Mayor, Comptroller, Sheriff, and the whole Municipal Council; the Army by two Majors-General and three Brigadiers-General, with many other distinguished officers. The legal profession was represented by several judges and eminent lawyers, among whom were Judges Daly, White, Sutherland, &c. Richard O'Gorman, John McKeon, Thurlow Weed and several other distinguished gentlemen were present at the ceremonies.

At ten o'clock precisely the procession of Bishops and Priests entered the Cathedral, and assembled round the high altar, chanting the "Office for the Dead." The Bishops were McCloskey, Albany; Wood, Philadelphia; Timon, Buffalo; Loughlin, Brooklyn; Bayley, Newark; De Goesbriand, Burlington; McFarland, Hartford, and Bacon, Portland. There were nearly two hundred priests in and near the sanctuary; amongst them were Very Rev. W. Starrs, V. G., Administrator; Archdeacon McCarron, Rev. Messrs. Preston, Quin, Cummings, D. D., E. McGuire, McSweney, D. D., P. McGuire, Curran, McKenna, Brennan, C. O'Callaghan, Trainor, Boyce, Briady, P. Farrell, T. Farrell, Nobriga, McClosky, Everett, Mooney, Brady, Birdsall, D. D.; Morrogh, D. D.; Ferrall, Loyzance, S. J.; Daubresse, S. J.; Megnard, S. J.; Schneider, S. J.; McAleer, Orsenigo, Larkin, Lafont, Gambosville, Donnelly, Teixchiera, Dautuer, Rudolphi, McCarty, Egan, Clowry, McNulty, McMahon, McEvoy, Nicot, Hecker, Hewit, Brophy, Breen, Joyce, Muiledy, McGlynn, D. D.; Sheehan, Caro, Lewis, Slevin, Mugan, Coyle, B. O'Callaghan, J. Quin, W. Quinn, Walworth, O'Toole, McClelland, Barretti, O'Connor, Scully, Woods, Conron, O'Reilly, Reardan, McLoughlin, Madden, Dowling, R. Brennan, Barry, Farelly, Kinsella, Lynch, Neligan, D. D., of the Diocese of New York.

Turner, V. G.; McGuire, McDonnell, Keegan, Farrell, McGovern, Fagan, Malone, Pise, D. D.; O'Neil, Franscioli, Bohan, McKenna, Gleason, Crowley, Creighton, McLoughlin, O'Beirne, McInroe, Farrelly, McGorrisk, Goetz, Huber, Freel, of the Diocese of Brooklyn.

Very Rev. O'Hara, V. G.; Rev. A. McConomy, Chancellor; Sheridan, Mcnahan, Stanton, O. S. A.; McLoughlin, Crane, O. S. A.; Dunn, McAnany, Kieran, Lane, McGovern, Riordan, Fitzmaurice, Whitty, Hasplin, Davis, of the Diocese of Philadelphia.

Moran, V. G.; Doane, Secretary; Kelly, J. McQuade, Hickey, J. Moran, Preith, Hogan, Corrigan, Cauvain, Hogan, Venuta, De Concillio, Brann, Hennesy, Madden, Lasko, Rogers, McKay, McNulty, Smith, Victor, Biggio, Callan, Bowles, Senez, and a number of Passionists of the Diocese of Newark.

Conroy, V. G.; Wadhams, O'Neil, Doran, Noethen, Havermans, Daly, McLoughlin, of the Diocese of Albany.

Williams, V. G.; McElroy, S. J.; Healy, Chancellor of the Diocese of Boston. Very Rev. W. O'Reilly, Synnott, Creighton, Hughes, Thomas Walsh, Daly, O'Brien, Walsh, Smyth, W. J. O'Reilly, Sheridan, De Brucyker, of the Diocese of Hartford.

Rev. Mr. Paré, Secretary to the Bishop of Montreal. Rev. Canon Valois, of Montreal. Thomas Foley, Chancellor, and E. McColgan, of the Diocese of Baltimore. The Irish Church was respectably and fitly represented on the mournful occasion by Rev. D. W. Cahill, D.D.; Rev. P. Conway, Headford, Tuam, and Rev. Mr. McKenna, of the Diocese of Derry.

The Solemn Mass of Requiem was celebrated by Bishop Timon, assisted by Father Starrs as Assistant Priest; Rev. Messrs. Quinn and Preston, Deacon and Subdeacon; Rev. Messrs. McNeirny and Farrell, Masters of Ceremonies. After Mass the Right Rev. Bishop McCloskey ascended the pulpit, and read for his text 7th and 8th verses, Chapter IV., of the Second Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy.

THE FUNERAL ORATION.

I have fought a good fight; I have finished my course; I have kept the faith. For the rest, there is laid up for me a crown of justice, which the Lord, the just Judge, will render to me at that day; and not to me only, but to them also who love His coming.

If ever the words of the living would seem to issue forth or be echoed back from the lips of the dead, it is now, when these words which I have just uttered would appear rather as proceeding from the mouth of the illustrious departed prelate, whose venerated form, still clothed in all the insignia of his high and sacred office, lies here before us in placid dignity and calm repose. Still we fancy we hear him saying, "I have fought the good fight; I have finished my course; I have kept the faith. For the rest, there is laid up for me a crown of justice, which the just Judge, the Lord, shall render to me." When these words, beloved brethren, were first spoken, or rather written, by the great Apostle of the Gentiles, it was not, as we know, in any spirit of boastfulness or self-praise. They were meant simply as the earnest expression of the consciousness which he felt that the term of his mortal labors was nearly expired; that his work was finished; that his course was run; and that now, steadfast in the faith, firm in hope, he only awaited the summons of his Divine Master which should call him to his reward. They were intended, too, to give courage and strength and consolation to the heart of his friend and fellow-laborer in the apostleship, Timothy; and not only to his heart, but to the hearts of all his well-beloved spiritual children scattered throughout the Church, that when he should have passed away from earth, when they should look upon his face and hear his voice no more, they would not yield themselves up to immoderate transports of grief, or indulge in tears of merely unavailing sorrow, but that they would rather be sustained and comforted by that grand and glorious faith which he had preached to them; by the remembrance of all his services and all his labors, of how he had toiled and endured, and suffered for them, and how by all this and through all this he had won a great reward. So even is it now. Our heads indeed are bowed down in sorrow, our hearts are oppressed and overloaded with a mighty load of grief, because our good and great Archbishop is no more. He whom we had loved so well, he who was our father and our benefactor, our kind and trusted friend; he who was our pride and joy; he who so long stood up among us as a pillar of safety and a tower of strength—he is no more. That voice of eloquence, those inspiring harangues, those lessons of wisdom, those paternal counsels, those earnest and ceaseless exhortations which so often delighted our ears, instructed our minds, filled with transports of joy our hearts—all this we shall hear no more. And we would

be tempted to yield ourselves up solely to the emotions of our grief were it not that we do still think that we hear him say, "Weep not, dear children, grieve not for me. Be comforted by the thought that I have fought the good fight; the work that was given me to accomplish has been finished. I have run my course; I have kept the faith. I now simply await my crown." Our loss, indeed, beloved brethren, is great. How great, how deeply and sincerely felt, has been made manifest by all that has been presented to our eyes since the moment his spirit took its flight from this lower world, by all those manifestations of love and gratitude and highest feeling which a devoted people have been paying by hundreds and thousands, day after day, in pressing forward to show their last tribute of respect even to his cold remains, and to look upon his face once more for the last time. And it is not our loss alone, not the loss of a single congregation or a single diocese, but it is a loss of the whole Church, a loss felt by every Catholic heart throughout the land. For we do not doubt, we cannot doubt, that when the electric spark carried with its lightning speed tidings of his death throughout the length and breadth of the country, it thrilled every heart, especially every Catholic heart, with a pang of agony. And it filled all breasts, even those who were not of the same church or faith, with sentiments of deep and sincere regret. His fame and his name, and his services, too, were of the whole country; and, I may say, of the whole world. He stood forward pre-eminently as the great Prelate of the Church in this country, as its able and heroic champion, as the defender of its faith, as the advocate of its rights, as the ever-vigilant guardian of its honor. He was not only a great prelate, but he was a great man; one who has left his mark upon the age in which he lived, one who has made an impression upon every Catholic mind in this country which time can never efface. Of such a life and such a character, and such a history, beloved brethren, it would not be possible for me to speak in any adequate or becoming manner at this solemn and mournful moment. I cannot disguise from myself, I cannot disguise from you, that I would at any time, and least of all a time like this, be wholly unequal to the task. But on a future and more fitting opportunity, on what is called the "Month's Mind," due justice, we cannot doubt, will be given to that character and to that life, and to those heroic deeds and mighty services, by one more fit and more competent for the task. I am here simply to mingle my sympathies with yours, merely to unite with you in paying to our Archbishop upon this day the tribute not only of our sincere admiration and deepest veneration and respect, but also, and still more, the tribute of our heartfelt gratitude and love. It was, beloved brethren—as many of you may remember—it was on this day, the next after the solemn feast of the Epiphany, just twenty-six years ago, that that same form that is here before us, motionless, cold in death, stood up in the sanctuary and before the altar of this Cathedral, nearly, almost precisely, upon the very spot where those remains now are—for this Cathedral was not as spacious then as now—stood up in all the fullness of health and vigor, in all the freshness and maturity of great intellectual as well as physical strength and power, and then knelt before the venerable Bishop Dubois to become a consecrated Bishop on that day. The holy unctions were poured upon his head, the hands of bishops were imposed, solemn prayers of the Church were recited, the mitre was placed upon his brow, the ring upon his finger, the crozier within his hand, and he rose up to take his place from henceforth and to the end among the Bishops of the Catholic Church. I well remember that grand and imposing scene, contrasting so mournfully with that which is now before me. I remember how all eyes were fixed, how all eyes were strained to get a glimpse of their newly consecrated Bishop; and as they saw that dignified and manly countenance, as they beheld those features beaming with the light of intellect, bearing already upon them the impress of that force of character which peculiarly marked him throughout his life, that firmness of resolution, that

unalterable and unbending will, and yet blending at the same time that great benignity and suavity of expression—when they marked the quiet composure and self-possession of every look and every gesture of his whole gait and demeanor—all hearts were drawn and warmed towards him. Every pulse within that vast assembly, both of clergy and of laity, was quickened with a higher sense of courage and of hope. Every breast was filled with joy, and, as it were, with a new and younger might. Great expectations, indeed, had already been formed. We had heard of him before. We had heard of him as the pastor of St. John's Church of Philadelphia—of his great eloquence as a preacher—of his powerful arguments in discussion, in controversy, in debate; and we all looked forward with joy and longing expectation to the career upon which he was just now entering. Those hopes were not disappointed; those expectations were even more than fully realized. It was with the greatest reluctance that the then young bishop had consented to accept the dignity that had been offered to him. There was a trying and delicate task before him. His humility and his modesty shrank from it, and it was only in obedience to the call of his superiors and the voice of the Church that he bowed in submission to please the holy will of God. But once having put his hand to the plough, he never looked back. From that hour and from that moment all the great energy of his mind, heart, soul, and of his whole being, was devoted to the great work which was before him. He was willing to spend and to be spent for Christ. He thought never of himself, he thought only of the Church of which he was the consecrated prelate, of the religion and the interests of religion which had been intrusted to his keeping. Never did he fail or falter in fidelity to his trust. We all know how soon the work, if it may be so called, of regeneration commenced.

The good and venerable Bishop Dubois, bowed down by years, was too glad to yield the government of such a vast diocese into younger and stronger hands. Soon we felt, and all felt, that the reins of administration were held by a masterly, and a firm, and at the same time, a prudent and a skillful grasp. Immediately we saw the evidence everywhere around us of the power of his mind, and the wisdom of his judgment, and the disinterestedness and single-heartedness of his zeal. I will not attempt to enter into any details. For, as I have said before, this is not the time nor the occasion. It is enough for us to remember, because it is within the memory of all, what the Diocese of New York, the Catholic Church within the State of New York, or I may say of this country, was when he commenced his career as Bishop of this great See, and what it was when he laid down his honors at the foot of his Divine Master, to bid us his last farewell. There are five dioceses now where there was then but one; clergymen count by hundreds where they were before numbered by tens; churches, institutions of charity, of religion, of learning, springing up on every side; the whole character of the Catholic people raised and elevated till it seemed that, from the eminence on which he stood himself, he raised up all his people towards him. Great works had been commenced and finished by him. Noble works had been commenced, but not given to him to complete. One of the last acts of his life, as you remember, was the laying of the foundation-stone of his noble Cathedral. He did not expect, he did not promise himself the joy and pleasure of living to see its full completion. But he intended that he should begin it, that he should lay its broad foundation-stone—that he would leave to a devoted clergy and to a loving and generous people to carry it on, to raise it up and stand it there as the ever-living and undying monument to his memory and to his name. It was not to be expected that the life of such a great laborer would be carried to very many years. He sank under the weight of his cares and his too great toil. He had overtaxed, many a time and oft, both his physical and his men-

tal powers; and strong and vigorous as they were, in the end they had to succumb. He was in feeble health for the last four or five years of his life. Yet his mind was strong, and clear, and vigorous as ever. Still he knew his strength was failing, that the term of his mortal career was drawing to an end. When the announcement was made to him that his disease had reached its crisis, and there was no longer hope of life, he received it with the same calm courage and composure as he would the announcement of any ordinary intelligence. Immediately he prepared himself. The confessor was sent for. He made his confession with all the humility of a child. He received and was fortified by the last Sacraments of his Church. Then he awaited calmly and peaceably the summons of his Lord. He spent his last day simply in communing with his heart and his God. He uttered but few words. He gave a loving look of recognition to his friends who came and stood by his bedside. He spoke by his looks, not by his lips. After an illness not very long, after a brief struggle, he returned his great and noble spirit to his God. He died full of years and full of honors, leaving behind him a record which no prelate of the Church in this country has ever left before, or will ever leave again. For it can be said without any invidiousness that he stood out prominently and pre-eminently, as we have already said, as the great prelate of the American Church. He stood forth as its representative, as its advocate, and its defender; and all recognized his superior power and his great ability. In looking back now upon that life through the softened and gentle lustre which death has already thrown around it, it seems to rise up—its character appears to rise up in even colossal sublimity and grandeur. All former prejudices are forgotten, all animosities laid aside, all differences and collisions, either of views or feelings and opinions, all melt and fall away in that august, and imposing, and venerable presence. We think only of the great prelate and the great man, of his mighty deeds, of his unequaled services to the Church; we think only of the rare endowments of his mind and heart, and how fully and unreservedly they were devoted to the cause of his Divine Master. If I may be permitted to say it, there was one trait that distinguished our great Archbishop most particularly. It was his singular force, and clearness, and vigor of intellect, his strength of will and his firmness of resolution. He was a stranger to fear. His heart was full of undaunted courage. In the presence of difficulties and dangers, his energies only seemed to be roused to greater strength and higher exertion. He never quailed before the presence of any difficulty, or any danger, or any trial; not that he trusted wholly and solely on himself. He trusted in his cause, and he trusted in that God to whose service he had pledged himself and devoted his entire being. With these rare endowments of mind were combined also the gentler and more captivating qualities of the heart. He was to us all the kindest of fathers; he was to us the most faithful of friends. His heart was full of tenderness for the poor, and for the oppressed, and for the afflicted. It was full, too, of gentle warmth and sunshine; and if there appeared at times an occasional tinge of severity belonging to his character, it was not the natural temper of the man. The genuine impulses and feelings of his heart were all impulses of kindness and of pity. He knew no selfishness. He despised everything that was mean and little. He could never stoop to any low trickery or artifice in his dealings with men. He was unselfish and disinterested in everything that he undertook for the cause of the people, in every service he rendered either to religion or to his country. And we have this to say in conclusion, that if ever there was a man who, in the whole history and character of his life, impressed upon us the sense and the conviction that he had been raised up by God, was chosen as His instrument to do an appointed work, and was strengthened

by His grace and supported by His wisdom for the accomplishment of the work for which he had been chosen and appointed, that man was Archbishop Hughes. He was, from the beginning until the end, clearly and plainly an instrument in the hands of God. Such he felt himself; as such he lived; as such he died. For us, beloved brethren, there remains now only the last debt of affection and filial duty, which is to pray for the eternal repose of his soul. We do not claim for him, we do not claim for any man, no matter how exalted in the Church, exemption from human frailty and human infirmity. He parted from this world, as we have said, tranquil, and prepared by all the Sacraments of the Church, by a life of sincere and unostentatious piety, by a heart truly devoted to his God. But still, if through human frailty there should yet remain some stain upon that great soul to be expiated and washed away before it will be so pure and undefiled as to be worthy to enter the presence of God, oh, let us give to him, with all our earnest faith, all our heartfelt suffrages and prayers. For our faith teaches, and it is our beautiful and consoling belief, that though parted in the body, our spirits are still united, and that we may still love him, may still pray for him, aye, even perhaps be able to aid him by our poor, but humble and earnest prayer. You, my brother prelates of the Church of God, will especially pray for him; we who have toiled and labored by his side—we who knew him well, who were so often assisted by his counsels and aided by his wisdom, let us pray for him. And you faithful and venerable pastors and clergy of the Archdiocese, upon many of whom he has laid his venerable hands, to whom you have so long looked to as your comfort and your pride, do you pray for him. And you holy virgins of the Church, spouses of Jesus Christ, do you pray for him. And you little ones, fatherless and motherless, orphans in the Church, he was your loving parent and generous benefactor; pray for him. Catholics, one and all, rich and poor, high and low, of every rank and every condition, you owe him a debt of gratitude you never can repay; at least, oh pray for him. *Requiem æternum dona eis Domine. Et lux perpetua luceit eis.* Eternal rest give to him, oh Lord, and let perpetual light shine on him. In a moment more you will bid adieu to what still remains of him here. In a moment more, with his mitre on his head, clothed in the insignia of his high office, he will go, as it were, in solemn procession, bidding you all a last adieu—go to take his place with the prelates who went before him, and who, beneath the vaults of this venerable Cathedral, now sleep the sleep of peace. He will go, and the chants and prayers of the Church will surround him; and as the tones of that solemn dirge and of those touching prayers resound beneath these vaults, we still will fancy we hear in sad, responsive tones, commingling with them, and lingering still behind after them: "I have fought a good fight; I have run my course; I have kept the faith; I now go to receive my crown."

Immediately after the discourse had been delivered the solemn ceremony of the Absolution commenced. This was performed with all the impressive and sacred formalities the ceremony allows: The Bishops making a circuit around the catafalque three times, sprinkling Holy Water. After these ceremonies were gone through with, the undertakers then approached the catafalque, and placed all the floral wreaths and roses in the coffin. Six clergymen then placed the coffin on their shoulders, and, while the clergymen and choir chanted a solemn dirge, the remains were conveyed in mournful procession through the Church, while the entire congregation stood gazing earnestly, for the last time, at the face of the Archbishop, which appeared distinctly above the head of the coffin, calm and peaceful in the eternal sleep of death. The scene was such as has never been witnessed in this city before. There was a sadness and a quiet solemnity in

it that struck the vast congregation with sorrow and awe. The feelings of all were strung to the highest pitch, and many a sob and subdued groan was heard in the midst of the solemn stillness. The procession moved out of the Cathedral to the vault in which repose the remains of Bishop Dubois, Bishop Connolly, and others of the clergy. After depositing the body in its appropriate place, the procession re-entered the Church, the low, solemn tones of the *De profundis* swelling up through the aisles as it passed along. The remains of the deceased Archbishop, however, will not rest permanently in their present place. It is intended to have a magnificent tomb for them erected in the new Cathedral, as soon as it is finished.

ACTION OF ST. PATRICK'S TRUSTEES, THE COURTS, AND THE COMMON COUNCIL.

A special meeting of the Board was held on the evening of the 4th Jan.—present, Messrs. John Kelly, O'Connor, O'Donnell, H. Kelly, McKinley, Lynch, Hegan, Dolin, and Carolin. On motion, Mr. John Kelly was called to the chair, and Mr. Carolin acted as Secretary. The Chairman stated that the meeting had been called for the purpose of taking action in reference to the demise of the late Most Reverend Archbishop Hughes. Thereupon, on motion, the following gentlemen were appointed to draw up resolutions expressive of the feelings of the Board, and publish the same in such newspapers as they may select. Thereupon Messrs. O'Connor and Carolin were appointed, and to which committee the chairman was added. It was then resolved that the Board form themselves into a Committee of Arrangements for the funeral services on Thursday, 7th inst., and that such Committee meet in the session-room of the Board on Thursday, 7th inst., at eight o'clock A. M. The following resolutions were also adopted:

Resolved, That in the death of the Most Reverend John Hughes, D. D., Archbishop of New York, the Roman Catholic Church laments the loss of an illustrious prelate whose life was devoted to the promulgation of her faith, and who by his labors extended the benign influence of her sacred teachings.

Resolved, That with grateful recognition we record that, from the first moment of his entering upon the duties of his mission in this diocese until the close of his mortal career, he upheld with unfaltering arm the banner of our Holy Church, and zealously promoted the welfare of those confided to his spiritual care and protection. The numerous churches, colleges, seminaries of learning and religious orders, the hospitals and asylums called into existence by his industry and energy, will long remain to perpetuate the memory of his religious zeal and the benevolence of his heart.

Resolved, That we recall with pride the many instances in which our Most Reverend Archbishop stood forth as the champion of our Faith, of Education, and Civil and Religious Liberty; illustrating in his career the virtues of a Pastor attached to his flock, and the ability of a Statesman anxious for the welfare of his country. Exiled in early life from the land of his birth, he deeply sympathized with her sufferings and sorrow, his eloquent and powerful voice being always raised in advocacy of her rights and in indignation against her wrongs. The land of his adoption will cherish the remembrance of his disinterested patriotism and devotion to her interests and honor.

Resolved, That while we bow in humility to the dispensation of the Almighty, who has taken from us our beloved Pastor, we are consoled by the reflection that the memory of his virtues and labors will endure to animate those who are to follow him in the great mission of charity, education, and of our holy religion, with his spirit of devotion to the advancement of our holy faith and the greater glory of God.

All the Courts in session in this city adjourned from Wednesday to

Friday, out of respect to the illustrious dead, and in order that the judges, lawyers, and jurors might be able to attend the funeral ceremonies on Thursday. Nearly all our city judges, irrespective of religion, attended the obsequies.

On Monday, January 4th, Mayor Gunther sent in a message to both Boards of the City Government announcing the death of Archbishop Hughes, and recommending that some action be taken in reference to it. Accordingly, a special meeting of the Aldermen and Councilmen took place on Wednesday evening, January 6th, when preamble and resolutions were read and adopted. It was resolved in the Board of Councilmen:

That, in the death of John Hughes, Archbishop of New York, the country is called upon to mourn the loss of a conservative, influential, and enlightened citizen; the City of New York has lost a great and good man; the numerous, intelligent and conservative denomination of Christians, of which he was the acknowledged head in this country, has lost a wise, zealous, and indefatigable advocate and guide; the religion of which he was such a conscientious and devoted disciple has lost an able and powerful advocate, and in its peculiar tenets, a learned expounder.

Resolved, That out of respect for the memory of the deceased prelate, and in consideration of his private virtues and public services, this Common Council will attend his funeral in a body, with their staffs of office draped in mourning; that they will cause the flags to be displayed at half-mast on the City Hall and the other public buildings on the day set apart for the funeral rites and ceremonies; that the public buildings and offices of the Corporation be closed on that day, and that a special committee of five members from each Board be appointed to make the necessary arrangements for attending the obsequies.

It was also resolved that a copy of the preamble and resolutions be engrossed and sent to Father Starrs. The same resolutions were adopted by the Board of Aldermen, and both attended the obsequies, accompanied by the Mayor.

The Trustees of the Cathedral extended invitations to the following to attend the obsequies: Sisters of Religious Orders; President of the United States and Cabinet; Governor of the State of New York and Staff; Foreign Dignitaries; Members of Judiciary; Members of the Legislature; Mayor and Officers of the Common Council; Board of Supervisors; Board of Education; Heads of Departments; Commissioners of Charities and Correction; Dissenting Clergymen; Gen. John A. Dix and Staff; Gen. Hays and Staff; Army and Navy Officers; Delegations from Medical Societies; Representatives of Jesuit Colleges; Delegation of St. Vincent de Paul Society; Distinguished Catholics; Distinguished Protestants; Strangers from abroad. All of the above persons invited did not attend. Neither the President and Cabinet, nor the Governor of New York were present, as we presume their respective duties would not allow them to be absent. The State Legislature at Albany passed resolutions in regard to the death of the Archbishop. They were passed, after some opposition from a Mr. Douglass, of Oneida County, by a vote of 76 yeas to 14 nays. The Commissioners of "Public Charities and Correction" held a meeting on the 7th Jan., and passed resolutions of regret at the death of the Archbishop, and voted to attend the obsequies in a body.

LETTERS FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, SECRETARY SEWARD, AND GOVERNOR SEYMOUR ON THE DEATH OF THE ARCHBISHOP.

The following letters were received in reply to invitations to attend the obsequies of the Most Reverend Archbishop:

From the President.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, Jan. 13, 1864.

Very Rev. Wm. Starrs, Administrator of the Diocese of New York:

VERY REV. AND DEAR SIR,—The President of the United States has put into my hands the invitation to the funeral obsequies of the late Archbishop Hughes, with which he was favored by you. While it was impossible for him to accept the invitation, he has, nevertheless, earnestly desired to find some practicable mode of manifesting the sorrow with which he received intelligence of that distinguished Prelate's demise, and his sympathy with his countrymen, and with the religious communion over which the deceased presided, in their great bereavement. I have, therefore, on his behalf, to request that you will make known in such manner as will seem to you most appropriate, that having formed the Archbishop's acquaintance in the earliest days of our country's present troubles, his counsel and advice were gladly sought and continually received by the Government on those points which his position enabled him better than others to consider. At a conjuncture of deep interest to the country, the Archbishop, associated with others, went abroad and did the nation a service there, with all the loyalty, fidelity, and practical wisdom which, on so many other occasions, illustrated his great ability for administration. Humbly hoping that the loss which the Church and the State have sustained in the removal of the Head of your Arch diocese, may, through the blessing of God, be repaired, so that what has been an unspeakable gain to him may not be a permanent cause of sorrow to them,

I have the honor to be, respectfully, your obedient servant,

WM. H. SEWARD.

From Hon. Wm. H. Seward.

WASHINGTON, January 5, 1864.

Very Rev. Wm. Starrs, Administrator of the Diocese of New York:

VERY REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I regret more deeply than I can express that indispensable official engagements will deprive me of the sad satisfaction of attending the obsequies of the late Archbishop, and thus manifesting, in the only way now possible, the respect and affection which I have so long cherished towards him as a faithful friend, a pious prelate, a loyal patriot, a great and a good man.

W. H. SEWARD.

From Hon. Horatio Seymour, Governor of the State of New York:

STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
Albany, January 5, 1864.

Very Rev. Wm. Starrs, Administrator of the Diocese of New York:

VERY REV. DEAR SIR,—I have received your announcement of the death of Archbishop Hughes, and your invitation to attend his funeral.

As the Legislature has just assembled, it is not possible for me to leave the capital of the State. I regret it is not in my power to show, by my attendance, my respect for the memory of one of the marked men of the country. The life-long labors of the late Archbishop will tell for a long period upon the literature, the religion, and the charitable institutions of our land. In a few years the City of New York will be adorned by a magnificent cathedral, the broad foundations of which were laid under his supervision and care. So, too, in the future, will the interests of learning, religion, and charity be built upon the ground-works which he has established during his long and laborious life. The progress of events and the growth of our country will not throw his memory into the shade, but they will develop and make more clear his influence upon the social condition of our people.

Truly yours, HORATIO SEYMOUR.

THE MONTH'S MIND OF ARCHBISHOP HUGHES.

SERMON OF BISHOP LOUGHLIN.

The solemn service appointed by the Catholic Church for the thirtieth day after burial, was on Wednesday, the 3d February, celebrated with the customary form and ceremony in St. Patrick's Cathedral, for the happy repose of Archbishop Hughes. The Church was tastefully and artistically draped in mourning, as on the occasion of the Obsequies, and the stately catafalque which graced the grand aisle, in front of the altar, was a model of fine taste. On its centre was placed a large funeral urn surmounted by a cross, and over it was suspended the purple stole of the illustrious prelate, whose mitre stood on the foot of the mimic coffin, sad mementoes of the dead. There was one Archbishop and six Bishops present.

The following are the names of the Bishops and Clergy present, so far as could be ascertained at the time: Most Rev. Archbishop Connolly, of Halifax, N. S.; Bishops Bayley, Newark; Timon, Buffalo; Loughlin, Brooklyn; Domenec, Pittsburg; Farrell, Hamilton, C. W.; Lynch, Toronto, C. W.; Very Rev. Father Starrs, V. G., Administrator; Rev. Messrs. Baker, Farrell, Deshon, W. Quinn, Brennan, McNulty, Moylan, S. J.; Loyzance, S. J., Driscol, S. J., Walworth, O'Callahan, Conron, Mooney, Breen, Clowrey, McKenna, McLoughlin, Barry, Boyce, Nelligan, D. D., McMahon, Lynch, McClellan, McEvoy, Orsenigo, Hecker, McCarthy, Briady, Treanor, Mignault, S. J., Curran, Brennan, Madden, Shanahan, Brophy, Daly, Reardon, Quinn, John Everet, Feral, Woods, Mulledy, S. J., Farrelly, O'Toole, Hassan, Lewis, Nobriga, Slevin, of the Diocese of New York.

There were also a large number of Priests from the neighboring Dioceses; among the rest, Very Rev. Father Moran, V. G., Newark, N. J.; Rev. Messrs. Doane, Newark, N. J.; Madden, Madison, N. J.; McKay, Orange, N. J.; Cauvin, Hoboken, N. J.; McNulty, Paterson, N. J.; Very Rev. Mr. Turner, V. G.; Rev. Messrs. McDonnell, McKenna, Cassidy, Gleeson, Keegan, Brady, McGorrisk, Maguire, Bohan, Pise, D. D., Freel, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Phelan Astoria, N. Y.; Farley, Jamaica, N. Y.; O'Brien, New Haven, Ct.; Hart, New Haven, Ct., Smyth, Norwalk, Ct.; De Bruyker, Williamantic, Ct.; Walsh, Meriden, Ct.; Kelly, Norwich, Ct.; Lambe, Providence, R. I.; Cooney, Providence, R. I.; Very Rev. J. J. Williams, V. G., Boston, Mass.; Rev. Messrs. Linden, Boston, Mass.; McPhillips, Taunton, Mass.; Very Rev. M. O'Brien, V. G., Rochester, N. Y.; Rev. Messrs. Mulholland, Lockport, N. Y.; McMullin, Suspension Bridge, N. Y.; McGowan, Seneca Falls, N. Y.; Magliana,

O. S. F., Alleghany, N. Y.; Reynolds, Pittsburg, Pa.; J. McCloskey, V. P., Mt. St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, and Conway, P. P., Headford, Ireland.

Mass was celebrated by Archbishop Connolly, assisted by Very Rev. Mr. Starrs, V. G., Administrator *pro tem.* of the Archdiocese; Rev. Mr. Maguire of the Cathedral officiated as Deacon, and Rev. Dr. McSweeney as Subdeacon; Rev. F. McNeirny, Master of Ceremonies, assisted by Rev. Mr. Farrell. The sermon, preached by the Bishop of Brooklyn, is given in full below.

SERMON OF BISHOP LOUGHLIN.

Remember your Prelates who have spoken the Word of God to you; whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation.—HEB. xiii. 7.

You are assembled here to-day, beloved brethren, to perform a work which your religion recommends—that is, to unite in offering the Holy Sacrifice and fervent prayer for the repose of the soul of our lamented Archbishop. You have come, also, it may be, to hear from this place a suitable exposition of his merits which may be calculated to increase your respect, admiration and affection for him, or to confirm in you those sentiments which have long since had a place in your hearts. Already most eloquent words of eulogy have been addressed to you. Already you have heard on all sides, in public and in private, the learned and the unlearned, the statesman, the lawyer, the orator, the poet, those who are not members of the Catholic Church as well as those who are, proclaim, with one accord, their respect for the illustrious departed. On the day of his obsequies you saw within this sacred edifice, municipal and various other representations and delegations, manifesting their grief for the loss sustained by the whole community, while sympathetic thousands were without, unable to enter. The grand solemnity of that day, and the manifestation of feeling which the sad event by which it was marked called forth, will not be soon forgotten. The remembrance of him whose remains were then before us will be ever cherished with respect and affection by all of us. After all this, can any word I might utter extend the boundaries of his fame, or increase your respect and affection for him? I apprehend that any effort on my part to accomplish this might be fruitless, on account of my inability, in the limited time allowed me for the purpose, and because, even if I had more time, I could not satisfy the demands of justice, or reach the point to which your expectations have been raised. Nevertheless, as it is written by the Apostle: "Remember your Prelates who have spoken the Word of God to you; whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation," I venture to speak of one of whom it is difficult to speak, and yet concerning whom it is difficult to be silent.

When we speak of the Most Rev. Dr. Hughes, late Archbishop of New York, we speak of a man whom Divine Providence gifted with very great, I might say with extraordinary powers of mind, who entertained in his heart sentiments which do honor to humanity, who had a robust, vigorous physical constitution, all of which would have secured for him distinguished pre-eminence in any position or sphere in life. If we speak of him as a citizen, I may say that if ever the lamp of patriotism burned in the heart of man, it did in his. He loved, and fondly, too, the land of his nativity, but the intolerance there experienced caused him to leave it for "another country in which he believed the rights and privileges of citizens rendered all men equal." The duties which devolved upon him, and which he understood so well, in this land of his adoption, he discharged with unswerving fidelity. To use his own language, "His feelings, his habits, his thoughts, had been so much identified with all that is American,

that he had almost forgotten he was a foreigner." So long almost as the lamp of life itself continued to burn, so did that also of the love of his country, and for it he was willing to make every sacrifice compatible with his high and holy vocation. He was entitled to our respect and admiration as a man and as a citizen, and we are called upon to revere his memory now that he is no more. But it is in the sacred and exalted character of priest and prelate, of anointed of the Lord, of sentinel on the watchtower of Israel, of a chief of the hosts of the Lord, of shepherd in the fold of Christ, that we consider and commemorate him more especially. It was after his ordination that "his public life commenced. Not much time had elapsed after that event before he felt himself called upon to repel the unjust assaults which bigotry made upon his religion, and which were calculated to bring odium on it and its professors. Conscious of the possession of the powers with which he had been gifted, and at the same time of the truth and holiness of the cause he undertook to defend, he advanced as a giant, and with his wonderful intellectual ability he detected and exposed before the light of revelation and reason the errors and the bad logic of his opponents, and having scattered the mists of ignorance and prejudice, the truth shone forth in all its majesty and splendor, and the Catholic public gloried in him as their great champion. As a priest he acquired great distinction, which, as it was acquired in the defence of his religion, redounded also to the honor of that religion and of the Catholic name.

In the course of a few years he was called upon to assume greater responsibilities. A heavier burden was to be borne by him. He did not seek those responsibilities, nor did he ask to have that burden placed upon his shoulders. Yet when he was satisfied that it was the will of his Divine Master that he should bear it, he bowed in submission—he did not refuse the labor. Confiding in Him whose name is Almighty, from the eminence to which he had been raised, at the proper time, he surveyed the fold for which he became responsible, made himself acquainted with its condition, to give direction, apply the corrective, or supply the want, according to the circumstances. He entered on the discharge of the duties of the Episcopate with astonishing ability and vigor. With eye fixed on the great palladium of civil and religious liberty—on the great principle of the American government, he asserts for the young and for the old of his flock the rights of conscience. Again, you find him engaged in removing with masterly dexterity the difficulties that obstructed the free observance of ecclesiastical discipline. At another time you see him contemplating the threatening storm of human passion, and soon, as if it awaited his order, it is hushed into inoffensive stillness. Should his adversary present himself behind a mask, he tears it off, and with a rod dipped in a mixture of logic, ridicule and sarcasm, he sends him back in confusion to the obscurity from which he had emerged.

Besides the great tact and prudence for which he was remarkable, he was most courageous—never daunted, never dismayed—a stranger to fear. He was sometimes apparently severe, yet always kind, benevolent, charitable. In all his labors, and trials, and contests, he found consolation in the truth and holiness of his religion, in the rectitude of his conduct; "in all my public life in New York," he writes, "I have done no action, uttered no sentiment unworthy of a Christian Bishop and an American citizen;" and also in the reciprocation of fidelity on the part of his devoted flock, so that he might declare, as he did on the occasion of the laying of the corner-stone of the new Cathedral, to the assembled thousands, "You have never failed me," reminding us of what the Apostle wrote to the Corinthians: "We are your glory, as you also are ours." What shall I say of the emotions of pleasure experienced by the members of this congregation as he was seen proceeding from the sacristy or episcopal throne towards this

place? We know how delighted all were to hear the sound of that voice, now, alas! hushed to stillness, to see that penetrating eye, now closed and motionless, and that gesture, which seemed to accord so naturally in vigor and force with the language employed in elucidating doctrine or enforcing the observance of moral precept. But why should I continue to repeat what you have so often heard, or endeavor to bring before your view what you have so often seen? Is it only for the purpose of exciting anew your respect and your affection for him? While I would say it is not unlawful, but rather commendable, to entertain these sentiments, should we not also —yea, and above all—give glory to Him who was pleased to enrich him so munificiently? Who bestowed on him the gift of faith? Who gave him fortitude and constancy in defence of that faith? Who gave him prudence and other endowments for which he was so distinguished? To the Giver of every good and perfect gift, to the Father of Lights, to the Author and Finisher of our faith, to the Spirit of Wisdom and Fortitude, be honor and glory, benediction and praise, for all the graces and blessings bestowed upon him, and, through his ministry, upon us. Thus, beloved brethren, does the remembrance of the great Prelate excite to praise and glorify God, nor should it be without its salutary influence on our lives. This was the thought of the Apostle when he admonished the Hebrews to follow the faith of their Prelates.

That God has made a revelation to man, we doubt not. It is also certain that it was his will that He should be glorified by man's knowledge and acceptance of it. Man should then have a knowledge of it, should accept it, and be guided by it. Has God made any arrangement for this purpose? Most certainly. It is made known to us by the Evangelist as a fact which existed. Like all the stupendous works of the Almighty, it seems very simple. The Son of God chose Apostles, and to them He gave the words which He had received from his Father, and He commissioned them to preach them to the nations of the earth, pledging his word to them that He would be with them till the end of the world; declaring to them, moreover, that whoever heard them heard Him! The work was to be continued, and the order in which it was to be carried on was arranged by infinite wisdom. It was by a living, teaching ministry. So the Apostles understood it. We read that St. Paul directed Timothy to commend to faithful men who shall be fit to teach others also the things which he had heard from him. He left Titus at Crete for the express purpose of ordaining others, that thus the ministry might be perpetuated. He tells the Hebrews to obey their prelates and to be subject to them, for they watch as being to render an account of their souls, and again, to follow their faith. The doctrines of faith which they believed and taught were believed and taught by the prelates of the Church everywhere, in every nation. Thus, in our day, we may repeat the words of the Apostle, "Remember your Prelates who have spoken the Word of God to you, whose faith follow." It is the faith of the Catholic Church, the faith once delivered to the saints.

This is the faith he held and preached. Follow that faith and you will be good members of society, good citizens, good Christians. To it you must apply for a correct knowledge of all your duties. By means of it you can see things as God wills you should see them here below, and viewing the world and all that is in it by the aid of its light, you will see its vanity; you will learn that true happiness is not found apart from God; you learn the value of an immortal soul. The great truths of Faith he preached to you with great force and dignity, yet with great simplicity, for to the learned and to the unlearned, to the wise and to the unwise, he was a debtor. He never forgot that he was a bishop, and that he should take heed to himself and to the whole flock over which he had been placed. Great were his gifts, great his dignity, great his responsibility. He is ad-

monished that the time when he shall have to render an account of his stewardship is at hand, and that he should prepare for it. He received the Last Sacraments. Though it was, and ever will be, a great consolation to me and to you to know that he had the full and unimpared use of his senses and faculties at the time, it was difficult to look at that great man, that champion, that hero preparing to leave the scene of his labors, to leave those who were devoted to him. After he had received the Holy Viaticum and the Sacrament of Extreme Unction he did not fail to express, in his own peculiar, emphatic manner, the happiness he experienced. Soon after my consecration I had occasion to go to his room. Having attended to the business for which I went, and about to leave, he looked at me and said: "Never forget that you are a Bishop."

Now, in conclusion, I transmit to you, beloved brethren, the affectionate admonition; never forget that you are Catholics. Great is the dignity of the Archbishop, of the Bishop, of the Priest, of the Catholic, and great the responsibility. One of the great thoughts of his great mind, the desire of his heart, was that his children in the Faith should not be socially or civilly inferior to their fellow-citizens. He knew to what dignity their Faith raised them. He knew they had a correct understanding of their moral obligations, and the duty of defending their civil and their social rights he never lost sight of. Remember your Prelate who has spoken to you the Word of God. Follow the great principles of his and your Faith. Remember him in your prayers, so that, so far as may depend on you, you may be instrumental in hastening, if it has not already taken place, his admission into the joy of his Lord. Take heed to yourselves. Forget not your dignity, so that when your day come, or rather, if you will, when the night cometh when you can no longer labor, you may pass from this world of darkness to the enjoyment of Him who dwelleth in the midst of light inaccessible.

After the Sermon was concluded, the last solemn rites were performed by Archbishop Connolly, attended by Deacon and Sub-Deacon. Thus ended the last public ceremony over the remains of a great and good man. *Requiescat in pace.*

BISHOP HUGHES' GREAT SERMON

ON THE EMANCIPATION OF IRISH CATHOLICS.

Preached in the Church of St. Augustine, Philadelphia, May 31st, 1829.

[This splendid sermon was delivered by the late Archbishop Hughes in the Church of St. Augustine, in Philadelphia, on the 31st of May, 1829, at a solemn religious thanksgiving to Almighty God for the emancipation of the Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland, just achieved through the efforts of Daniel O'Connell. The sermon was dedicated to him by the author, who was then only pastor of St. Joseph's Church.]

Lord Thou hast blessed Thy land: Thou hast turned away the captivity of Jacob . . . . . Mercy and truth have met each other: Justice and peace have kissed.
Truth is sprung out of the earth: and Justice hath looked down from heaven.
PSALM lxxxiv.

It is the privilege of man, my brethren, to sympathize in sorrows that are not his own, as well as to rejoice in the blessings which make others happy, although they leave his own individual condition unchanged and un-

affected. This peculiarly amiable feature has been impressed on the human character by the plasmatic hand of Almighty God, in order, no doubt, to remind his children, by the community of their affections, that, however separated by distance of time or place, they are brethren notwithstanding, deriving their origin from a common Father, by whom they were created for a common end. Otherwise, the sympathetic susceptibilities of the human breast are inexplicable. There is no other fountain to which we can trace the current of those tears that bedew the pages of romance, when they picture scenes of distress which *might have* existed, but which in fact never *did exist*, save in the author's imagination and the reader's sensibility. If, then, by the spontaneous dictate of generous nature, we can enter thus largely into the fortunes and feelings of one individual, how could we stand unmoved when we behold entire millions of our species and our brethren, after whole ages of sorrow, rejoicing at length in the commencement of a new-born destiny, and we trust a happier era. It was but yesterday you saw the hope of those millions suspended from the balance of apparent chance, and with what anxious solicitude did you watch every tremulous motion of the beam, whilst prejudice, folly and oppression were in one scale, opposed to reason, truth and justice in the other, and it yet remained doubtful which side would ultimately preponderate! The issue has been auspicious: it has been made known to you and to the world; and other millions, perfectly disinterested, except by the sympathies of universal nature, are now rejoicing in the event. Such is the benevolence of philanthropy.

But this feeling, for the very reason that it is capable of being extended, so as to embrace all mankind of every nation and of every clime, becomes stronger and warmer, like the concentrated rays of the sun, when circumstances confine it within a narrower sphere. What was philanthropy, when it knew no limits, requires to be expressed by some more ardent epithet, when it is circumscribed by the boundaries of our native country; and language presents a word of magic influence—patriotism. Here, then, is another principle of human nature that operates on so many bosoms in the vast assembly that surround me. There is in the heart of every man that which interests him—the land of his nativity; and until that heart cease to beat, no distance either of time or of place will be able to extinguish the sensation. He may banish himself from his country—his judgment may give a decided preference to any other—his reason may be at variance with his feelings—absence and age, and reason and philosophy may all conspire against the rebel affection of his bosom, but they will not be able to subdue it. The home of his fathers and of his childhood, the scenes and companions of his youth, even the first landscape, however rude, with which his eyes became familiar—all these things break in upon his recollection in after years, with that luxury of mingled feelings which I cannot describe, because they will not submit to be analyzed, but which every exile from his country has experienced, and can therefore appreciate. These reminiscences are sometimes sad, and yet they charm; they are melancholy, and still they enchant: but whatever they are, they maintain their dominion over the human breast; and I know one heart that would not like to be insensible to their influence, even if the thing were possible.

Still, my brethren, they are common to the Jew, the Christian, and the idolater: to the barbarian as well as to the Greek. They belong to the order of mere human virtues, until they are touched and hallowed, like the prophet's lips, by some living embers from the altar of religion. Thus, whilst we indulge in feelings of philanthropy and of patriotism, as men, we must not be unmindful that as believers we should refer to God the glory of the achievement in which we all rejoice. It is for this especial reason that we give expression to our gratitude in the act of solemn and religious

thanksgiving, and thus proclaim our belief, that the affairs of this world are not abandoned to capricious chance—that they are not decided by sullen destiny—but that God, the Supreme Ruler of the universe, without seeming to dispute the wisdom of earthly calculations, disposes them nevertheless in measure and in weight according to a superior judgment, too sublime for the scrutiny of man, too infinite for the comprehension of created intellect.

So that, on whatsoever side we consider the subject, we find the occasion to be in accordance with the best and most universal feelings of our nature, and with the soundest dictates of reason and of religion. It is an occasion of legitimate rejoicing in every sense: when the apple of discord, which has been the cause of so much oppression, injustice, and bloodshed in unhappy Ireland, has been at length destroyed, and the axe effectually applied to the root of the tree that produced it--when those inequalities in the law which divided the nation so long, operating as an almost irresistible incentive to the worst passions of authority, are blotted out for ever—when we may hope that hereafter heaven will be no more outraged by the crimes of the oppressor; that humanity will no longer be compelled to weep over the sufferings of the oppressed—when, in fine, the kindred virtues have been permitted to meet again, and justice and peace have actually kissed, in token of eternal amity.

Such are the prominent features of the moral triumph which I have this day to proclaim; and my only regret is, that it has not found a herald more competent to do it justice. When I reflect, however, that the intense feelings which surround me are interested chiefly in the matter of my subject, I have reason to hope they will extend a generous portion of indulgence to the manner in which it may be presented. This is the cheering consideration that sustains me, when I would otherwise shrink from the arduous undertaking.

The histories of nations, my brethren, like those of individuals, chequered as both are by the vicissitudes to which human things are liable, become a book of moral and religious instruction when studied by the light of Christian faith:—whilst at the same time they furnish that experience from which philosophy may extract lessons of practical wisdom; and statesmen derive political knowledge, which they can employ for the promotion or the destruction of social happiness. And there is not in the world, perhaps, a country whose history may be studied under a greater variety of aspects, than that which is this day the subject of our consideration. The native historians of Ireland trace the lineal descent of her people to a very distinguished origin, and to an extremely remote period of antiquity. They claim also, even for their pagan ancestors, a degree of superiority in national policy, and in mental improvement, which distinguished them in those ages, as much as the Mexicans were distinguished from the other nations of this hemisphere at the epoch of the Spanish invasion. Other writers, however, have drawn their pen across the labor of the Irish antiquarians, and without taking the pains to investigate, have pronounced the whole narrative to be fabulous. If national credulity has arrogated too much, it is equally certain that those, who with national antipathies have undertaken to correct the mistake, have been uncandid in refusing to concede what ought not to be withheld. For, without losing ourselves in the mists of antiquity, but beginning at the period when history cast away the drapery of fiction, with which, it is said, that poetry had invested her, we are met by tangible and uncontroverted facts, which prove that however the pretensions to superiority may have been over-rated, they are not altogether without foundation.

It was in the fifth century of our era, when Christianity, having already

scattered her divine illuminations extensively over the globe, landed at length on the shores of Ireland, and planted the cross—at once the emblem of her doctrine and the evidence of her conquest—where the Roman eagle never floated. In what situation did she find the country? Governed by a monarch who enjoyed the sceptre by the right of election, whose privileges were limited and defined; with representative parliamentary assemblies, for the enactment of wise laws; with three distinct classes in the state, for the purposes of subordination; with the use of letters and literary establishments; with institutions separate and apart for the study of music, heraldry, philosophy, and medicine! This is not the government of a rude and savage people—these are not the institutions of barbarism, nor the occupation of barbarians. Greece would not have been ashamed of them at any time; and in that age history sought for them in vain beyond the limits of the Roman empire, except in Ireland.

But, again, contrast the admission which Christianity obtained in Ireland, with the cruel opposition which it had to encounter in other countries. When we examine the means and manner of the world's conversion, we find that the first heralds of eternal life were generally immolated in almost every country to the expiring deities of the place; and that the tree of divine faith was not permitted to take root in the soil, until after it had been profusely watered with the blood of those who were commissioned to plant it. In Ireland, however, this was not the case. The great apostle of that nation was permitted to labor undisturbed in his holy vocation for thirty successive years, exhibiting the meek religion of Jesus Christ in the power of its own celestial evidence—and because the mind of Ireland was improved and competent to judge it by its evidence, only thirty years was necessary to establish that doctrine, which a proscription and a persecution of nearly three hundred have not been able to root out. Greece and Italy were enlightened, and yet they endeavored to extinguish the infant religion of Christ in its cradle; but their hearts were depraved, and the Holy Scriptures assign the universal motive of men, who "love darkness rather than light." The reasoning of Ireland, compared with theirs, was the reasoning of Gamaliel in the council of the Pharisees. But in all the other countries civilization followed with tardy pace in the footsteps of Christianity; in Ireland it had gone before. Elsewhere, the seed of the divine word was sown on the rocks of barbarism, or scattered amid the brambles of blind, bigoted, and cruel superstition—here, the rock had been broken, the brambles had been cleared away, and Christianity found a soil prepared; for I defy historical scepticism, with all its easy ingenuity, to account for its unobstructed promulgation, and rapid increase on any other human hypothesis.

But, together with the religion of Jesus Christ, Ireland received the knowledge of Roman letters, and of classic literature; and during the subsequent ages, when the torch of science was on the verge of extinction throughout the rest of Europe, it blazed forth in Ireland with a lustre which attracted at once the notice and the admiration of the world. And here permit me to instance how hereditary and indeliable are the leading traits of national character. One of the laws previous to its conversion, proves that hospitality was universally exercised in that country from time immemorial. This law did not enjoin merely that the stranger should be taken in when perchance he knocked at the door, nor that having entered the domestic circles, his rights should be regarded as sacred. In other countries this would have been much; in Ireland it was unnecessary, and would have been nothing. It was enjoined by public authority, and under the forfeiture of penalty, that no family should remove from its established residence without having given previous notice of its intention, lest the

wearied traveler, unapprised of the change, should call at the deserted mansion, when overtaken by the darkness of the night, and there would be no one to receive him to the rites of hospitality.

But it was during the period subsequent to the introduction of Christianity, when the charities of heaven's religion were engrafted on the stock of native generosity, that Ireland established her prescriptive and undisputed claim to that national character, which, through all the variety of her fortunes, she has not to this day forfeited. Her seminaries of learning, with which she abounded, were crowded with the votaries of knowledge from every other country, and we are authorized on the testimony of a cotemporaneous and a foreign writer, the venerable Bede, to state that those strangers were received, supported, and educated in the Irish seminaries, without remuneration or reward. Abroad, in Germany, Italy, and France, she was regarded through the medium of her pious ecclesiastics, who went forth as missionaries, imparting to others the blessings of religion which heaven had bestowed upon themselves; and judging of the country which produced them, by their numbers, their talent, their zeal, but, above all, by the unblemished sanctity of their lives, Ireland was designated in the writings of the time, as the "Island of Saints." This is an appellation of which she has the more reason to be proud, because it was not engraved on her escutcheon by the hand of national vanity, but was the unsolicited offering, the spontaneous tribute of foreign admiration. This is a title to which, even in the depth of her political degradation, Ireland looked back with a fond, but saddened recollection, because like the statues of illustrious ancestors in pagan Rome, it reminded her of the eminence from which she had fallen, and the degeneracy of the children compared with the sanctity of their fathers. But this is not the time to enlarge on that topic.

Neither was it by their virtues alone that the preachers of Christianity from Ireland, during those ages, were distinguished in other lands. One of the writers of her history, Plowden, himself an Englishman, tells us that Alfred the Great, and England's *greatest* king, was educated in Ireland; from whence, also, he brought professors for that Oxford college which the other day voted against the religion of its founder, and the country of its first professors. The biographer and historian of Charlemagne says, that the colleges of Paris and Pavia were founded by Irish ecclesiastics. The younger Scaliger informs us that in the time of Charlemagne, and for two hundred years after, "*fere omnes docti*," almost all the learned men of France were from Ireland. And Doctor Johnson observes, Ireland is known to have been once the seat of piety and of learning, and concludes by the expression of his regret that more is not ascertained of the revolutions of a people "so ancient," says he, "and once so illustrious." Such is the honorable testimony borne to the character of that country before it became the prey of ruthless invasion. But why should I have selected Johnson and Scaliger from a host of others? Because, my brethren, their evidence bids defiance to the common objections made by historical skepticism, viz: ignorance, or partiality to the religion or the soil. Both were pre-eminent in the science of *belles-lettres;* both were giants in literature; both were foreigners; both were Protestants.

Such was the march of Ireland on the literary theatre of the world before she was inundated by the waters of oppression, from which she is now emerging. She went forth scattering the treasures of her own enlightened intellect, pouring her own oil into the famished lamp of science wherever she passed; or lighting it up where it had never blazed before. Such was her zeal to plant with generous hand in the bosom of other nations, those seeds of religion and of virtue which had produced the harvest of holiness.

in her own. To the man who is skilled in the philosophy of believing only what he sees or comprehends, the idea may appear superstitious; but to me it seems in accordance with the certain though mysterious economy of Divine Providence, that during this illustrious period of her pre-eminence in science and in piety, Ireland was guided by some spirit of prophetic benevolence from above, that gave her a glimpse of her own future situation, and breathed in her soul the counsel of eternal wisdom, to labor while the day is, for the night cometh when no man can work. When we behold her standing on her own hospitable beach, to receive the stranger youth of every land with a mother's affection, does it not appear that with a mother's prospective solicitude, her vision pierced the gloom of futurity, and rested on that melancholy period when her own persecuted sons should be obliged to visit other climes in pursuit of science, because at home they would not be allowed to drink the waters of knowledge, except at fountains which they deemed polluted? As if she foresaw the time when her own expatriated children would be borne afar, and afar on the surge of every ocean, and cast on every distant shore, there, like uprooted plants, to perish, unless fostered by the hand of foreign kindness. There was a time when the other nations of Europe were indebted to Ireland; but her fortunes changed; the means of conferring benefits were taken from her, and in her turn she became their debtor. To the seminaries of Germany and Italy, and still more to those of France, she owes, under the same providence of Almighty God, the unbroken succession of her priesthood during the persecution of her religion; and now that it has ceased, she acknowledges the obligation in the fullness of her own gratitude, as if she had deserved nothing at their hands.

About the close of the seventh century, Egfred, King of Northumberland, made a transitory incursion into the country, and this was the first foreign enemy, coming in the attitude of hostility, that ever trod on Irish soil. After his expulsion, Ireland enjoyed her usual tranquillity until about the beginning of the ninth century, when the Danes and Norwegians aimed at, and partly succeeded in effecting, what they considered a permanent establishment in that delightful country. The effort, we are told, cost them a struggle of thirty years; and we know from the history of other nations which they visited merely as a passing scourge, that their hatred of those studies which gave polish and refinement to social life, was equaled only by their hatred of Christianity. In Ireland they had time and opportunity to indulge the double hatred—they had abundant material whereon to wreak their Gothic vengeance, by destroying *monasteries*, in which science and religion dwelt like sisters in the same sanctuary, and against which the Danes cherished a universal and hereditary spite. They were inhabited by monks, a class of men who have been so traduced, and calumniated by the learned ingratitude of modern times, that their very name sounds in the ear of popular credulity, as synonymous with ignorance and indolence. They were not ignorant, my brethren; but that ignorance which is charged upon them, would be at this day *ours*, if they had not been learned. One portion of their time was devoted to prayer and singing the praises of God; the residue was employed in transcribing the Holy Scriptures, and books of antiquity. They were not indolent; on the contrary we find them in every country, engaged with patient industry in building across the middle ages that bridge which connects ancient with modern literature, and by which the wisdom and the folly of other days and of other generations have traveled down to us. They were engaged in saving whatever of learning could be saved by human exertion from the ravages of those turbid waters that swept beneath its extensive span. The annals of pagan as well as of Christian Ireland were deposited in these monasteries, which were pillaged and

destroyed by the vandalism of the northern invaders. Then did perish those national monuments, the absence of which Doctor Johnson, in the name of enlightened posterity, deplores, because, says he, being the records of an *ancient* and once an *illustrious people*, if they had come down to us, they would have thrown light on two important but disputable subjects; viz: "the origin of nations, and the affinity of languages." They have not come down to us; and we can judge of ancient Ireland, from Irish documents, only as we judge of a long ruined edifice, by the quality of the scattered fragments which strew the place around. After the destruction of her monasteries, however, in the ninth and tenth centuries, the sun of her literary glory appears to have set; although the reflection of his departed splendor, like the mellow light of evening, lingered on her horizon; and during the darkness—the night that followed—*hers* were some of the brightest stars in the firmament of letters.

The Danes were finally expelled, just time enough to show that the country was still unconquered, and free from every foreign yoke, when the English commenced its invasion about the year 1171. Then it was that England's second Henry established in Ireland a power which, under all circumstances, would perhaps have been a blessing, if it had been conducted on the principles of distributive justice or of common equity; but which, as it was, operated like a canker worm at the root of the nation's happiness, blighting every virtue that adorns human nature, and giving occasion to the exercise of every vice that degrades humanity. But, on the very threshold of this topic, a question arises, and it is asked by what right did he invade, and by what title did he claim the territory of an unoffending people? Why, the ostensible right was a written instrument, obtained by some means or other, almost twenty years before, from Adrian IV., Bishop of Rome and Pontiff of the Universal Church. In virtue of this, Ireland was disposed of in the form of a donation, under certain stipulated terms. The invader knew very well that the donation was a mockery; but then it might serve a purpose. It was carefully concealed until the desired moment arrived; then ambition grasped the sword, and artifice thought to hide its lancet point, in the folds of this flimsy document; in order that while the scruples of the nation should be excited, touching the Pope's authority, its liberties might be assassinated quietly, and with as little waste of English blood as possible. The Irish people then, as well as now, bowed to the spiritual authority of the Pope, as the visible head of the Christian Church; but then as well as now, they knew that the act of Adrian did not derive its authority from Him "whose kingdom was not of this world." The document may have surprised and divided the nation; it may have weakened, though it did not paralyze the arm of resistance; but the fact is, that at all times England's best title was the sword. The Irish soon after protested publicly against the whole proceedings; and forwarded to the Vatican itself a remonstrance, which is written in a tone of uncompromising complaint, and which, but for the deeply-wounded spirit of those who penned it, would be considered reprehensible even at this day; such is the bitter independence of its language. This was the most unwarrantable stretch of assumed prerogative in the annals of what modern writers call papal usurpation. It was unnecessary, it was unavailing, it was unjust. And having said thus much, I will be permitted to show, by a few remarks, that this and similar acts have become too much the theme of satirical animadversion and unmerited invective.

Good sense, and sound criticism, and common justice require, that before we pronounce on the proceedings of former ages, we should examine them in connection with the times in which they occurred; the cotemporaneous prejudices, the nature of the governments, the manners and gen-

eral condition of society when they happened, should all be thrown into the scale of judgment; and they would guide us to a just verdict of censure or of approbation. The direct contrary, however, is the general practice with writers otherwise eminent and learned. They seize an isolated fact in the darkness of the dark ages, and drag it forth naked, divested of all its concomitant circumstances, to be judged, and, as a matter of course, to be condemned by the superior light of the present day.

If they allowed it, however, to return naked as they found it, the world would not be, as it is, the enlightened dupe of unsuspected prejudice on a thousand historical and religious topics. But disregarding the moral of the Holy Scripture, they put new cloth on old raiment, and dismiss the fact, whatever it may be, in its chequered and consequently ridiculous drapery. Thus, for example, when we are told that Popes interfered with the government of kingdoms, it should not be left untold that kings and nations had first invoked that interference, and besought them in the name of humanity and religion, to protect the claims of justice, to prevent civil war, and the shedding of kindred blood. It should not be left untold that very frequently the brows to whom it belonged were too weak to sustain the diadem, against the usurpations of some other aspirant, who was ready to tear it away. Interest, in the form of chivalrous gratitude, not unfrequently tendered a kingdom at the feet of the Pontiff, and found its best security in receiving it as a fief of the Holy See, by the common tenure of the feudal system which prevailed. Thus, the power of the Popes was as simple in its origin as the power by which a priest, or other clergyman, settles a dispute between two neighbors, who appeal to *him* rather than to the dagger or the magistrate. The influence which they possessed enabled them to extend the shield of peaceful justice for the protection of injured and otherwise defenceless innocence. If they became formidable to kings, it was because kings laid the foundations on which they built the edifice of power. The state of the world is changed; that power has been taken from them, and transferred to others. If it had not, the Pope at this day could effect, without bloodshed, what English bayonets will be necessary to accomplish in the kingdom of Portugal. I rejoice, for the sake of religion, that it has been removed from the chair of St. Peter; because he who occupies that chair is not an angel, but a human being, and whenever he mingles in human affairs he is liable to be swayed by human motives. This was possibly the case with Adrian IV.; he was an Englishman, and, so far as in him lay, he bequeathed Ireland, which never was at his disposal, by feudal right or otherwise; he bequeathed it, nevertheless, as an appendage to his country's greatness. This is the fact. And yet there are considerations which might shield him from the harsh severity with which even Catholic writers have visited his memory. He is known to have been a man austere and simple in his manners, and unblemished in the sanctity of his life; but it was his lot to govern the Church at a time when the prejudices of temporal power, alluded to above, were already established by prescription. On the other hand, the motives which prompted him to the act were evidently good. We can see by the very tenor of the document, that he was led to suppose the good of religion and the promotion of piety were the only objects for which Henry the Second desired the sovereignty of Ireland. For, my brethren, unrestrained ambition, whether it operates on the bosoms of kings or of other men, does not hesitate to put on the appearance of sanctity, to make use of religion, aye, and of religion's God, as stepping-stones beneath its feet, if it cannot otherwise ascend the eminence to which it aspires.

You will pardon this apparent digression from my subject. My limits would not allow me to delineate the anatomy of Irish history; I could only

exhibit the mere skeleton; and as the concession of Adrian is one of its most important joints, I felt prompted by a sense of justice to the calumniated dead, to trace its connection to the circumstances of the times in which it took place.

During the period subsequent to the English invasion, we behold nothing but ruin and desolation, where we have been hitherto admiring the vision of Ireland's now departed glory. The portion of the country which was conquered by the first adventurers was denominated the *Pale*, an appropriate and significant term, pregnant with all the partiality that power could confer on those who were within its limits, and with all the injustice, tyranny, and oppression which the spirit of lawless conquest could inflict on those who were without. By virtue of the state secret, the little wire, which was carefully concealed from the vulgar gaze, but which moved every spring in the machinery of government, the seeds of national jealousy, of reciprocal hatred and revenge, were sown and fostered; and when these passions grew up into a harvest of political disorder, then those who had moved the wire came forth from behind the curtain, in the name of loyalty, to reap the profits. They had a right to them. Thus, the laws produced a kind of reflex operation profitable to the governor and his minions, in proportion as it was ruinous to the people. One deputy after another appeared to represent the majesty of England; and with few exceptions, private interest, avarice, and ambition were the standards which regulated their administration. They went forth at intervals to extend the "pale;" and when they had depopulated a section of the country, leaving behind them, not the conquered inhabitants, but the silence of death and the solitude of the sepulchre, the news was transmitted to England, and reached the monarch's ear in the character of a victory "gained over the natives."

In the judicial department the case was even worse, if possible. The laws stood at the portals of judgment, to prevent *justice* from entering; and when murder appeared, his sabre reeking with human blood, the first question of him who sat upon the tribunal was touching the birth-place of the fallen victim, an important question; for if he was one of the original proprietors of the soil, which they expressed by calling him a "mere Irishman," then the statute declared that it was no felony to kill him. The whole nation, at different times, petitioned for the *protection* of the English laws, but their petitions were as often rejected. This is a sketch of the policy adopted and pursued by the government in Ireland, from the invasion down to the accession of Queen Elizabeth; but the nature of the present occasion would make it criminal in me to torture your feelings by any further description.

This bad system of government naturally caused Ireland to retrograde in morals and in virtue, as well as in science and literature. And yet, Sir John Davis, an Englishman and a Protestant, tells us there was less crime there than in England, in the reign of James I., 200 years ago. He was then attorney-general, and the first in that capacity who visited all the parts of Ireland; his office qualified him to pronounce, and, comparing the annals of guilt in both countries, he strikes the balance of morality decidedly in favor of Ireland. A similar testimony was given, the other day, in the House of Peers (where it would not have passed uncontradicted, if it had not been susceptible of proof), by another Protestant nobleman, that at this moment the proportion of crime is doubly greater in England than in the unhappy country of whose ignorance and vices so much has been said, even on this side of the Atlantic. England, and every other country, has its splendid virtues, and I am as ready to proclaim them as I am to admit that Ireland has her numerous vices. But I mention these facts as a matter of

pleasing astonishment, that her vices are not more. When we reflect that the blessings of justice and mercy, and an impartial government, which makes other nations virtuous and happy, have been denied to Ireland for nearly seven hundred years, we would hardly expect to find a remnant of virtue left; but to see her surpass them in the test of comparison, this must appear a phenomenon in the order of morality. For, my brethren, there is a connection between the cause and the effect in moral as well as physical nature. If the tempest roll in fury on the smoothest sea, that sea will imbibe a portion of the spirit that disturbed it; it will rise from its slumbers, it will foam and rage, and woe to the fragile bark that is overtaken by its indignation. So, if a people are oppressed, if their treaties are violated, if their generous confidence is abused, and their professions disbelieved, and their honor doubted, and their sacred rights invaded, and their liberties trodden under foot—if, in a word, they have lost everything except a paltry life, which, but for the hope of religion, would not be worth endurance, then it is not to be wondered at, if such a people sometimes turn on their oppressors in the spirit of vindictive retribution. This has been the case more than once in unhappy Ireland. No nation could feel more keenly the disgrace of her degradation, the injustice of her bondage: is it, then, matter of surprise that the peculiar sensibilities of her heart sometimes rose to her head, and engendered there that species of political frenzy which broke out at intervals in fitful, wild, and sometimes infuriated ebullitions of revenge?

For the fact is, that Ireland at all times understood the equal rights to which she was entitled, and the measure of strict impartial justice without which she would not, she could not, be satisfied. Begin at whatever epoch you think proper to select, and descend from one step to another of her history down to the present day, test the feelings of every generation as you pass, and you will perceive that no duration of time could ever tame the mind of Ireland to the yoke of unmerited and ignominious servitude. You might tell the youth, the stripling of the village, or the peasant boy, around whose tender hands you bound the manacles in punishment of his birth-place, that they came to him by lineal descent, that his fathers had worn them for ages, that they were consecrated to his family, hereditary appendage of the soil; you might tell him all this, and instead of conciliating, you only roused his impatience for the moment when he might burst the fetters, and remove the malediction. What! injustice hereditary? Oh, no. But one thing *was* hereditary—that magnanimous and immortal spirit of the nation, which for so many ages has been tortured, but could not be broken on oppression's wheel. The neck of Ireland might have been bound at any time, on a level with her feet, in the dust; but, even then, her soul, towering in the consciousness of its own original integrity, stood erect, unsubdued, unbending, and—indomitable. This was the secret of that turbulence of character which ignorance has ascribed to her, and recorded against her in the book of calumny. Until recently there was no mirror to reflect on England and on the world the image of her feelings, but there were at all times the scattered materials from which such a mirror might have been fabricated. Those feelings were like obstructed waters, breaking out irregularly wherever they found an issue; when, at length, a superior mind arose to preside over them; then they flowed in one direction, and, as they advanced, acquired the easy majesty as well as the irresistible influence of a mighty tide, which swept away the barriers that had hitherto prevented justice and peace from embracing each other.

The laws of England, which were refused to the country while their operation might have been salutary, were extended in the reign of Eliza-

beth when they had been new-modeled in accordance with the change of religion in the state, and were no longer desirable. Then, for the first time, they took their march throughout all Ireland, bearing liberty in one hand and degradation in the other. If they had asked the apple of her eye, in exchange for the boon of freedom and of justice, Ireland would have given it. But much as she loved civil liberty, there was one thing that she loved infinitely more: it was the faith which she received in olden times. This she regarded as the boon of heaven: it was hers before she knew England; it was at all times the solace of her grief; it was the anchor of her last and best hope, and neither bribery nor persecution could detach her from it: she is at all times seen clinging to it with the tenacity of despair: thus leaving another instance to prove that faith is stronger than death, and that persecution can make martyrs or hypocrites, and there its power ends. The civil oppression of Ireland would have terminated the moment she embraced, or pretended to embrace, the religion which the Parliament had decreed, and were determined to support. But she saw no reason to believe in its veracity, and to profess it would have been hypocrisy; it would have been acting against her conscience; it would have been apostasy from her God; it would, in fine, have been that base thing of which Ireland has proved herself incapable. For this she is entitled to the admiration of the world; because, for this she suffered. The laws continued unequal, and the inevitable result of their operation was to break the intercourse of charity among men of different religions, arraying the Catholic against the Protestant, and the Protestant against the Catholic; and in spite of their united efforts to exclude it, intruding perpetually to disturb the harmonies of social and sometimes domestic life.

You may be surprised, my brethren, that I have dwelt so long on the early portion of Ireland's history, and so briefly on the civil thraldom and religious persecution which have succeeded each other since the English invasion in the twelfth century. But why should it be otherwise, when the wisdom of better times has applied an effectual remedy to the evils of that long-injured country, and she herself has already forgiven, what it may not be so easy to forget? It was but yesterday the Legislature of Great Britain covered over her wounds with the mantle of justice, and mine shall not be the hand to tear it off so soon. Those wounds already begin to cicatrize; and they say that darkness and silence are best calculated to promote convalescence; and, besides, if I did exhibit to your view a full picture of Ireland's wrongs, pity would rise from the canvass, and extort the tribute of your tears; whereas the occasion calls for no tears, except peradventure those of gratulation and of joy.

But my brethren, I would not have you retire from this place unimproved by the moral of a subject, which, but for its illustrative connection with the state of fallen humanity, would be altogether foreign from a Christian pulpit. Let us not forget, that every one of us has to watch the first movements of the very same passions which have produced so many black clouds in the moral as well as political atmosphere of now regenerated Ireland. For, to trace her misfortunes to any national peculiarity in the English character, would be unsatisfactory and unjust. We all know that the genuine English character is proverbial for its sterling, almost infallible, integrity—the more to be admired, because it is unclogged by any outward display. Neither would it be just to trace them to the religion of England, because Ireland's oppression commenced nearly four hundred years before that religion existed. Religion is the daughter of God; her office is to pluck thorns out of the human breast, not to plant them—to prepare men for a better world, by raising, not depressing them in the scale of virtue here. It would be cruel to charge religion with the crimes of which Ireland has been the victim, not only since the Reformation, but before, when there was but one religion, and the good of both nations wor-

shipped God around the same altars. Where, then, shall we find the solution? Go to the ground where children are at play; wait till a quarrel arises, and the spoils are to be divided; and ascertain how it happens that the largest portion of the common toys remains *by right* in possession of the strongest or most artful competitor. Here is the solution. Here is the infant passion; but do not lose sight of it here; watch it up to manhood, pursue it across the ocean to the shores of Africa, and there you will detect it, putting manacles, by the *same right*, on hands that were free. Observe its operation on a large scale, and you will behold it, as in unhappy Ireland, by the *same right*, grinding down the immortal energies of a chivalrous nation under the millstone of predominant, and therefore irresponsible power.

The history of that country is the tragedy of the bad passions, and every good man rejoices that it has been brought to a close. We rejoice, because the Catholics have obtained that to which they were at all times entitled by the rights of nature and the laws of justice; we rejoice more, because in this reason and principle have triumphed over prejudice and folly. We rejoice for the sake of England as well as Ireland, for the sake of Protestants as well as Catholics. We rejoice in the name of all the virtues, in the name of justice, and of peace, and of humanity, and of religion, and of God. To Him is the glory and the praise. He has made use of human means, and great must be the satisfaction of those who have been made the instruments of a victory, different from other victories, in this, that it has cost neither blood nor tears. Does not every good heart in this assembly rejoice? Surely that generous spirit of our happy country, the freest under the sun, that spirit which lately cheered the captive onward in the enterprise, is gladdened by its success. Those who look back to Ireland as the home of their infancy, must feel the influence of a yet stronger sensation. But what must be the feast which this day presents to the feelings of those who in times of greater peril, and for the object we commemorate, risked their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor—men whose fortune it was to have been born in Ireland, with a genius which the Crown could not purchase, the Parliament could not crush, and who were constrained to leave their country, because—they loved their country too much.

Greece would have immortalized them; and America, the country of their choice, does honor them, as they do honor to their various professions; their pens have been employed even here in the vindication of their degraded country and their countrymen. The stigma has been removed; and to them this occasion must be a joyful one. Neither is that affection diminished by the consideration that others bear away the honor of having achieved an event, which their exertions contributed so much to accelerate. Posterity will do them justice; and their names, some of which I could, but do not mention, will stand conspicuous on the records of Irish talent and of Irish patriotism.

But enumeration would be endless as the subject itself. I thank you sincerely for your kind and patient attention; I will now descend from this place to mingle with you in the expression of our common gratitude to Almighty God, for the termination of those moral evils to which I have alluded—and with you also, to breathe the prayer of hope, that henceforth the inhabitants of Ireland, and not of Ireland alone, but of every country on the globe, may live as brethren, if not in religion, at least in social kindness, in the bond of holy peace, in the practice of virtue, and of piety and fidelity to our common and blessed God. This is the benediction I would invoke upon you and on the world. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.—*Amen.*

SPEECHES ON THE SCHOOL QUESTION.

On July 20th, 1840, an important meeting of the Catholics of New York was held in the school-house attached to St. Patrick's Church, at which the Very Rev. Dr. Power presided; and in accordance with the wishes of the Right Reverend and respected Bishop, stated to the meeting the naked truth respecting the origin of the present agitation of their claims as Catholics to a portion of the School Fund of this State, for the education of their children. Towards the end of last January, Dr. Power received a letter from the Rev. Mr. Schneller, of Albany, earnestly urging that he should come and judge for himself, and see how easy it would be for the Catholics to obtain a portion of that fund which was set apart by the law for the education of all the children of the commonwealth, but of the benefits of which, under its present management, they were unable, as Catholics, conscientiously to partake. After some deliberation he called a meeting of the Trustees of all the Catholic churches in the city, and laid the subject before them. He knew that amongst those trustees were men of different shades of politics, but he also knew, and he said it in the fullness and sincerity of his heart, that politics had nothing to do with the question upon which he convened them; that it was a question which appealed to every one of them as Catholics with equal force, whatever might be their respective political opinions, and he anticipated no dissension, no wavering, no hesitation amongst them on this all-important question, and he was not disappointed. They unanimously resolved to apply for a portion of that fund to which they had contributed as citizens of this State, and to which they were undoubtedly entitled, and for that purpose agreed that he should go to Albany; and he did go accordingly. And having gone, he found nothing but honesty of purpose, as he believed, and he returned to this city thoroughly persuaded that the application would be successful if it was pressed forward with Catholic unanimity. And this expectation he doubted not would have been realized but for an unfortunate article that appeared in the *Truth Teller* of this city, which endeavored to convert what was purely a question of Catholic and religious principle into a political one—slandered their motives, and declared that with sinister and unworthy objects in view, they were preparing to press upon the Corporation of the city a demand which, if complied with, would be a palpable violation of the constitution of the State, and the equality of rights which it secured to all citizens. This opening of the warfare against the Catholics proceeding from amongst themselves, gave color and support to the hostility which they afterwards experienced.

The Right Rev. Bishop HUGHES then rose to address the meeting, and was received with enthusiastic plaudits. When they had subsided, he said, he

had listened with great attention to the explanations offered by the Very Reverend gentleman who presided over the meeting, and to those which followed from Dr. Sweeney; and it afforded him very great pleasure and consolation to have reason to believe, from the solemnity of the statements of both, that a higher and a holier feeling than mere politics was the soul of this agitation. (Applause.) The reason why he expressed this pleasure was, that of all things he dreaded the introduction of political feelings as most destructive of their internal peace, and of that calmness of mind which disposes man either for just judgment or the discharge of his religious obligations. He had known nothing which was so intoxicating in its effects, even on good men, as that unexplained chapter in the history of the human mind, the influence of party politics. He was glad, therefore, to hear the disclaimers which were made this evening; for when he had read, on a foreign shore, of the attempt made in one of the churches here to distribute papers in the pews, he felt how far that feeling influenced the actions of men. He had come to this meeting because he believed it was not a political meeting; because the question which brought that meeting together was infinitely above anything that could be found in mere politics. It was a question, too, that was not new to him; it was a question on which he had deeply reflected before he had departed for a foreign land, not foreseeing that it would arise before his return, the question, namely, whether Catholic children were exposed to the danger of forfeiting their faith by an attendance on these schools. For that purpose he had obtained a copy of all the books which it was stated to him were used in these schools, and he had examined them deliberately; and though he found some things that were objectionable, yet, on the whole, they appeared to him sufficiently free from anything that could be construed into a direct attack on their religious principles. He had had reason, however, since his return, to believe that, in fact, all the books had not been submitted to him, but that some books which contained objectionable matter were withheld. He had seen one such at least, since, and he was satisfied that no Catholic parent, who felt his responsibility to God, could suffer it as a school-book in the hands of his children; and therefore it was, that he was interested in the question which then engaged their attention; not as a politician, but as a Bishop having charge of this Diocese, answerable to the Eternal Judge for the discharge of his responsible duty, which included a jealous and tender solicitude that the infant mind received only suitable food, and such instruction as was salutary in its tendency. Then, with these remarks, and those which had gone before, he felt, if politics were mixed up with the question under discussion, by others, that meeting was not responsible for it; and he hoped that in future time, politics, except as a corollary, would be wholly left out of consideration, and that parties and party men would be left wholly to themselves. They would see, before he finished, the necessity of this course. But if he could have thought that mere politics had brought them together, he should have felt it a reproach to themselves, and a desecration of that place, connected as it was with the Cathedral of the Diocese. He therefore again rejoiced that higher purposes had brought them together; and he would observe that, feeling as he did the injustice exercised towards the Catholics by the operation of the Common School system, as it was now dispensed, if they had not been previously called together, before he had been home three weeks, he would have warned Catholics either to have that system of education expurgated, or to withdraw their children from it. True, it professed to be a system of Common School education, but it was equally true, that while its great professed charm was the expulsion of sectarianism, there was in it, and inseparable from it, a sectarianism of another kind, which was sapping the young minds of the Catholic children; and unhappily, though parents might impart instruction to their offspring, the ope-

ation of this system was such that the instruction of the parent was like water dropped into a vessel that leaked below; it passed away, and nothing was found remaining; the labor of parents was neutralized by secret influences, and notwithstanding all that their parents and pastors were doing to engraft in the minds of their children the faith they had received from their fathers, they are entirely disappointed in the result. It was not his intention to examine at length the tendency of the system in its civil and social bearings, nor to inquire whether a *wise* statesman would adopt such a system, but he hesitated whether wise statesmen, in a country like this, would recommend it, even under these relations. Did they know whence it came? It originated in the dark regions of Prussia. And why? Because the King of Prussia saw the time was coming when the people would be educated; and with the wisdom and cunning of absolute diplomacy, he thought that education, which the people were determined to have, might be made by delicate means, and skillful management, an admirable instrument for working out the purposes of enlightened despotism. Hence the Common School system of that country. And we all know what grandiloquent praises were bestowed on the great and liberal monarch. Men exclaimed, "See what even the absolute King of Prussia has done for the cause of education!" Oh! but he took care to have the masters and the whole system under his own *control*. That scheme having succeeded, another was introduced on a still more comprehensive plan, viz., a plan not only of a common education, but of a common religion. In those dominions there were two distinct branches, the Lutherans and the Calvinists (they knew that the Catholics were not the subjects for such an experiment), and these two branches were compelled to meet, where they never met before, and read a *common* liturgy. The King allowed them, indeed, their own opinions in private: one might be Lutheran and the other Calvinist, in private; but, for the good of the State and the general harmony, they were made to coalesce in a common ritual, prepared by himself. He carried this system with the Protestants; but he could not with the Catholics. (Applause.) From that country, then, this common education system spread, and in France education is a mere bureau of the Police, and yet that government wants credit for this system of education, and for taking from the parent his peculiar duties. They go to the parent and say, in effect, "We are more interested in the education of your children than you can be."

The Right Rev. Bishop continued: God forbid that he should even suspect that our Government had such feelings. The policy of statesmen might be bad, while their intentions were good, and that the policy of this system was bad would be seen, by reflecting how it operated in religious belief. They wished a common education, because education is one of the greatest of blessings, and they knew no religious denomination would have their consciences tyrannized over. They exclude all sectarianism, so called; but they have here a secret power of deceit, which, wherever they go, operates on the young mind. Now, this system was manifestly not essential to the preservation of the United States, or of this State; and what were its bearings on the inhabitants of the State? The system has not yet been tested by its results; sufficient time has not elapsed to develop them; but when they reflected that all morality was founded on religion, and that this was an attempt to make man moral on the basis of education without religion, he would ask what could be the harvest that such culture would produce, and he replied, time alone can proclaim and determine. For his own part, he was of opinion though it was not nominally infidelity, that it was practical infidelity, and that, instead of sectarianism, they would have those with no feeling in favor of religion; that the bearings of the system were to produce men with no feeling but of indifference for religion, unless, perhaps, a feeling

of contempt for religion. The wise, the immortal WASHINGTON, he who had so much talent and so much dignity of character, leaving, as it were, the last words of the dying patriot to his country, said, "Beware of the man who attempts to inculcate morality without religion." (Applause.) That was Washington; and he wondered whether the advocates of this system, who proclaimed as a point of merit that it excluded all religion, conceived themselves to be following in the footsteps of the illustrious Washington. The Right Rev. Prelate then said he would pass from that to the religious bearings of the question, and he thought he could state to them safely that a Catholic could not conscientiously approve this system, if he were an enlightened Catholic, and understood his duty to his God and the principles of his religion, and remembered that education comprehended the mysterious development of the young mind, with its three-fold faculties of will, memory, and understanding. The inculcation of knowledge is only a part of an enlightened system of education; a training of the WILL is as necessary as the cultivation of the other faculties of the mind, and as the Common School system is in this respect deficient, he repeated that a parent who understood that system, and had a knowledge of his religion and of his own responsibility, would never submit to it. The Catholic primitive, continuous, perpetual church never recognized the principles of leaving the mind of a child without religious culture until it grew up. Such a course was contrary to the spirit of their church, and was contrary to the practice and preaching of the apostles to the Pagans; for when they converted the Pagan head of a family, the children were also trained up to the church as a part of the formation of the mind. The parent was the coadjutor of the pastor, and both were like guardian angels over the tender mind, and thus they transmitted the blessings they enjoyed to their children. Therefore, he said, this common system was Protestant, but it was not the system Catholics could adopt with their children, because they gave religious instruction to their children as a duty which was imperative, while Protestants were independent of religious education, and were of opinion that it was best to have religion to come at some uncertain period, when a change of heart would occur, and a person was to "join the church." But Catholics had the spiritual interests of their children at heart, and their own responsibility for their eternal welfare; and though by sending them to these Common Schools they might not be taught Presbyterianism, or Episcopalianism, or Baptism; yet, if by drop following drop, if by expression following expression, their young minds should be influenced, alienated, and imperceptibly drawn from their own faith, he asked, could a parent, knowing his obligation to God, permit it. He contended for the right of conscience, and for the sacred right of every man to educate his own children; and when these are the consequences that follow this system of Common School education, he asked if it were just to tax such a man for its support, while its tendency was to draw away the mind of his child from the religion which he professed and which he desired to teach him. (Applause.) The question was a simple one, and he was sure they would see but very little difference between it and the question of tithes for the support of the Protestant church in England and Ireland. To be sure, in those countries they had not excluded the Catholics from the churches: they said, our churches are open; we have provided them expressly for your benefit; if you don't come, it is your own fault; but whether you come or not, you must give us your money, and they did accordingly take the Catholics' money. Did the Catholics submit? No, they adhered to their religion, and when they did not put their own hands into their pockets, somebody else did, and took out their money for them. (Laughter.) He did not ask for the Catholics anything that was not just; that was not constitutional. All laws of the country—

all constitutional laws—are necessarily founded on the principle which secures to every man his religious rights, and if any law trenches on that right, he asserted that it was not, and could not be constitutional. In this he was borne out even by the former practice of those who administered the school fund. The fact was, that for a long time this money was distributed among the different religious societies for the purpose of education. He was told there were 1,500 Catholic children attending these schools: and suppose Catholics gave them the same education that they would get in those schools, did they not effect the same benefit to the State? But if, with morality, they also at proper times inculcated the principles of religion, he asked whether they should not make the rising generation better citizens, more upright in their intercourse with their fellow-men, more mindful of the sacred relations of the marriage state, and more attentive to their social duties? He had been told that the old system was not attended with inconvenience, but that some agent or minister of those funds had peculated or misapplied them—but he was not a Catholic. (Laughter.)

But why were the Catholics to suffer for the peculation of others? It was a constitutional principle that every man should enjoy not only his own opinions, but that he should discharge according to his own sense of it, his duty to God, of which the education of his child is one of the most sacred. He claimed nothing for the Catholic which was not at the same time due to other denominations—to the Jew and the Gentile. He was pleased that the gentlemen who had preceded him had advocated no crooked policy—the changing a name and not a cause; and he hoped the time had gone by when Catholics would bend their heads as though to court a burden, but that henceforth they would stand erect. It was nothing but simple justice which they contended for, and if they should not get it, they must only submit with the philosophy which gives dignity to disappointment. (Great applause.)

He had arrived so recently that he had not had time to examine all the facts in the case; but the testimony of the clergy whom he had consulted was unanimous and decisive that the influence of these schools is prejudicial to the faith of the Catholic children. Then the question resolved itself into this—should they submit to this if they had the power to correct it; or should they submit even without an effort to correct it? That was the question, and it had three issues. First, those who had the disposition of these funds should dispense them according to that clear and beautiful privilege of the Constitution, which secures the religious rights of all and inflicts evil on none. Now if they gave Catholics a portion of that fund after taxing them for the accumulation of the fund, the benefit to the State would be the same and the disposition would be consistent with their constitutional right, and they should receive it gratefully from those who had the power to give it. But if they insisted that Catholics should pay their money, and after seeing that they did pay, no real benefit was conferred on them in return, but injury, he left it to those concerned whether they would go on in support of a system of that kind. He had an illustration in point—not one furnished by Catholics, but by another denomination whose magnanimity in contending for the principle of right did them credit—he alluded to the Synod of Ulster, the Presbyterians of Ireland. They saw a system of religious instruction for the National Schools in Ireland made up by the Government, as a kind of mixture of diluted Scripture into essays which would suit either Unitarians, or Methodists, or Baptists, or Episcopalians—a religious compound which did not mean any thing precisely, but from which any one might take what he pleased. Now the Presbyterians, according to their religious belief, had a fixed principle that the Bible, the whole Bible, and the Bible alone, was

the best book of Education, and they protested against this system which did not admit the Bible; and they stood up for their rights, and that strong iron-handed government, as it is, granted their claim; and he asked if it would not have been doing violence to those people to have taxed them for the support of a system that would have been destructive of their religious principles. Here was a case in point; and in precisely the same course they were called upon by the circumstances of the present case, to follow. And let him observe that men may weigh but little, and political parties may weigh but little, and in point of importance, even money may weigh but little: men may change, but if they took principle for their guide and disencumbered it of all the rubbish of politics and all such things, they would see it shine like a ray of light. What was the principle in this case to consider which they were convened together? Why if they were convinced, as he was, of the evil of the present system, they could not send their children to these Common Schools with safety, as they are now constituted. It remained, then, that they ask those having the power to dispense a remedy to do it. If Catholics contributed to the funds and a proportion were returned to them to be expended in precisely the same way as at present, while Catholics preserved their direct religious rights, they would be content, and no other party would have cause to complain. But, as he had a book used in these Common Schools with him, which had been this day handed to him by Dr. Power, he would read one of its amiable little chapters to show its insidious and dangerous tendency and to illustrate the system. The chapter is as follows:

It was Sunday morning. All the bells were ringing for church, and all the streets were filled with people, moving in all directions, and here numbers of well-dressed persons, and a long train of charity children were thronging in at the wide doors of a handsome church; there a number equally gay in dress were entering an elegant meeting-house. A Roman Catholic congregation was turning into their chapel; every one crossing himself, with a finger dipped in holy water, as he went in.

The opposite side of the street was covered with Quakers, distinguished by their plain and neat attire, who walked without ceremony into a room as plain as themselves, and took their seats, the men on one side, the women on the other, in silence. A spacious building was filled with an overflowing crowd of Methodists, while a small society of Baptists assembled in the neighborhood.

Presently the services began. Some of the churches resounded with the solemn organ, and the murmuring of voices following the minister in prayer; in others a single voice was heard; and in the quiet assembly of the Quakers not a sound was uttered.

Mr. Ambrose led his son Edwin round these assemblies; he observed them all with great attention, but he did not so much as whisper lest he should interrupt any one. When he was alone with his father, "Why," said Edwin, "do not all people agree to go to the same place, and to worship God in the same way?"

"And why should they agree?" replied his father. "Do you not see that people differ in a hundred other things? Do they all dress alike, and eat and drink alike, and keep the same hours, and use the same diversion?"

"In those things they have a right to do as they please," said Edwin.

"They have a right, too," answered his father, "to worship God as they please. It is their own business, and concerns none but themselves."

And this, said the Rt. Rev. Bishop, is one of the lessons for *children*. Now, who does not see the malice of this, and how it will operate on the minds of children of quick perceptions? and children are capable of observing, and of imbibing in their souls either good or bad instruction, at a very early age.

"They have a right, too," answered his father, "*to worship God as they please.* It is their own business, and concerns none but themselves."

"But has not God ordered particular ways of worshiping him?"

Why the child appears to have much more sense than his father. (Laughter.)

"But has not God ordered particular ways of worshiping him?"

"He has directed the mind and spirit with which he is to be worshiped, but not the manner. *That is left for every one to choose. All these people like their own way best.*"

And this to children, you observe.

"The several congregations now began to be dismissed, and streets were again overspread with persons going to their own homes. It chanced that a poor man fell down in the street in a fit of apoplexy, and lay for dead; his wife and children stood round him, crying and lamenting in the bitterest distress. The beholders immediately flocked round, and with looks and expressions of compassion gave their help. A Churchman raised the man from the ground by lifting him under the arms, while a Presbyterian held his head, and wiped his face with his handkerchief. A Roman Catholic lady took out her smelling-bottle, and applied it to her nose. A Methodist ran for a doctor. A Quaker supported and comforted the woman; and a Baptist took care of the children."

Edwin and his father looked on. "Here," said Mr. Ambrose, "*is a thing on which mankind is made to agree.*"

So that religion is a matter of choice, but humanity is that in which all agree. Why, he asked, if this humanity did not exist before Jesus Christ? Yes, the Pagans understood it. But the malice was not so much in approving good actions as in throwing ridicule on all religion; and yet this is the system of instruction which our statesmen adopt for our youth—a system which will give us what Washington cautioned us against, "morality without religion."

Let there be granted to the Catholics a fair and just proportion of the funds appropriated for the Common Schools, provided the Catholics will do with it the same thing that is done in the Common Schools, and leave no reason to complain that the system is not followed. If they will do that they will take away the Catholic's cause of anxiety for his children. Then, if they will not give the Catholics a due proportion of the funds, let them be released from the taxes for the creation of this fund. But if they will do neither, and the present system is insisted upon, the question is whether Catholics, even in this country, are not compelled to do that for the Common Schools, which the Catholics of Ireland do for the English church, contribute to that of which, in their consciences, they cannot avail themselves. (Applause.)

One word, in conclusion, of politics and political men. For his part, he had reason to believe—there were good patriots no doubt of both parties, though perhaps such men were small in numbers—but his opinion of the mass of them was, that they care very little for us or for our rights, provided they can have our services. That was his opinion of them generally speaking; and therefore he belonged to neither party; nor should he ever belong to either party. (Great applause.) He cared not much which party succeeded; he thought that both one and the other were like the two sides of a copper; but one thing he should like to see, whichever party might be in power—he should like to see justice done to Catholics, for great respect for them was professed when their services were required. He conceived, then, the principles to which he had adverted claimed their first regard; and if it were, as it struck him, then the Catholics' first duty should be to secure the rights of conscience for themselves and for their children. Men were changing, and he advised them, strenuously advised them to look simply to principle. It would be to them a guide; and whatever course was taken, he should like to see them throw overboard person entirely. He should like to see principle laid down as the guide of Catholics; and this principle spread out to reasonable men of every party, showing that they had not a fair participation in the rights of conscience, of which this system deprived them. Then they would be able to judge between friends and enemies, and he could not be a true American that would impose burdens to support a system which weakened their children's regard for religion, and drew them from the faith of their fathers. That was precisely the view in which the case presented itself to him; and whether this question had come up or not, before his return, it had been his intention most assuredly to draw the attention of Catholics to it. But now let them not be ready to impute motives—evil motives to

each other. Let them always be cautious not to impute bad motives to each other. Men *will* differ in their views; and he who is first to impute a bad motive to his neighbor, is most liable to be misrepresented himself in turn. There was a way of treating all questions, and yet leaving men's characters safe—not to weigh men's intentions, but leave them to God. It was not for men, living men, to judge of the intentions of their fellow-men. But let them as Catholics and as citizens prove themselves worthy of that constitution under which they lived, and which they must be prepared to support. But could they support the system which he had explained? He was satisfied they could not, and on this subject he believed there was not a difference of opinion in the whole body of the clergy in New York.

[The Right Rev. Prelate resumed his seat amidst great applause.]

Meeting in the Basement of St. James' Church, July 27, 1840

Pursuant to a resolution of the meeting held in St. Patrick's School-room, an adjourned meeting of the Catholics of New York was held in the School-room in the basement of St. James' Church, James street. Thomas O'Connor, Esq., was called to the chair, and the secretaries of previous meeting were re-elected to their respective offices. One of the secretaries having read the minutes of the last meeting, the venerable chairman opened the business of the evening with a few pertinent remarks, during which the Right Reverend Bishop Hughes entered the room, accompanied by a large body of clergymen, and on being recognized he was loudly cheered. The applause having subsided, the chairman proceeded with his remarks, and made allusion to some published statements respecting his share in the series of meetings which they had held, and denied that he was ambitious to be more than a subaltern in their just and righteous cause—a cause which that great meeting proved to be one of deep and general interest with the Catholics of the city—and a cause which interested so large a number, he was satisfied, must ultimately succeed. That it had not succeeded before, he believed, was attributable to the fact that the public did not understand the question, nor would they attend to it until Catholics

made themselves heard. He repudiated any political feeling in connection with this subject, and counseled the Catholics to unanimity, for a house divided against itself cannot stand. The Common School System with which they warred, he designated as a monopoly of the worst kind, and in illustration of its evils he said that now $111,000 a year were spent for the education of less than 12,000 children, whereas, if the claims of the Catholics were conceded, upwards of 30,000 children would be educated for the same amount. After a few other observations he resumed his seat loudly applauded.

The Right Reverend Bishop Hughes then came forward and was received with great applause. He said, as the evening was short, and as the object of the meeting was practical, he had deemed it unnecessary to wait for a formal introduction, and especially as his remarks had been so ably anticipated by their respected and venerable chairman, with whose sentiments, which his long experience, and matured judgment, and sound Catholic feeling had inspired him to utter, he (the Bishop) fully concurred. He entirely concurred with the sentiment that in this country, when light is diffused on any question in which justice and injustice are involved, the American people would deal justly, and not oppress any portion of the people with injustice. He likewise concurred with their venerable chairman in the opinion that up to this time the question which then occupied their attention had not been properly understood; he would go so far as to say that the persons who had declined granting their reasonable request, had done so because they had not understood the justice of their claims—nay, further, when this matter was thoroughly understood, he was satisfied that even the gentlemen connected with the public schools would admit their claim. He was authorized to make this statement from a knowledge of the genius and constitution of this nation. Here let but their grievances be made known, and every honest man, and every true American—every man who understands the justice and fair play of the American constitution—would be ready to redress their grievances. [Applause.]

Passing from the necessity for spreading abroad the true ground of their claim, he would come to the design and intention of the Legislature of this State in granting a bounty for the promotion of education. And he would contend that it was a libel on the character of this great State to suppose it was ever intended or designed that the education of the children of the poor should be partial or injurious to some; and he felt authorized, also, from the character and professions of those statesmen, to say that their intention was both good and honest, that it was prompted in good faith, and with a desire that every poor man's child should have the benefit of this bounty, without any encroachment on any civil privilege or religious right. [Applause.] Yet, notwithstanding that this was the design, they saw that intention had been most admirably defeated—that the object was prevented, and that the

matter had now assumed such a form that, contrary to the intentions of the Legislature, Catholics were virtually excluded from the benefits of the system. This they would have an opportunity of seeing before he had done. No doubt, the intention was that the money should be expended to make education general; for every enlightened and educated man was convinced that education was such a blessing that he should not be consulting the true interests of the country, unless he were disposed to foster the education of the young; but did they think it would be worthy an enlightened American Legislature to conceive such a design, and to plan it for the purpose of impairing the universal right of conscience and its liberty? [Applause.]

The history of the application of this bounty of the State had been already alluded to. The first principle was that this bounty of the State should be apportioned to the different religious societies, that they might educate the children under their charge; but because one peculated or perverted this bounty to iniquitous purposes, not contemplated by the Legislature, the whole was put under the management of school directors—he might not be right in the use of terms, but they would know what he meant—and they were to visit the schools, and one principle which they were to carry out was to exclude sectarianism utterly and entirely; and in examining the reasons of the Common Council for refusing to accede to the claim of Catholics, they found that this exclusion of sectarianism was thought the great charm of the system, but he should show them that it did not exclude sectarianism, and that its directors knew it did not, and that they knew it operated injuriously on Catholics. Under this state of the case they were to set their grievances before the community—the grievance of being obliged to contribute to the support of a system from which they could derive no benefit, but which was perverted as an instrument to destroy their religion in the minds of the children under the pretence of excluding sectarianism. But now, to convince them that the exclusion of sectarianism was impossible—did not those directors each belong to some sect? Did not the gentlemen putting the books into the hands of the children belong to some sect? He came to this point that they either belonged to some sect or acted on the principles of deism; and, though this system had now no name under a religious head, it was either deism or sectarianism. If it were said that it was not sectarianism, he wanted to know what was Christianity; for if they excluded all sects, they excluded all Christianity. Where are the Christians? Take away Catholics, and Baptists, and Methodists, and Presbyterians and some others—and they were all sects—take away all the sects, and they had no more Christianity in the land. Nor could they exclude sectarianism? And if they did, what remained but deism? There was no alternative. It was as plain as that two and two are four. And did they suppose that this community which belonged to one or the other sect would subscribe to a system which in its essence was anti-Christian? Exclude sectarianism! and in a country, too, which

prides itself on its Christianity! He should like to know, then, what sect would receive the greatest benefit from this system? why, the sect that excluded sectarianism—the "Common School Sect," for it ought to have a name. [Laughter.] Now let them examine for a moment the school-books used under this system, a couple of which had fallen into his hands, and they had here a reading lesson on the "*Character of Martin Luther.*" Now, no doubt Martin Luther had a character—[laughter]—but people draw it very differently. Here it was drawn by one of his admirers—Catholics, thanks to the education which they gave him, may think highly of his talents, but they have not much admiration of his virtues—here was a chapter on his character drawn by Dr. Robertson, a Presbyterian! But would Catholics wishing to educate their children put Dr. Robertson's character of him into their hands? Here he was made out one of the greatest men that ever lived. [Laughter.] But let that pass. Next they had a chapter on the "*Execution of Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury.*" And was that by a Roman Catholic? Oh no; they would not trust a lesson by a Roman Catholic into the school; but they introduced this chapter written by Hume, the historian whose *veracity* they all could appreciate. [Laughter.] Another chapter was entitled the "*Character of the Great Founder of Christianity.*" What a name! The Great Founder of Christianity! instead of saying our Lord Jesus Christ. And who is this from? Dr. Beattie, a Scotch Presbyterian! But did they want their children to be taught by him? The next chapter was entitled "*The Spirit and Laws of Christianity superior to those of any other religion.*" And this was a lesson for *children!* And who was this from? Dr. Beattie again. Now might they not as well seclect lessons for children from the life of Sir Thomas Moore, the Lord Chancellor of England, who gave his head to the block rather than sacrifice his religion; or from those glorious annals of patriotism which show how Catholic bishops and barons wrung from a king that charter which was now perverted against them. [Applause.] But Catholics did not want their children to be educated by the conductors of this Common School System, whose intentions might possibly be good, though Catholics believed them to be mistaken, at least. The anxiety betrayed to get Catholics to these schools, was proof in itself that there was something in the system that Catholics could not agree to. Need he go further? If it were necessary he could appeal to that Church and to others for proofs of the sacrifices they (the Catholics) had made for the preparation of a place for the education of their children free from the poisonous infection of those Common Schools. What induced them to provide some shelter like this, in which they were now assembled for the protection of their children, but that they deemed it a blessing to give good instruction to their children instead of that poison which would pervert their minds from the faith which they reverenced, and which they had received from their fathers?

But here was another book entitled, "Lessons for Schools, taken from the Holy Scriptures, in the Words of the Text, without Note or

Comment." But when did Catholics allow the Scriptures to be given to children that they might be learnt, "Without Note or Comment," admitting even that these were the true Scriptures? and he asked if this was not a direct interference with the religion of Catholics, and if so, why should they tolerate it if they had the power to obtain redress, or even to appeal against it. If he had access to the libraries of these Common Schools he should find them stuffed full of books that were obnoxious to Catholics and to their feelings; but, as these books were now being called in, it was very difficult to get them, though not long since any child might have them gratis, and he should therefore call their attention to a quotation from a recent publication on these books by a writer who was well acquainted with the subject:

"In each of the Public Schools there is established a library, to which the more advanced scholars have access—and what do we find there? 'Martin Luther' and 'An Irish Heart.' The latter is addressed to the 'Irish Protestant Association' of the city of Boston."

Not to Boston alone, but to its essence and spirit—the

"'Protestant Association' of the city of Boston, and is a libel upon the Catholics, and an insult to the Irish. From the preface I extract the following: 'The emigration from Ireland to America, of annually increasing numbers, extremely needy, and in many cases drunken and depraved, has become a subject for grave and fearful reflection. Should this influx continue for a few years more, in the same ratio of increase which has existed for a few years past; should this imposing subject continue to be thought unworthy of legislative provision, and should the materials of this oppressive influx continue to be the same, instead of an asylum our country might be appropriately styled the common sewer of Ireland.' From page 24 I copy the following *verbatim:* 'As for old Phelim Maghee, he was of no particular religion.'"

Well, then he belonged to this Common School System, said the Bishop. [Laughter.]

"'When Phelim had laid up a good stock of sins, he now and then went over to Killarney, of a Sabbath morning, and got *relaaf* by *confissing* them out o' the way, as he used to express it, and sealed his soul up with a *wafer*, and returned quite invigorated for the perpetration of new offences.'"

There is a lesson for your *children* in a school system which professes the exclusion of all sectarianism!

Again, on page 120, when speaking of intemperance, we find the following:

"'It is more probably, however, a part of the papal system.'"

Father Mathew, for instance.

"'For, when drunkenness shall have been done away, and with it that just, relative proportion of all indolence, ignorance, crime, misery, and superstition, of which it is the putative parent, then, truly, a much smaller portion of mankind may be expected to follow the dark lantern of the Romish religion.'"

And we read this while we see Father Mathew going abroad, and hundreds of Protestants joining Father Mathew. He spoke of this as one of the books of learning which were unfit to be introduced

into schools from which all sectarianism was professed to be excluded. But it goes on:

"'That religion is most likely to find professors among the frivolous and the wicked, which by a species of ecclesiastical legerdemain can persuade the sinner that he is going to heaven when he is going directly to hell. By a refined and complicated system of Jesuitry and prelatical juggling'"—

That, I suppose, is a hint for me—

"'the papal see has obtained its present extensive influence through the world.'"

Now he would leave it to themselves whether that system, which professed to exclude all sectarianism, and yet adopted books like these, would stand the test of examination before an enlightened community; he wished to know how any gentleman could stand up before the Common Council and say that in it there was no sectarianism; he wanted to know how these books could be defended; and he wished to know on what ground any gentleman who reported on the part of the Common Council could have justified the refusal of the claims of Catholics, with such truths as these before him.

But, passing from this state of the case, he would call their attention to the disadvantages under which Catholics labored by the operation of this system. And first, though not the greatest, yet what in a country like this must be deemed unconstitutional, was taxation for the support of a system by which they were not benefited. It was a great grievance to take the money of Catholics for that from which no benefit was realized. But the next objection was, its inequality. They found a system supported by the community in general which gave instruction to the children of their neighbor, who knew not or cared not how it operated on the religious training of his child; while the Catholic who did care for the interests of his child's religious principles could not, for that reason, conscientiously partake of its advantages. But its inequality was equaled by its injustice: for why were they taxed for such a system, when that system is so perverted as to make it their duty to relinquish its benefits, rather than sacrifice that which was of greater importance. The next fact was, the operation of this system on their children; and he asked them to judge for themselves, from the specimens they have had, what must be the inevitable effect on their children. But this was not all; for after submitting to taxation for this system, they were obliged to tax themselves anew, as well as their means would permit, to give their children an education that would not compromise their religious faith. Now, if he had an opportunity to address the gentlemen more intimately mixed up with the Common School System, he would desire them to bring their better feelings to contemplate the scene in this place when the children of the poor came there, and not only the children but their teachers, who were willing to sacrifice health and life that they might impart instruction to their minds; he would bring them here and ask them to look upon the spectacle; he would ask them, also, if it were just

that they should be deprived of the benefit of an education which the money of their parents contributed to provide; he would ask them if it were just that these children should come here with bare feet, during inclement weather—and why bare feet? because the money had been expended in books, which should have purchased them shoes. The Legislature did not intend that they should be thus excluded from the benefits of this system; nor yet that the children of the poor emigrant should not participate in it, for *they* are poor, and for the poor in an especial manner was it intended, that they might become good citizens. They, then, were the victims of a system which was so perverted that they could not, without sacrificing their consciences, send their children to participate in its benefits, for which they had, in common with other citizens, subscribed the funds.

Now, with this outline of the case, which he should be glad to see in print and sent abroad to justify their course, he came to the remedy; for he did not suppose they would present themselves to the constituted authorities and demand this money, unless they could show it was right. They did not ask a favor; but, according to sound judgment, a *public right*, to which they were entitled. Nor was it expedient that those in power should grant that which the Catholics demanded, until they had shown them some good and sound reason, and its justice and propriety; and, therefore, he was glad that their grievances were laid before the whole land and were not confined to that room. They must seize the public attention, and if their just claim was still denied, then let it be branded on the flag of America that Catholics were denied and deprived of equal rights. [Applause.] It appeared, from the history of their proceedings before his arrival, that difficulties had been thrown in their way most inexpediently, most injudiciously, and he might use a harsher expression still in respect to the sentiments put forth in relation to their agitation against the abominable system which excludes all Christianity, but does no good. That anybody calling himself a Catholic could have used such language was indeed surprising; and they could only suppose that such an individual did not know his religion or what this Common School System was. But let that pass. There had been another difficulty—that those to whom the law entrusted the disposition of this money were not the persons by whom it was originally recommended. It might happen, in some cases, that those not in power should be ready to recommend a measure with the hope that they might embarrass others. Now, in matters of this kind, reflecting men would not regret a benefit because those recommended it who were not usually of their own way of thinking. It reminded him of a man who should be without his breakfast till about eleven o'clock, and is then recommended by his enemy to take it; but, says another, "You know I have ever been your friend, while he has been your enemy, and I recommend you to wait." After listening to both advisers, the man says: "In the first place, have I the right to my breakfast? If so,

it is no matter who recommends it. It is not because this man or that man recommends it, but because I have the right to it, that I will take it. In addition, it is near twelve o'clock, and I feel hungry; and no doubt, after taking it, I shall feel better. Independently, then, of your advice—and you both wish me well—I have reasons of my own for eating my breakfast, with which I hope you will be satisfied." And so it was on this Common School Question. It was very silly to bring such reasons here as had been stated, and he hoped they were now excluded.

He feared he was taxing their patience and employing the time that would be more usefully employed by others, and therefore he would conclude with the remark, that they must bear in mind they were not to accomplish this work in a day. They would have to speak to those by whom they expected justice to be done them; they would have to diffuse light, for there were in the country public men of high honor and good feeling of all parties—men who really wished to be just; and if others were mere trading politicians, he hoped they would be mindful of that old adage, which was as true here as elsewhere, "Honesty is the best policy;" and if they wanted to be successful politicians, their course was to be *honest* politicians. He was aware that even where politicians were not honest, from Maine to Georgia, their policy was to appear so; but there were men independent of this class that were men of generous minds and pure motives, who sympathized with the people and were watchful of the interests of the country, and who would grant the justice to which Catholics were entitled, and drive out from this system that sectarianism which its professed friends say does not exist in it. In order, then, to proceed in the way which cases of the kind require, he would suggest the adoption of the following preamble and resolutions:

Whereas, The wisdom and liberality of the Legislature of this State did provide, at the public expense, for the education of the poor children of the State, without injury or detriment to the civil and religious rights vested in their parents or guardians by the laws of nature and of the land: And, *whereas*, Catholics contribute and have always contributed their proportion to the funds from which that system is supported: And, *whereas*, the administration of that system, as now conducted, is such that the parents or guardians of Catholic children cannot allow them to frequent such schools without doing violence to those rights of conscience which the Constitution secures equal and inviolable to all citizens, viz.: They cannot allow their children to be brought up under a system which proposes to shut the door against Christianity, under the pretext of excluding sectarianism, and which yet has not the merit of being true to its bad promise: And, *whereas*, Catholics who are the least wealthy and most in need of the education intended by the bounty of the State, are thus cut off from the benefit of funds to which they are obliged to contribute, and constrained either to contribute new funds for the purposes of education among themselves, or else to see their

children brought up under a system of free-thinking and practical irreligion, or else see them left to that ignorance which they dread, and which it was the benevolent and wise intention of the Legislature to remove. Therefore,

1. *Resolved*, That the operation of the Common School System, as the same is now administered, is a violation of our civil and religious rights.

2. *Resolved*, That we should not be worthy of our proud distinction as Americans and American citizens, if we did not resist such invasion by every lawful means in our power.

3. *Resolved*, That in seeking the redress of our grievances, we have confidence in our rulers, more especially as by granting that redress they will but carry out the principles of the Constitution, which secures equal civil and religious rights to all.

4. *Resolved*, That a committee of eight be appointed to prepare and report an address to the Catholic community and the public at large, on the injustice which is done to the Catholics, in their civil and religious rights by the present operation of the Common School System.

5. *Resolved*, That a committee of three be appointed to prepare a report on the public moneys which have been expended by the bounty of this State for education, both in Colleges and in Common Schools, to which Catholics have contributed their proportion of taxes like other citizens, but from which they have never received any benefit.

The resolutions having been unanimously adopted collectively, the committees designated in the resolutions were then appointed by the chairman, as follows: Rt. Rev. Bishop Hughes, James W. McKeon, Thomas O'Connor, Dr. Sweeney, James W. White, James Kelley, Gregory Dillon, B. O'Connor, John McLoughlin: C. F. Grim, James W. McKeon.

ADDRESS

OF THE CATHOLICS TO THEIR FELLOW CITIZENS OF THE CITY AND STATE OF NEW YORK.

Speech of Right Rev. Bishop Hughes.

A GENERAL meeting of the Catholics of New York was held in the basement of St. James' Church, James street, on Monday, August 10, 1840, on the subject of Common School Education, and the claim of the Catholics to a portion of the Common School Fund. The meeting was very numerously attended. Thomas O'Connor, Esq., was again called to the chair, and the secretaries of the previous meetings were also re-elected.

The Right Reverend Bishop Hughes, having entered the room accompanied by a numerous body of the clergy, was received with enthusiastic plaudits. He then, as the chairman of the committee appointed by the last meeting to prepare an address to the public on the subject which those meetings were convened to discuss, came forward and said, the object they had in view, in drafting and adopting a report, was that the public at large might be informed of the nature of their pretensions, and of the grievances of which they complained, in order that if there were in the public a sympathetic response to their cry for justice, it might come forth. For himself he had but little doubt of the issue, for he had great confidence in the public justice. And whatever might be the conduct of the editors of the daily journals, and of others who were but obscurely informed, or who but darkly understood the nature of their position, he still hoped that when they comprehended thoroughly the ground on which Catholics stood, they would not persevere in the course of which their venerable chairman so justly complained. [Applause.] With the permission of the meeting, he would then read the draft of the report which was about to be submitted to them. The Right Reverend Prelate then read the following address, which was received with responsive cheers throughout:

ADDRESS

Of the Roman Catholics, to their Fellow Citizens of the City and State of New York.

FELLOW CITIZENS:

We, the Roman Catholics of the City of New York, feeling that both our civil and religious rights are abridged and injuriously affected by the operation of the Common School System, and by the construction which the Common Council have lately put on the laws authorizing that system, beg leave to state our grievances, with the deepest confidence in the justice of the American character; that if our complaints are well founded, you will assist us in obtaining the redress to which we are entitled—if they are not well founded, we are ready to abandon them.

We are Americans and American citizens. If some of us are foreigners, it is only by the accident of birth. As citizens, our ambition is to be Americans—and if we cannot be so by birth, we are so by choice and preference, which we deem an equal evidence of our affection and attachment to the Laws and Constitution of the country. But our children, for whose rights as well as our own we contend in this matter, are Americans by nativity. So that we are either, like yourselves, natives of the soil, or, like your fathers from the Eastern world, have become Americans under the sanction of the Constitution, by the birthright of selection and preference.

We hold, therefore, the same idea of our rights that you hold of

yours. We wish not to diminish yours, but only to secure and enjoy our own. Neither have we the slightest suspicion that you would wish us to be deprived of any privilege, which you claim for yourselves. If then we have suffered by the operation of the Common School System in the City of New York, it is to be imputed rather to our own supineness, than to any wish on your part that we should be aggrieved.

The intention of the Legislature of this State in appropriating public funds for the purposes of popular schools, *must have been* (whatever construction the lawyers of the Common Council put upon it) to diffuse the blessings of education among the people, without encroachment on the civil and religious rights of the citizens. It was, *it must have been*, to have implanted in the minds of youth, principles of knowledge and virtue, which would secure to the State a future population of enlightened and virtuous, instead of ignorant and vicious members.

This was certainly their general intention, and no other would have justified their bountiful appropriation of the public funds. But in carrying out the measure, this patriotic and wise intention has been lost sight of; and in the City of New York, at least, under the late arbitrary determination of the present Common Council, such intention of the legislature is not only disregarded, but the high public ends to which it was directed, are manifestly being defeated. Here knowledge, according to the late decision, mere secular knowledge, is what we are to understand by education, in the sense of the legislature of New York. And if you should allow the smallest ray of religion to enter the school-room; if you should teach the children that there is an eye that sees every wicked thought, that there is a God, a state of rewards and punishment beyond this life; then, according to the decision of the Common Council, you forfeit all claim to the bounty of the State, although your scholars should have become as learned as Newton, or wise as Socrates. Is then, we would ask you, fellow citizens, a practical rejection of the Christian religion in all its forms, and without the substitution of any other, the basis on which you would form the principles and character of the future citizens of this great Commonwealth? Are the meek lessons of religion and virtue, which pass from the mother's lips into the heart of her child, to be chilled and frozen by icy contact with a system of education thus interpreted?

Is enlightened villainy so precious in the public eye, that science is to be cultivated whilst virtue is neglected, and religion, its only adequate groundwork, is formally and authoritatively proscribed? Is it your wish that vice should thus be elevated from its low and natural companionship with ignorance, and be married to knowledge imparted at the public expense?

We do not say that even the Common Council profess to require that the Christian religion should be excluded from the Common Schools. They only contend that the inculcation of each or any of its doctrines would be sectarianism, and thus lest sectarianism

should be admitted Christianity is substantially excluded. Christianity in this country is made up of the different creeds of the various denominations, and since all these creeds are proscribed, the Christian religion necessarily is banished from the hall of public education.

The objections which we have thus far stated, fellow citizens, ought to appear to you, in our opinion, as strong to you as they do to us. For though we may differ in our definition of the religion of Christ, still we all generally profess to believe, to revere it, as the foundation of moral virtue and of social happiness. Now we know of no fixed principle of infidelity, except in the *negation* of the Christian religion? The adherents of this principle may differ in other points of skepticism, but in rejecting Christianity they are united. Their confession of faith is a belief in the *negative* of Christianity—but they reject it *in toto*—whilst the Common School rejects it only in all its several parts, under the name of Sectarianism.

It is manifest, therefore, that the Public School System of the City of New York, is entirely favorable to the sectarianism of infidelity, and opposed only to that of positive Christianity. And is it your wish, fellow citizens, is it your wish more than ours, that infidelity should have a predominancy and advantages, in the public schools, which are denied to Christianity? Is it your wish that your children should be brought up under a system of education so called, which shall detach them from the Christian belief which you profess, whatever it may be—and prepare them for initiation into the mysteries of Fanny Wrightism, or any other scheme of infidelity which may come in their way? Are you willing that your children, educated at your expense, shall be educated on a principle *antagonist* to the Christian religion? that you shall have the toil and labor of cultivating the ground, and sowing the seed, in order that infidelity may reap the harvest.

With us it is matter of surprise that conscientious persons of all Christian denominations have not been struck with this bad feature of the system as understood by the Common Council. A new sectarianism antagonist to all *Christian* sects has been generated in, not the common schools, as the State originally understood the term, but in the *public* schools of the Public School Society; this new sectarianism is adopted by the Common Council of the City, and is supported, *to the exclusion of all others*, at the public expense. Have the conscientious Methodists, Episcopalians, Baptists, Lutherans, and others, no scruples of conscience at seeing their children, and the children of their poor brought up under this new sectarianism? It is not for us to say, but for ourselves we can speak. And we cannot be parties to such a system, except by legal compulsion and against conscience.

Let us not be mistaken. We do not deny to infidels for unbelief any rights to which any other citizen is entitled.

But we hold that the Common School System as it has been lately interpreted by the Common Council of the City, necessarily trans-

fers to the interest of infidel sectarianism, the advantages which are denied to Christian sectarianism of every kind. Again, let us not be misunderstood. We are opposed to the admission of sectarianism of any and of every kind, whether Christian or anti-Christian in the schools that are supported by the State.

But we hold also that, as far as the Commonwealth is concerned in the character of her future citizens, even the least perfect religion of Christian sectarianism would be better than no religion at all. And we hold that of all bad uses to which the public money can be perverted, among the worst would be the expending of it, in the shape of a bounty to education, for the spread and propogation of sectarian infidelity. Far be it from us to suppose that either the Legislature, Common Council or School Commissioners, ever intended such perversion. We hold, nevertheless, that the consequence which we have pointed out and the apprehension of which is one of the reasons why the Roman Catholics cannot conscientiously participate in the benefits of these schools, is necessary and inevitable.

The education which each denomination might under proper restraints and viligance give to its *own poor*, has passed and become a monopoly in the hands of "The Public School Society of New York." That corporation is in high and almost exclusive standing with the Common Council.

Now, the education which is imparted on the principles of the schools of that society, is, in our decided opinion, calculated from its defectiveness to disappoint the benevolent hope of legislative bounty, and to make bad and dangerous citizens. We all know that the belief of another world is ultimately at the base of all that is just and sacred in this. The love of God—the hope of future rewards—the dread of future punishment—one or all of these constitute and must be the foundation of conscience in the breast of every man.

When neither of them exists, conscience is but an idle word. Religion is but the development of these important truths, governing man by their internal influence on his passions and affections, regulating the order of his duties, to God, to his country, to his neighbor and himself. If they have their full force he will be a man of justice, probity and truth. And in proportion as such men are numerous in the Commonwealth, in the same proportion will the State enjoy security and happiness from within—honor and high estimation from without.

Now holding these truths as indisputable, we ask you, fellow citizens, to say whether this, not common, but Public School System, as it is now administered, under the interpretation of the Common Council, is calculated to raise up for your successors, in the State, men of this description; or rather, whether it does not promise you men of a different and diametrically opposite character? The Common Council makes it a condition, an essential one of those schools, that religion shall not "be taught, for this would be sectarianism." And thus the intellect is cultivated, if you please, but the

heart and moral character are left to their natural depravity and wildness. This is not education; and above all, this is not *the* education calculated to make good citizens.

Education cultivates all the faculties of the human soul, the WILL, as well as the understanding and memory.

The Public School System not only does NOT cultivate the will (for this can hardly be done without the aid of religion), but it almost emancipates the will, even in the tender age of childhood, in reference to the subject of religion itself. We have found in the hands of our children lessons setting forth, in substance, that, after all, *humane* feelings and actions are about the best religion.

In these schools, you give them knowledge, without the moderating principle which will direct its use, or prevent its being applied to the worst of purposes. What principle do you inculcate that will check the lie that is rising to their lips, or cause confusion on their brow when they have uttered it? None. Religion could accomplish this—but religion is excluded. If you tell them there is a God who will punish them, the Athiest father who thinks himself an honest man without God, and who thinks his own opinions good enough for his child, will appeal to the decision of the Common Council, and show that you violate the condition of the grant in favor of common schools, by speaking of God or anything sectarian. What principles of self restraint are inculcated in this spurious system of education, which leaves the WILL of the pupil to riot in the fierceness of unrestrained lusts? "Train up a child in the way in which he should walk, and when he is old he will not depart from it," is the maxim of one who judged of human nature with more than human penetration. But the Common Council has reversed it, and decided that the child will train up itself, provided you give it knowledge without religion.

Thus far, fellow-citizens, we have stated our objections to the present system of common school education, not as they affect us more than any other denomination of Christians.

We have stated them in view of the bearing which that system is likely to have on interests in which you are concerned as much as, or more, than ourselves, viz.: religion, morals, individual and social happiness, and the welfare of the State.

We believe it was the warning voice of the illustrious WASHINGTON, among the last solemn words of the patriot, breathed into the ear of his beloved country, to *beware* of the man who would inculcate morality *without religion.*

We now come to the statement of grievances which affect us in our civil and religious rights, as Roman Catholics.

Under the guarantee of liberty of conscience, we profess the religion which we believe to be true and pleasing to God.

We inherit it, many of us, from our persecuted fathers, for we are the sons of martyrs in the cause of religious freedom.

Our conscience obliges us to transmit it to our children.

A brief experience of the Public School System in the city of New

York convinced us that we could not discharge our conscientious duty to our offspring, if we allowed them to be brought up under the influence of the irreligious principles on which those schools are conducted, and to some of which we have already alluded. But besides these, there were other grounds of distrust and danger which soon forced on us the conclusion that the benefits of public education were not for *us*. Besides the introduction of the Holy Scriptures without note or comment, with the prevailing theory that from these even children are to get their notions of religion, contrary to our principles, there were in the class books of those schools false (as we believe) historical statements respecting the men and things of past times calculated to fill the minds of our children with errors of fact, and at the same time to excite in them prejudice against the religion of their parents and guardians. These passages were not considered as sectarian, inasmuch as they had been selected as mere reading lessons, and were not in *favor* of any particular sect, but merely *against* the Catholics. We feel it is unjust that such passages should be taught at all in schools, to the support of which we are contributors as well as others. But that such books should be put into the hands of *our own* children, and that in part at our own expense, was in our opinion unjust, unnatural, and at all events to us intolerable. Accordingly, through very great additional sacrifices, we have been obliged to provide schools, under our churches and elsewhere, in which to educate our children as our conscientious duty required. This we have done to the number of some thousands for several years past, during all of which time we have been obliged to pay taxes; and we feel it unjust and oppressive that whilst we educate our children, as well we contend as they would be at the public schools, we are denied our portion of the school fund, simply because we at the same time endeavor to train them up in principles of virtue and religion. This we feel to be unjust and unequal. For we pay taxes in proportion to our numbers, as other citizens. We are supposed to be from one hundred and fifty to two hundred thousand in the State.

And although most of us are poor, still the poorest man amongst us is obliged to pay taxes, from the sweat of his brow, in the rent of his room or little tenement. Is it not then hard and unjust that such a man cannot have the benefit of education for his child without sacrificing the rights of his religion and conscience? He sends his child to a school under the protection of his Church, in which these rights will be secure. But he has to support this school also. In Ireland he was compelled to support a church hostile to his religion, and here he is compelled to support schools in which his religion fares but little better, and to support his own school besides.

Is this state of things, fellow-citizens, and especially Americans, is this state of things worthy of *you*, worthy of our country, worthy of our just and glorious constitution? Put yourself in the poor man's place, and say whether you would not despise him if he did

not labor by every lawful means to emancipate himself from this bondage. He has to pay double taxation for the education of his child, one to the misinterpreted law of the land, and another to his conscience. He sees his child going to school with perhaps only the fragment of a worn-out book, thinly clad, and its bare feet on the frozen pavement; whereas, if he had his rights he could improve the clothing, he could get better books, and have his child better taught than it is possible in actual circumstances.

Nothing can be more false than some statements of our motives, which have been put forth against us.

It has been asserted that we seek our share of the school funds for the support and advance of our religion.

We beg to assure you with respect that we would scorn to support or advance our religion at any other than our own expense. But we are unwilling to pay taxes for the purpose of destroying our religion in the minds of our children. This points out the sole difference between what we seek and what some narrow-minded or misinformed journals have accused us of seeking.

If the public schools could have been constituted on a principle which would have secured a perfect NEUTRALITY of influence on the subject of religion, then we should have no reason to complain. But this has not been done, and we respectfully submit that it is impossible. The cold indifference with which it is required that all religion shall be treated in those schools—the Scriptures without note or comment—the selection of passages, as reading lessons, from Protestants and prejudiced authors, on points in which our creed is supposed to be involved—the comments of the teacher, of which the Commissioners cannot be cognizant—the school libraries, stuffed with sectarian works against us—form against our religion a combination of influences prejudicial to our religion, and to whose action it would be criminal in us to expose our children at such an age.

Such, fellow-citizens, is a statement of the reasons of our opposition to the public schools, and the unjust and unequal grievances of which we complain.

You can judge of our rights by your own. You cannot be expected to know our religion; many of you have, no doubt, strong prejudices against it, which we are fain to ascribe precisely to the circumstance of your not having had an opportunity to know it.

But notwithstanding your prejudices, and your disapproval of our faith, we have confidence in your high principles of justice, under the sanction of our common constitution, which secures equal religious and civil rights to all. Put yourselves in our situation, and say whether it is just, or equal, or constitutional, that whereas we are contributors to the public fund, we shall be excluded from our share of benefit in their expenditure, unless we submit to the arbitrary and irreligious conditions of the Common Council, and thereby violate our rights of conscience?

Our religion is dear to us; for in the hearts of many of us it is connected with the history of our fathers' sufferings, and our own.

Education is dear to us, for the tyrants who wished to enslave our ancestors and us, made it felony for the schoolmaster to come among us, unless he were the avowed enemy of our creed.

We seek for nothing but what we conceive to be our rights, and which can be granted without violating or abridging the principles of any other denomination or individual breathing. They may be refused as they have been. If they should, neither shall we yet suffer our children to receive the anti-religious education of the public schools, nor shall we kiss the hand that fixes a blot on the Constitution by oppressively denying our just claims.

What do we contend for? Simply that our children shall be educated apart from these influences. We CONTEND FOR LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE AND FREEDOM OF EDUCATION. We hold that the laws of nature, of religion, and the very Constitution of the country, secure to parents the right of superintending the education of their own children.

This right we contend for, but we have hitherto been obliged to exercise it under the unjust disadvantages of double taxation. If the State, considering our children as its own, grants money for their education, are we not entitled to our portion of it, when we perform the services which are required.

It appears not, according to the decisions of the Common Council, unless we send our children to schools in which our religious rights are to be violated, and our offspring qualified to pass over to the thickening ranks of infidelity. This shall not be; much as we dread ignorance, we dread this much more.

If justice were done us, we could increase the number of our teachers to a proportion corresponding with the number of children. We could improve our means of teaching; we could bring our children out of the damp basements of our Churches into the pure air of better localities. In a word, give us our just proportion of the Common School Fund, and if we do not give as good an education, *apart from religious instruction*, as is given in the public schools, to one third a larger number of children for the same money, we are willing to renounce our just claim. Let the proper authorities appoint any test of improvement that shall be general, and we shall abide by it. Neither do we desire that any children shall attend our schools, except those of our own communion; although so far as *we* are concerned they shall be open to all.

In a country like this it is the interest of all to protect the guaranteed rights of each. Should the professors of some weak or unpopular religion be oppressed to-day, the experiment may be repeated to-morrow on some other. Every successful attempt in that way will embolden the spirit of encroachment, and diminish the power of resistance; and in such an event the monopolizers of education, after having discharged the office of public tutor, may find it convenient to assume that of public preacher. The transition will not be found difficult or unnatural from the idea of a common school, to that of a common religion, from which, of course, in order to make

it popular, all Christian sectarianism will be carefully excluded. Resist the beginnings, is a wise maxim in the preservation of rights.

Should the American people ever stand by and tolerate the open and authoritative violation of their *Magna Charta*, then the Republic will have seen the end of its days of glory.

The friends of liberty throughout the civilized world will fold their hands in grief and despair. The tyrants of the earth will point to the flag which your fathers planted, and cry, Ha! ha! The nations from afar will gaze upon it, and behold with astonishment its bright stars faded and its stripes turned into scorpions.

After reading the address, the Right Rev. Prelate said, as he had had some connection with the drawing up of the address, it might be proper that he should mention some of the circumstances authorizing the language adopted in it. An idea appeared to prevail that because the schools to which a desire was manifested to compel them, as it were, to send their children, were called "public schools," they belonged to everybody. Now they spoke of a "public square" as of something that was public; and, in ordinary phraseology, "public schools" would be schools belonging to the State; but, if they conceived that idea of the public schools in question, they were mistaken. What belonged to the State belonged to the people of the State, and what belonged to the city belonged to the people of the city; but here these schools belonged to a private incorporated Society, and from the commencement they had changed their character as much as it was possible for them to change. For what purpose does the first charter of this incorporated Public School Society purport to have been given? They had read the language of the report drawn up by the Common Council, in which it was stated that anything sectarian or religious in the instruction given in a school was a disqualification, and cut off that school from all participation in the Common School Fund; but this was not the language of the charter by which the Public School Society was incorporated; for in that it was recited that it was given for the education of children belonging to no known denomination, and for implanting in their minds the principles of *religion* and morality. There was no dread of sectarianism then. From that time this Public School Society, thus incorporated, passed on, step by step, enlarging their powers, and becoming favorites with the State and City authorities, until this private incorporation took charge of the children—not of no known denomination, that they might be taught religion and morality, but of all classes, and upon a principle that operated to exclude religion altogether. It was not then without authority that the language of the address was so strong on this matter. The Common Council held the doctrine that the schools to be common-schools, should be open to all, and that those branches of education, and those only, should be taught which tend to fit youth for the ordinary occupations of life. They strip it of all religion, because religion has reference to a *future* state; and to make the system

common, they profess to provide for the education of Mohammedans and Jews, without violating religious belief. Well, but Catholics, as has been repeatedly and abundantly shown, could not send their children to those schools without violating their religious belief, and he thought they ought to have the privilege that was so bountifully provided for the Mohammedan. [Applause.] But notwithstanding the professions made, this system, so full is it of inconsistency as well as mischief, did not exclude religious teaching, for the Scriptures were read, and that was one form of religion, and many people thought it sufficient for all purposes. But all the teaching the State had in view, according to the construction of the Common Council, was confined to what would make man useful in this life; that is, make him an intellectual and mechanical *machine.* Now he did not understand that a man would not be equally well qualified to become a good mechanic, if he understood the Christian religion, or that to blend religion with his secular knowledge would disqualify him for usefulness in this life. [Applause.] Oh! but only get him to read Mr. Hume's chapter, entitled the "*Execution of Cranmer*," Dr. Robertson's "*Character of Martin Luther*," the little innocent story of "Phelim Maghee," and the "Irish Heart," and then he would make an excellent mechanic. [Laughter.] He had made these few observations merely to show that these schools did not belong to the public, in the common sense of the term, but to a private corporation which had received a vast deal of the public money, and still continued to receive it, while they who contributed that money were deprived of the benefits which the State intended it should confer, and they, in consequence, were obliged again to contribute to the education of their children in another form. [Great applause.[

The Right Rev. Bishop Hughes counseled them, while they joined to obtain their just demands in reference to this Common School System, to be good citizens in all the relations of life, and to be kind and charitable in the world, and thereby throw suspicion on the minds of even their enemies of the truth of the ridiculous and absurd tales told of them in the books which were now read in the Public Schools; but in the mean time let them withdraw their children from their bad influence. [Great applause.]

Meeting in the Basement of St. James' Church, August 24, 1840.

Pursuant to adjournment, another crowded meeting of Catholics was held in the basement of St. James' Church, James street, on the evening of Monday, August 24, on the subject of their claim to a portion of the Common School Fund for the education of their children. Mr. Gregory Dillon was called to the chair, and the

secretaries of previous meetings were re-elected. The minutes of the last meeting having been read and approved,

The Right Rev. Bishop HUGHES came forward to address the meeting, and was most enthusiastically received. He commenced by observing that it might not be unadvisable to remind the meeting, which consisted of persons deeply interested in the question before them, of the true principles which the question involved, of the extent to which their claim reached, and of the limit by which it was and ought to be bounded, for they appeared to be peculiarly unfortunate in making themselves understood when they come before the public to vindicate even one of the simplest rights belonging to the citizens of this country; they were peculiarly unfortunate in having their motives misrepresented and their intentions not charitably construed. This, however, was greatly less the case at the present time than heretofore; nevertheless, even now there had been published in newspapers of this city statements of circumstances in regard to their proceedings which had never occurred, to his knowledge, and to which the meeting would also find themselves strangers. [Applause.] Certainly, they were not of much importance; but as there was much credulity abroad, and as everything which went forth to their disparagement from their opponents could not be contradicted in writing, for which few of them could find the time, it became necessary, on an occasion like the present, to avail themselves of the opportunity to give utterance to their disavowal. [Applause.]

In the *Journal of Commerce* of that morning there was a writer who acknowledged himself to be a teacher in a public school, and that gentleman appeared to be highly offended with them for language and proceedings which he attributed to them in the progress of that work. Now many of those then present had heard him (the Right Rev. Prelate) and others speak there from the first hour to the present, and they had not heard one uncharitable, one unkind, one disrespectful word respecting the character or the motives of any person connected with the Common School System. They had made and did make a broad distinction between the system of Common School education, in connection with its necessary results, and the private characters of the parties who administered it, and the standing of those who were its special protectors. This gentleman said that they (the Catholics) say in amount that the persons connected with the Common School System are all infidels. But who ever said such a thing? Did they ever say that infidelity was taught in those schools? Never; but they did say that the conductors of the Common Schools *profess* to exclude everything sectarian, and that this they could not do if they would; and should not, if they could; for if they did, there would be the absence of everything like Christianity, and there would consequently be nothing remaining but what they (the Catholics) call infidelity. Those schools would teach children the mathematics, but not a word about God; and what would that be but practical infidelity? What

would be their creed but that which knows not God? Now this they believed would be the result of the system, though not the intention of its managers. They (the Catholics) would respect their intentions, though they knew them not; and they therefore could only meet them on the ground which they had themselves chosen to occupy, judge of them by their own professions and by the documents which they had given to the world, and on a comparison with the results which were unavoidable; then say whether the Public School System, if it could have any influence, was not hostile to Christianity, and, consequently, infidel. [Applause.] He did not pretend to say that this was intended, but that it would be the result. He did not say that the boys, because they attended those schools, would necessarily become infidels; but if not, no thanks to that school system, but to the teaching of the parents at home; to the knowledge, and piety and anxious solicitude of parents, and to their pastors too [applause]—for which the system was entitled to no credit. [Renewed applause.]

But there were other remarks made by the *Churchman*. Now that was the paper of a very respectable denomination—the Episcopal—and it did not quarrel with the arguments; it did not dispute the grounds on which their claim was based, but, half sidling for and half sidling against them, it concluded by observing that it was not so much surprised at the nature of the claim itself as at the *boldness* with which it was put forward. [Laughter.] He should like to know if, in this country, this *Churchman* would like to see, or expected, that they would creep when they came to demand a right; or whether in a country and under a Constitution which treated all men as equal, and respected all men alike, they should not stand *straight up* and say what they wanted—their claim being couched in respectful language, which should not entitle it to the charge of "boldness." [Applause.] But there had been nothing in their proceedings to justify the charge of boldness; there had been no presumption; and this the *Churchman* ought to know. In the United States, Catholics are not obliged to recognize "Canterbury high, Sir." [Great applause.]

Having made these remarks, he would call the attention of the meeting to another subject. When the application was made to the Common Council, it appeared by the case, as submitted to the public, that the Common Council sat as jurors, that the Catholics appeared as opposed to the Common School Society, and stated that they could not in their consciences send their children to these schools, and that advocates, as representatives of the Public School Society, appeared to oppose them, and determined that Catholics *could* in their consciences send their children to them. Now he (the Bishop) understood that, in this country, one man had not the right to say what, in conscience, another man could do; and if he did so, that it was an assumption of a prerogative that was not his. Those advocates, too, set forth a statement in contradiction of those made by the Catholics, and of some which they had not advanced, in

which they asserted that there was nothing in their books which Catholics might not permit their children to read, that there was nothing in them hostile to the Catholic religion, nor anything that could prejudice against it the minds of Catholic children. Yet had they not heard chapter after chapter, and page after page, which they would not allow their children to read? Had they not heard the chapter by Mr. Hume, on the *Execution of Cranmer;* and the *Character of Martin Luther*, by Dr. Robertson; and other chapters from Presbyterian clergymen; and on subjects too which deeply involved their religious faith, and which they could not conscientiously and religiously allow their children to read? [Applause.] Now, with their permission, he would draw their attention to some passages in the report of the committee of the Common Council; he would merely allude to some few principal points, for it was too long to be read at length. They set forth that Catholics made such and such objections to the existing system, and that they were contradicted by the Superintendents of the Public Schools; and then they came to what they regarded as the vital part of the question. They say as follows: "The questions to which the committee have directed their attention are as follows: First, Have the Common Council of this city, under the existing laws relative to common schools in the city of New York, a legal right to appropriate any portion of the school fund to religious corporations?" Now, with great deference, he did not conceive that that was the case at all. He should like to know from the venerable chairman of their previous meetings, whether he and those who accompanied him went to the Common Council to ask for money for a religious corporation? That was not the question, he (the Bishop) contended positively; but this and this only was the question which that committee should have asked themselves: whether the Common Council, under a law of the State, should impose a tax on the people, and not allow them the equivalent intended by law for which it was imposed, in return. That was the true question [applause]; and he declared to the meeting that if any person had asked for money, in the name of Catholics, for "a religious corporation," he would have been the first to refuse it. They wanted no money for religious corporations. Their religion they wished to support, and they wished all other men to have the same privilege, *by their own free choice, and in no other way.* [Applause.]

The next question which the committee ask—and it is as a corollary of the other—is, "Would the exercise of such power be in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution and the nature of our government?" Now, what child would not be able to make an argument on that? Why that was an incorrect issue, and was not the question at all. The real question was this: "Have any portion of the citizens of this State been subject to a law which compels them to pay a tax, and have the benefits, for which it was intended, been so returned to them that their religious consciences would be violated in their acceptance?" [Applause.] That is the question.

The committee could have no difficulty in proving that "religious corporations" were not the proper recipients. True, the trustees of the Catholic churches might be considered as the citizens of that communion, but he disclaimed the application to the Common Council on other grounds than as American citizens claiming the rights of conscience and the liberty to educate their own children. Religion was entirely a private matter. If the conductors of the public schools would see that our children were educated under the Public School System and discipline—whether Lancasterian or otherwise—they (the Catholics) cared nothing about it; but they wanted their children, without injury to conscience, to have their share of the benefits from taxes which they had contributed. Now, of all things calculated to spoil the merits of a question, an incorrect statement of it had the most power to do so. If the state of the question as to its real issue were erroneous, they could not arrive at just conclusions; and if the issue were false, all arguments in its support would fall to the ground. But these gentlemen, in their report to the Common Council, with wonderful energy, had almost proved that it would be a union of Church and State; and so it would, if what they stated were correct. While the advocates of the Public School Society were asserting that there was nothing in the books to which Catholics could object, he would appeal to the meeting whether they had not seen page after page which showed clearly the evils that would result from such a system. [Applause.] But the gentlemen go on to show in that committee's report the history and the progress of the question, and what the law was. He (the Bishop) should not go through the whole facts with them, nor into the inquiry whether a certain Baptist church was guilty of peculation; he should confine himself to the evils of this system, and to the inquiry whether Catholics got their rights, and by and by he would show them some further extracts from the books, and show that the managers of the Public Schools could not, or at least should not, but know that the books contained passages reflecting on the Catholic religion, and consequently that they were unfit to put into the hands of their children. After setting forth the evils of sectarianism, they proceed in their report to say: "To prevent, in our day and country, the recurrence of scenes so abhorrent to every principle of justice, humanity, and right, the Constitution of the United States and of the several States have declared, in some form or other, that there should be no establishment of religion by law." Precisely what we wish. "That the affairs of the State should be kept entirely distinct from, and unconnected with, those of the church; that every human being should worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience;" and yet they will not allow us to do so; "that all churches and religions should be supported by voluntary contribution; and that no tax should ever be imposed for the benefit of any denomination of religion, for any cause or under any pretence whatever." Just as if you wanted the Common Council to pay your church dues or pew rent. [Laughter.]

Now Catholics did not want this money for their own benefit, but for the benefit of those to whom the law appropriated it, and without violating the rights of conscience, which they were told the Constitution secured to them. They then passed on to the observation, that "An appropriation of any portion of that sum to the support of schools, in which the religious tenets of any sect are taught to any extent, would be a legal establishment of one denomination of religion over another." Now let them not be misunderstood. Catholics did not wish to teach religion in those schools; but when they taught their children to read, instead of giving them, as a reading lesson, Hume's chapter on the "*Execution of Cranmer*," they thought they could give them a better chapter out of Lingard, respecting the struggle of the English barons and bishops on the one hand, and the English king on the other, when the great charter of liberty was secured. That would be a better lesson, too, than Dr. Robertson's *Life of Luther*. And here, again, they were told, after the observation about the "legal establishment of one denomination of religion over the other," that this "would conflict with all the principles and purposes of our free institutions, and would violate the very letter of that part of our Constitution which so emphatically declares that 'the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, *without discrimination or preference*, shall for ever be allowed, in this State, to all mankind.'" Why, here again the committee were laboring with a phantom of their own invention, unless the gentlemen who waited upon the Council asked for money to help the Church.

Mr. O'Connor. No, sir, I believe not.

The Bishop. Then it was the working of their own imagination, and with all respect for these gentlemen, for they quote the law fairly; but when they supposed the law, as quoted, applied to them (the Catholics), they reversed the position of the Catholics. Finally, "In this opinion your committee hope the Board, the petitioners, and the public will concur;" that is, when they say it ought not to be given. "The question is one of that character which appeals to the liveliest feelings of our nature, and one which is too apt to create excitement and jealousy." Not if it was properly understood and fairly discussed; for he believed the public mind in this country, at least, the high and generous portion of it, would not allow any man's civil or religious rights to be encroached upon without any pretext whatever. "They conclude by expressing the hope that the petitioners, upon a full examination of the question, will perceive that the granting of their petition would be at least of doubtful legality, foreign to the design of the School Fund, and at variance with the spirit of our public institutions." Then it followed that the support of a public institution required that their consciences and their freedom should be violated. And who would contend for that?

In the commencement he had stated that it appeared the representatives of the public schools had contradicted the statement of

Catholics, that their books contained lessons that reflected on Catholics. Now they had read several passages at previous meetings, of which they were all able to judge; but he would take one or two other brief passages, and he should like to see whether those gentlemen would again stand before the Common Council and say that the books contained nothing against Catholics. In "Putnam's Sequel," page 296 of the Appendix, they had a note on Luther, which said, "Luther, the great reformer, was, at first, a Benedictine monk." Now, he was not, for he was an Augustinian. [Laughter.] "He lived toward the close of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries. The cause of learning, of religion, and of civil liberty, is indebted to him more than to any other man since the apostles." Well that was a matter of opinion; but at all events there should be excepted Erasmus, who *was* a scholar, though a priest like himself. He was first led away, though he never doubted the Catholic faith, by popular abuses, which he thought could be removed; but he was devoted to literature, and he deplored the Reformation precisely on the ground that it would throw back the progress of literature a hundred years. Here letters were reviving, men were devoting themselves to the study of antiquity, and here, he complained, there was nothing but broils and polemical disputations, and literature was neglected. Whether Luther was such a friend to literature, he (the Bishop) knew not. But here was another passage, on "John Huss," of whom it said, "John Huss, a zealous reformer from *Popery*, who lived in Bohemia towards the close of the fourteenth, and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries. He was bold and persevering; but, at length, trusting himself to the *deceitful Catholics*, he was by them brought to trial, condemned as a heretic, and burnt at the stake." Now these are lessons for the instruction of your children, and yet gentlemen go to the Common Council and tell them these books contain nothing against Catholics. Now, besides the injury done to their children, let him observe that he did not conceive, even if Catholic children were separated from those schools, while they were supported at the public expense, that passages like these, which were calculated to fix a settled prejudice in the mind of one class of fellow-citizens against another, were in accordance with the spirit of their constitution, or those high and holy principles which religion taught them; nor could they be of advantage in an enlightened system of public education. Give to Catholics their proportion of this fund, and they might search their books from one end to the other, and however much they might insist on the truth of their own religion, there would not be found a single passage calculated to implant in the minds of their children a single contemptuous thought of any man or body of men in the United States. But he was surprised that the Public School Society, because they taught no doctrine from any specific text, while they introduced page after page such as he had read, should appear before the public authorities and claim the money which Catholics conceived to be due to them, and deprive them of their rights secured to them by

law, on the ground that there was nothing sectarian in their books. And he was equally surprised that the gentlemen should feel hurt at that which they ascribed to the system, and not to the men connected with it, though they had said that Catholics could send their children to these schools without any violation of conscience—that there was nothing that could possibly give offence—and he would ask them how this could be reconciled with the specimens he had quoted. But there was another ground. He was surprised that that Society should think it was their interest to compel all children learning to read, to learn under *their* exclusive patronage. He thought the intention of the State was that every child in the Commonwealth should be educated, and not that his religious rights and his conscience or those of his parents should be violated. He would concede to the Public School System, with all due respect, and nothing more, that which it was entitled to; but that Society thought it was exclusively entitled to not only what was appropriated to it, but also to hinder Catholics from obtaining their rights, which was sacred and indisputable. And why was it he felt so surprised? It was this; this Public School Society was not at any time from its orign the representative of the State, but merely a private corporation; its trustees were not elected by the voice of the people; but they were a society composed of members who were qualified by contribution, or otherwise became members by election within their own body. [Hear, hear.] Before they existed as a society, provision was made for the education of the children, and there was no turmoil, there was no civil war; there were none of the terrible consequences and evils which appeared now to be anticipated if the claim of the Catholics should be conceded. Then education was amply provided; each school had its own children; each party took care of its own rights, which they thought sacred, and everything went on in perfect harmony and for the good of the whole. And when this Public School Society was formed, it was formed with a laudable purpose, with a name at its head which shone among the brightest on the page of American history—De Witt Clinton. [Applause.] The gentlemen forming that society saw a number of surplus neglected children apparently with no one to take care of them, and they proposed to take care of the children for whom nobody cared before. Their object was pure, and benevolent, and patriotic; and accordingly in the very first charter of this society, which however has since repeatedly changed its name, the object was stated to be—"the education of the children of persons in indigent circumstances, and who do not belong to, or are not provided for, by any religious society." In that charter there was nothing said about excluding sectarianism: nothing of the sort; but when they go before the Legislature. they go before a Christian legislature, and no doubt they were Christians themselves and men of good motive. After the first paragraph in their act of incorporation, the second begins—"And whereas the said persons have presented a petition to the Legislature setting forth the BENEFITS which

would result to society from the education of such children, *by implanting in their minds the principles of religion and morality*, and by assisting their parents to provide suitable situations for them, where habits of industry and virtue may be acquired, and that it would enable them more effectually *to accomplish the benevolent objects of their institution*, if the association were incorporated." And this same Society which was originally instituted to implant in the minds of children "the principles of religion and morality," now came out against Catholics and said, if they gave children such instruction they were not entitled to any benefit from the Public School Fund [hear, hear], and they have not only said so, but from the period of the misapplication of the funds by one society being detected, the part which related to religious societies before, was altered by law. Until that time, every society had *the right* to go before the Corporation and demand its share; but from that time they were deprived of the right *to demand* it, but a discretion was given to the Common Council; as though the Legislature had said, "here is abuse; if it is connected with that system let it be abolished; but we leave the Common Council of New York to determine what schools shall be entitled to the money;" and after that arrangement between the Legislature and the Common Council, they each (Christian denomination) apparently gave up to the system, and so it had gone on. But up to this time other societies had been receiving the money, and there was nothing in their institutions or schools to disqualify them; for they would observe that they were called either "institutions or schools," and either were proper for the exercise of the discretion of the Common Council; but while the Common Council would exercise this discretion, behold these gentlemen, who were originally incorporated for the giving of religious instruction and implanting of moral principles, step between Catholics and the Corporation and say, "No; because you teach your children religion you are not entitled to it." Now it was a matter of discretion with the Common Council; there was certainly not a single provision that stood in the way of such a just and fair interpretation; and when the obstacles already alluded to were put in the way, they (the Public School Society) were receiving their portion for the same purpose. And after all what was this incorporation but a private incorporation like any other; not one certainly to dictate to the whole of New York. It was instituted for a specific purpose, useful and honorable in itself; and he had no doubt that those gentlemen's best wishes were for the extension of their system of education; but they ought not to force it on Catholics; it was not modest in them to do so, nor to send advocates to the Common Council to plead against the rights of Catholics when they were but a private corporation themselves. If they had represented the whole State and had obtained a "patent-general" he should have respected them and their opposition; but their act of incorporation was private, and they had never been able to raise it to more than that. But he would show a little of its history by an abstract of its several acts

of incorporation. Originally, it seemed, it was the smallest of all, but like Pharaoh's lean kine, it had eaten up all the rest. In 1805 it was incorporated by the name of "A Society instituted in the city of New York for the establishment of a Free School, for the education of poor children, who do not belong to, or are not provided for by any religious society." In 1808 its power was extended to *any* poor or destitute children, and its name was changed to that of "The Free School Society of New York." Here in three years after its origin was the first extension of its powers, though there were several intermediate acts swelling its privileges. The enactment was in these words: "The name of the said corporation shall be, and hereby is, changed, and that it shall in future be denominated, 'The Free School Society of New York,' and that its powers shall extend to all children, who are proper objects of a gratuitous education.'"

Now there was something worthy of notice in the last name assumed, that of "Public Schools," with which they were authorized by another act of the Legislature of 1826, to label these schools, "Public School Society of New York!" as though they belonged to the State, whereas the schools belonged but to the Society itself, according to their charter. It was to be observed that this Society claimed, and he did not pretend to deny their claim to, patriotic intentions and good motives, but if their good intentions conflicted with the rights of Catholics it could not be expected that Catholics would submit to their good "intentions." Thus this Society had gone on, and it had received aid to erect its public schools, and in another act they were authorized to receive payment from the parents of scholars, and yet were not to be deprived on that account of a corresponding portion of the public fund; so that they could receive pay from the parent and yet count the child in the number of those for whom they received payment from the State. No doubt they wished the poor to attend those schools: the schools were intended for all, but principally for the poor, whose parents were not able to give them a good education; but they were now attended by the children of such respectable citizens that the children of the poor, in their mean robes and unseemly garments, were often ashamed to appear in such genteel company. Well, then those schools received certain specific appropriations, they then might receive payment from the parents of children attending and did receive from the State for the same children; and yet they came in and interposed between Catholics and this money which *they* wanted for the education of their own poor children who could not be educated at those schools without violating the sacred rights of American citizens. [Applause.] It was unnecessary for him to enlarge much further. He had no want of respect for the Public School Society, but it was vain in them to say that Catholics impeached their motives, or that when Catholics objected to the system they objected to *them* personally. Catholics could not certainly recognize in them the power of the State; and with such documents and books as those he had referred to they could not submit to the system notwithstanding

the Public School Society could see nothing in it objectionable to Catholics. The question was a simple one and did not require much deep investigation of facts to determine what should be the issue. Enough was seen before this discussion commenced in the sacrifices of the poor Catholics—for they were comparatively poor—to make room under their churches for the education of their children (while they were paying taxes like other citizens) apart from the instruction which taught them of the "deceitful Catholics" who burnt persons at the stake. This proved that it was no affectation on the part of Catholics, but that their consciences prompted them to make sacrifices to multiply schools—to take into their own hands the burden of giving an education to children, imperfect as it must be, with their means, to 3,000, 4,000, or 8,000 children at a double expense. For they first paid to the State, but seeing the advantages come back so diluted, they paid a second time to secure education without insult to their religious faith. It was conscience then and not affectation which prompted them to do this, and whatever might be the result with the proper authorities one thing was certain, that with those schools, so constituted, Catholics could have no communion. [Applause.] If, according to the spirit of legislation on this subject, their proportion of this money was set apart in a manner that Catholics could avail themselves of it, they would accept it with gratitude: if they would give them a place to educate their children in, or if they would even organize their schools, they should be satisfied. To the system, that is, the machinery of the system of education, Catholics did not object; and they should give proof that they wished no opportunity to peculate, nor should be guilty if they had, of peculation of these funds. Let them give to Catholics their own books, and they would be content if the minds of their children were not poisoned against the faith of their fathers, for which for ages those fathers had been ready to die. [Applause.] If this were done Catholics would be grateful, but in their gratitude they should tell those gentlemen that it was nothing more than that to which they were entitled. [Hear, hear.] But if this should be refused, they would but be still as they are at present; and many of them were not strangers to inequality and oppression which would strive to make them less than their fellow-citizens. But let it come to this that either they would have the benefit of education according to their religious convictions, or that those refusing it should say, "you shall not, and for no other reason but because you are Catholics." That should be the ultimate issue; let the question be reduced down to that; and if the day was at hand when the public authorities of America would offer such violence to conscience, and debar them of their rights as citizens, then they might despair of the Republic. But he had no apprehensions of that kind. As he had said before, several times, whatever might be the misconception or the want of information or wrong information or prejudice on the subject—making allowance for all this—there was running through the public mind a vein, a rich vein of public equity which would not allow the

Catholics thus to be deprived of their rights. [Applause.] But still he was not surprised at the misrepresentations of the *Journal of Commerce* and of the *Churchman*, or any other paper. It was surprising that there was not more misrepresentation, when they considered the way their fellow-citizens were taught, and when they reflected that they were brought up at the same literary table where they imbibed with their aliment a prejudice which an acquaintance with Catholics for life, of men honorable and high minded, was scarcely able to destroy. What remained for them was simply to persevere—with moderation and dignity, but with a firmness worthy of their standing in the American community—persevering with great moderation, but at the same time with great dignity and great firmness, narrowing the question down until the two issues he had mentioned presented themselves alone, and they obtained that of which hitherto they had been denied. [Applause.] Yes, this was the course that was left for them. He himself had no objection if the whole Public School Society were there to hear all he had to say; for in all he had said in either public or private, as far as he remembered, he always separated men from things—he always separated the men connected with this school system from that which was the legitimate subject of criticism. He had therefore separated the public school and the teachers, but when they sent books of this description, and when Catholics contended for their rights on Christian principles, they were told there was no cause of complaint, justice required that they should animadvert on the subject so far as was necessary to vindicate themselves, but no further. He knew that was not the place to enter upon the truth or falsehood of the lesson on "John Huss." They knew the crime for which he suffered; it had been on the statute books for more than six hundred years, as far back as Justinian even. It was a barbarous, a cruel punishment; but if so, the gentlemen should have known that it was not Catholics that inflicted it but the law of the empire to which he was subject. He might mention that he had the opportunity once to meet a Protestant gentleman in an assembly as large as this; that when he pressed him for proof he had none to give: and when he went further and brought the case of John Huss, not from a Catholic but from a Presbyterian writer who wrote the history of the Council of Constance, the Catholics were acquitted and the Emperor alone was implicated, because it was believed he betrayed Huss, to whom it was supposed he had given a free pass. But L'Enfant tells us that before Huss went to the Council the Emperor told him if the Council pronounced his doctrines heresy, and he did not retract, he must suffer the penalty of the law, and he (the Emperor) would be the first to apply the torch. But they might as well attempt to run the stream of Niagara back as to tell this. This was shown, however, in the presence of a Presbyterian clergyman. It was printed and published in the report of that discussion, and to the present time he has had not one word to say on the subject. He repeated, this was not the place to bring up things of this kind, but

what must be his feelings when he saw such things in these school books, and this barbing of the arrow against the Catholic religion, when he knew they were not true. Even if true they should not be put into the hands of children; nor should Catholics if they taught their own children let them read as a lesson a chapter on the burning of Michael Servetus by Calvin. If these things were true they should not be admitted, for it was not right to prejudice one class against another. But when they saw these things in the books of the public schools it was not surprising that they spoke with emphasis, or, as the *Churchman* has it, that they should be a little bold. [Great applause.]

Mr. MULLEN rose and said: "Mr. Chairman, I move a vote of thanks to the Editor of the *Freeman's Journal* for the trouble he has gone to, and expense he has incurred, in publishing an "*Extra*," containing the Address, and for the uniform interest he has taken in this cause from the commencement." A gentleman, who sat in front of the Bishop, said that if a vote of thanks was passed, it was first due to the Bishop for his untiring exertions.

The BISHOP rose and said: "I will offer a simple observation on this subject; certainly, Mr. White, the Editor of the *Freeman's Journal*, is entitled to a vote of thanks, and I think it worthy of the gentleman who has proposed it; but at the same time there are so many who may be entitled to the same distinction, in one form or another, that perhaps it might be thought a little invidious if one should be selected and another not. I am sure Mr. White will feel highly rewarded by the consciousness that he has been at all instrumental in helping the cause forward, and at a later period, when we have approached nearer to the accomplishment of our wishes, the opportunity may present itself for such compliments. But at the same time, while I acknowledge the kindness and the propriety of feeling which dictated it, at this moment I think it would be better to omit it. Mr. White, you know, is a Catholic like ourselves and feels the interest that we all feel, and if you commence this, the first vote will perhaps be due to the Editor of a daily paper in this city who is not a Catholic, but who has had the spirit and sense of justice to come out in our favor. [Applause.] But even in this case I should not be for moving a vote of thanks, for I am sure he was actuated by a sense of public duty, and in that consciousness he will feel his reward. We should not be ungrateful, but for the present I would suggest the propriety of withdrawing the motion."

Mr. MULLEN. Mr. White has gone to great expense in publishing an *Extra* and has ably advocated our cause, for which he is entitled to our thanks; but I consent to withdraw the motion. [Applause.]

LETTER OF BISHOP HUGHES TO THE EVENING POST.

THE following letter of the Right Reverend Bishop Hughes was written in answer to an anonymous communication addressed to him, which appeared it the *Evening Post*, signed "An Irish Catholic," slandering the motives of the Catholics, and charging the Bishop with being the *dupe* of one of the political parties of the day:

MR. EDITOR: Your correspondent who signs himself "An Irish Catholic," and dedicates his homily to me by name, must be a very inconsistent man. He must know that thousands of the children of poor Catholic parents are growing up without education, simply because the law as interpreted and administrated under the Public School Society, requires a violation of their rights of conscience. The number of such children may be from nine to twelve thousand. Of these the Catholics, by bearing a double taxation, educate four or five thousand; a few hundred have attended the Public Schools; and the rest may be considered as receiving only such education as is afforded in the streets of New York.

Now I should think that an "Irish Catholic" should see in this state of things quite enough to excite my pastoral solicitude for the spiritual and moral condition of the people committed to my charge. In the part which I have taken in the matter, I am only discharging a conscientious duty.

But it appears that your correspondent understands my duty better than I do, and that I am only the well-meaning *dupe* of a "Whig club in disguise," notwithstanding the "great abilities" which he is pleased to ascribe to me. When I returned to this city, I found the Catholics broken up and divided, thanks to the interference of such men as your correspondent. Now, happily, that the question has been relieved from all the dead weight of politicians of either side, they are united. We exclude politics from our deliberations, as carefully as religion is excluded from the Public Schools. We are composed of all parties in politics; but as the topic is never introduced nor alluded to, there is no occasion for disagreement. We meet to understand the injuries which we are compelled to suffer, and to seek for their removal. Among the sufferers are men of both parties—among those who would perpetuate the injuries, are men of both parties—and our object is to seek justice from just and upright men, who will comprehend our grievances, without distinction of party.

But it appears that the Catholics are to rest satisfied with whatever injustice may be inflicted on them, lest their complaining should be construed into a "political purpose." If so, there remains nothing for them but to endure in silence. Is that what this "Irish Catholic" requires? The Catholics are divided in their politics; it is their right to be so. But on the question of public education, in the city of New York, there is not a Catholic who is acquainted with the subject, and deserving the name, who is not of the same mind. I doubt much whether your correspondent is one of the number.

He is extremely liberal of imputations against the Catholics for preferring what he admits to be their "rightful claims." But he has forgotten to get any respectable voucher to endorse the purity of *his* motives in opposing them. He calls one of the parties into which the country is divided "our natural enemies." I do not know what such expressions mean in the slang of politicians, but there is no class of enemies of whom the Catholics should be more on their guard than of such as would traffic on their creed and country in order to get their votes—men who in periods of political excitement become more Irish than the Irish themselves, and more orthodox than the Church; whilst to both they are little less than a permanent scandal at all other seasons. Can your correspondent show me a certificate from any pastor of New York, that he has complied with his religious duties as a Catholic within the last seven years? He is a political Catholic, just as Lelande, although an atheist, professed himself a Catholic atheist.

Now I charge upon your correspondent the attempt to defeat those claims which he acknowledges to be just. And yet he is apprehensive, forsooth, that I shall narrow the sphere of my usefulness by supporting those just claims, and doing so without giving any opportunities for political demagogues of either party to carry divisions into our union. Let him not be uneasy. If he be an "Irish Catholic," his communication proves that he must have become very "enlightened" since he arrived in this country. The manual of politics must have superseded the Council of Trent in his mind.

He is not even a good reasoner, nor in my mind a clever politician. He acknowledges the claims of the Catholics to be just, and yet he denominates their efforts in urging those claims a "pious fraud." He knows that the Catholic public are unanimous in their determination to prosecute their "rightful claims," and yet he asserts that they will receive from the Catholic public (*i. e.* themselves) "that contempt which they deserve."

Even the party which he affects to support cannot escape the havoc of his hasty logic. He tells us that our better hope of justice will be from his party, "when in power," as if nothing but power was wanting, when they refused those claims last spring. They had the power and refused to exercise it. What more could our "natural enemies" do? But I will save him from the consequences of his

vicious reasoning by observing that the Common Council, in consequence of not understanding our claims as they should have been set forth and understood, made a false issue—and refused what we do not ask, viz., public money for Catholic education. I believe that had they understood our grievance simply as they exist, they would have come to a different conclusion. Consequently, in connection with the subject of Public School Education, it is not necessary for any Catholic to change his political party, although they are free to do so if they choose.

I regret exceedingly, Mr. Editor, to be obliged to trespass upon the limits of your valuable paper, or to appear before the public in reply to a correspondent who conceals his name, and adopts a signature of which, in the present instance, I believe him to be altogether unworthy. I have had no connection with political parties—I shall have none. They are much less important in my mind than the salvation of one child from spiritual and moral ruin. I see thousands of the children of our poor Catholics exposed to both; and I appeal to just, and humane, and patriotic men of all parties, to aid me in effecting their rescue.

It could not be, therefore, without much pain that I saw my name pinnacled at the head of a political appeal by a partisan in politics, who professes by his signature to be a member of my flock. I look upon it as an attack upon me, as an attack upon the efforts of the Catholic body to secure their rights of education to the children, without prejudice to the dearer rights of conscience. Let your correspondent or any other respectable person write over his own signature, and not as a political partisan, and I am prepared to meet him on the whole question. But as for anonymous attacks, I hope the present communication will relieve me from the necessity of noticing them in future.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

✠ JOHN HUGHES,
Bishop, Coadjutor and Administrator
of New York.

New York, September 3, 1840.

Meeting in the Basement of St. James' Church, September 7, 1840.

On Monday, the 7th September, the largest and most numerously attended meeting of the Catholics which had yet been held on the subject of Common School Education, convened in the basement of St. James' Church. The meeting having been called to order, Thomas O'Connor, Esq., was unanimously elected to preside over their deliberations, and the secretaries appointed on former occasions were again re-elected to that office. After the minutes of the last

meeting had been read and approved, the Right Rev. Dr. Hughes rose and was received with great and enthusiastic cheering.

After the plaudits had subsided the Bishop proposed to the meeting, for their adoption, two resolutions designed for the regulation of their proceedings in discussing the important subject which had called them together. The object of the resolutions, he said, was to recognize the propriety of adhering strictly, in all remarks that should be offered to the meeting, to the question before them, and to induce gentlemen who should favor the meeting with the expression of their sentiments, to give to the subject that careful consideration which its importance required.

The resolutions were then proposed and unanimously adopted; and the Bishop continued. All present, he said, would at once understand the peculiar propriety, if not necessity, which existed for the adoption of these resolutions; narrowly watched as their movements were on all sides by many who were ready to pervert whatever might be said, and to impeach the purity of their motives and intentions, a more than ordinary degree of circumspection was necessary. In other places, and at meetings held for the discussion of other questions of public concern, a greater degree of latitude was allowed, and so strict a scrutiny of whatever might fall from gentlemen in the excitement of public speaking was not instituted—but if any person at our meetings, continued the Bishop, should make a slip, or inadvertently say anything that was susceptible of misrepresentation, it was immediately seized upon. Our meetings here, although not political meetings, are yet composed of persons of every variety of political opinion. But these political opinions are all repressed here; they are not suffered to influence the conduct or sentiments of any one, although they are not abandoned nor laid aside. A man cannot lay down his opinions on entering this room, as he would lay down his coat. He carries his feelings and his opinions with him; they form part of his identity, but they are not allowed to influence him on this subject. Our meetings are not then political; we meet for the purpose of examining and investigating this important subject; for the purpose of extracting light that we may see, and understand, and be enabled to vindicate our rights. Neither should it be wondered at by political men that we should assemble here to discuss the question of our rights, and that we should complain of our grievances. They need not be astonished when they witness it. If they tickle us we must laugh—if they bruise us we must complain; when a cause exists they must look for the effect, and need not be surprised to find it. And of all considerations that can press anxiously upon the public mind, the present system of education in the Public Schools of this city is the most important, both as it regards the present and the future welfare of those who are subjected to its influence. It is my intention this evening to review this subject briefly.

What is the question, Mr. President, which presents itself to us on examining this subject?

The State of New York, for the purpose of improving the moral and intellectual condition of the people, has appropriated a certain fund for effecting that object; some one who has professed to understand the law, has declared that it was intended to aid in diffusing the threefold blessings of religion, morality, and education. But by the present Public School System in this city, two of these ends are set at naught. That system does not indeed say in express terms that it is opposed to religion—it only declares that it is opposed to sectarianism. But sectarianism in this country means the whole body of Christianity. By the Constitution there can be no established religion, but all sects are held alike, and the general body of Christians is made up of all those sects, and when you exclude the sects or sectarianism you exclude Christianity. The object of this law was to aid in the inculcation of religion; but as it is now interpreted to mean religion without sectarianism, it operates, as I have shown, to exclude that for which it was professed to be established; it excludes the two prior ends for the attainment of which it was designed—religion and morality—for religion forms the whole basis of the moral character, and without it education is but a dry and barren gift—good for nothing—and worse still, being often, as we daily see, only a source of ignominy and deeper shame. Here, then, is the position in which we are placed. We are required to submit to a system which in fact promotes irreligion. But the Constitution forbids the teaching of irreligion by the State as positively as it forbids the teaching of any creed of sectarianism. It is as great a violation of the Constitution and of the sacred rights of conscience, which it guarantees to all alike, to support irreligion, as it is to support any particular Christian creed. But by the management and the theory now recognized by the public authorities, a state of things is brought about in which we see a great overgrown monopoly, a false monopoly—grasping at all the public money—assuming to itself the exclusive right to control and direct popular instruction—dealing out education according to its own notions—setting parents and guardians, and all who have a natural or moral right to interfere in the question of the education of their children, at naught—and all upon the bold pretense that the religious tendency of other systems is a disqualification for them to claim a share in the business of public education. From beginning to end this is their argument, in fact, that religion is a disqualification, and that the absence of religion in their system qualifies them to become the exclusive teachers of the youth of the country—to acquire a monopoly of all the rights and privileges of public instructors.

And now, sir, I have some public documents connected with this subject, to which I will call your attention. The first of these is the "Report of the Commissioners of School Money, for the Year 1840," ordered to be printed and placed on file by the Board of Aldermen of this city, on July 27, 1840.

After a very meagre statement of the proceedings, for a whole year, of the institutions subject to their supervision, we come to

the concluding part of their report, where we find the following:

"The Commissioners, in closing this report, refer with satisfaction to the recent decision of the Board of Assistants, by which a renewal of ecclesiastical connections with the Common School System in this city has been unanimously denied."

Pray, what "ecclesiastical connections?" asked the Bishop; I know of none that were sought for or desired; I have heard of none. But it answered a purpose to use these terms. The odium of foreign ecclesiastical connections upon the city authorities would, if it could be fastened upon the Catholics, go far towards defeating their just claims. They asked to be allowed to participate without violating their sacred rights of conscience in the benefits of this public fund towards which they had contributed, and they are on the instant accused of seeking to impose upon the State "ecclesiastical connections," and an appeal is thus made against them to unworthy prejudices by their opponents, instead of reposing themselves upon the eternal rock of Truth, and looking to the polar star of Justice as their guide in this important matter.

No; they prefer to invent an imaginary case in order to ground upon it an appeal to popular prejudice; for I have never yet heard or understood that the gentlemen who presented themselves before the Common Council on behalf of the Catholics, sought for any money for ecclesiastical purposes, for any ecclesiastical connection. ["Never, sir!" exclaimed some of the gentlemen referred to.] How can they then—how can these Commissioners, continued the Bishop, talk of an ecclesiastical connection which was never asked for nor desired—which was never contemplated, nor ever entered into any person's mind but their own—which never at least entered into the mind of a single Catholic on this subject? But to proceed with their report:

"Without adverting to inflexible political maxims, which forbid such an union, the Commissioners believe that practically it would be offensive to the public feeling."

Not to justice, exclaimed the Bishop, no—but "public feeling!" They will not speak the truth, and declare that we are a people with eight or ten thousand children deprived of education for which we have paid our money into the public treasury, and from the benefits of which those children are excluded because we will not outrage our consciences. No, they will not say this, because this would not help their system, nor justify their conduct with the public; they will not advert to the principles of truth or justice or inflexible political maxims, but to public feeling—to prejudices; and if they can make out that the Catholics want an ecclesiastical connection, these popular prejudices are excited and their favorite system sustained.

Here the Bishop again read from the report:

"Without adverting to inflexible political maxims which forbid such an union,

the Commissioners believe that practically it would be offensive to the public feeling; unequal in its benefit to the various religious denominations; and destructive, perhaps, to the cause, now so flourishing, of free and general education."

How can they, said the Bishop, call it FREE, where ten thousand of the children of the city are excluded, by the bad principles involved in this Public School System, from a participation of the benefits which it would confer if wisely administered?

The Bishop then continued from the report:

"Should the school moneys be dispensed among the seminaries, the first qualification of whose teachers is sectarian orthodoxy, and wherein prescribed forms are inculcated, to which the assent of no entire neighborhood within the city could be expected,—"

I have not heard, said the Bishop, that any such distribution of the school moneys was proposed or asked for; but how these advocates of the Public School Society have lived by sectarianism—which seems to be the beginning and the end and the whole burthen of all that they can say in commendation of themselves! We are no friends of sectarianism. But it is not the business of the State to interfere with it. Every man has a political right to be a sectarian; and if we begin by excluding sectarian teaching from the Public Schools, by and by the same authority may creep into the Church, and exclude all sectarianism there. Every man has a right to freedom of conscience, to sectarianism, if they please to call it so. And it is against this freedom of conscience that this Public School Society are arraying themselves, taking from us our money, and forcing upon us a system of education at which our consciences revolt. [Great applause.]

But to return to the Commissioners.

—"it is to be feared," they say, "that such a distribution would be regarded as inconsistent with the *common rights* which the present scheme of public instruction professes to secure."

How anxious they are! They raise up a fabric of dangerous designs that had no existence but in their own imagination, and then make a display of their public zeal by denouncing it. Why did they not look at the reality, and tell the Common Council that it was a grievance for Catholics to pay taxes for the support of a common system of education, and then to be excluded from that system and obliged to pay again for the education of their own poor? But no, instead of that, they make out an imaginary case in order to justify the course which they have pursued, and waste their paper in describing dangers which were no where to be seen. But I have repeatedly shown that this sectarianism is nothing else than Christianity, and that therefore the exclusion of it is the exclusion of Christianity. If this is not the design of those who have the distribution of this public fund, if they are sincere in their professions of regard for religion, and that they desire that the youthful mind of the country should be imbued with its spirit, why require the public moneys to be given to the support of a system that can only

aid in producing subjects for infidelity, already so rampant in the land.

I know, sir, of the case of an individual, he was one who lived long, and who carried with him in his mind but one single idea, that was the idea of the length and breadth of a dollar. And by turning that one idea over and over, he doubled and multiplied it, and when in his old age he died, he died worth fifteen millions of dollars. That man was Stephen Girard, of Philadelphia. He made a will and appropriated a large portion of his wealth to the education of orphans. In that will there is a clause of a genius so similar to the spirit of our Public School Society, that one would suppose they had both derived their philosophy from the same source. I will read it for you—I have the entire will here with me. This is the clause:

"Secondly, *I enjoin and require that no ecclesiastical missionary or minister of any sect whatsoever shall ever hold or exercise any station whatsoever in the said college; nor shall any such person ever be admitted for any purpose, or as a visitor, within the premises appropriated to the purposes of the said college.* In making this restriction I do not mean to cast any reflection upon any sect or person whatsoever; but as there is such a multitude of sects, and such a diversity of opinion amongst them, I desire to keep the tender minds of the orphans [Oh, the merciful Stephen Girard!] who are to derive advantage from this bequest, free from the excitement which clashing doctrines and sectarian controversy are so apt to produce."

Almost a copy word for word of the doctrines of our Public School Society; only that as Stephen Girard is dead some eight or ten years, and must have made his will before he died, we might doubt which of them, Stephen or the Public School Society, was entitled to the credit of originality in this rigid and pertinacious exclusion of all *sectarianism* from their system of education. [Laughter.] But the will continues:

"My desire is that all the instructors and teachers in the college shall take pains to instill into the minds of the scholars *the purest principles of morality*,"—

Just as the gentlemen of the Public School say. But where will you get morality when you exclude religion?

—"so that on their entrance into life they may *from inclination and habit* evince *benevolence towards their fellow creatures* and *a love of truth, sobriety, and industry*, adopting at the same time such religious tenets as their *matured reason* may enable them to prefer."

That is, said the Bishop, regarding the mind of the pupil just as you would a machine, which when once set in motion would continue on without change or cessation, that would be so long accustomed to turn on one particular cog that it would continue to do so for ever after. [Laughter.]

I know, sir, of no parallel to the course of our Public School Society but this individual instance of Stephen Girard. But the parallel does not hold good throughout. It fails in one important point. There was this difference, that if he had his own peculiar notions of education, Stephen paid the expenses out of his own pocket. [Great laughter and applause.] If he was cruel to the unhappy orphan and

wished to deprive him of the blessings of a religious education, he was willing, so far as pecuniary considerations were involved, to be himself the victim of his experiment. But these gentlemen require *you* to pay for the infliction upon you of the evils of *their* system. They demand to be made the exclusive recipients of the public money; that it shall all be handed over to them, and that they shall be allowed to give you in return just such a system of education as they shall be pleased to provide, no matter how it may conflict with your rights or your consciences. [Great applause.]

I will now offer some remarks upon some other public documents connected with this subject which I have with me this evening.

In document No. 80, of the records or proceedings of the Common Council, is contained the Report of the Committee of the Common Council, to whom the claims of the Catholics to a portion of the Common School Fund was referred. In this Report the Committee draw a distinction between the name "Incorporated Religious Societies," who under the old law had an absolute right to the fund, and the term "societies," as used in the Revised Statutes, and come to the conclusion that a religious incorporated society is not a "society," within the meaning of the new law. But we will not be particular about terms, and if they will deny it to us as a "Society," they are still authorized to grant a share of the public fund to "Institutions or Schools," and Catholic schools can certainly, equally with others, be embraced under one of those terms.

The Committee also take up the objections made by the Catholics to the present administration of the Common School System and attempt a reply to them.

"It is urged," say the Committee, "on the part of the Catholic petitioners that they, as tax-payers, contribute to the fund thus annually raised, and that they are thus entitled to participate in its benefits. This is undoubtedly true, but it should be borne in mind, that they are taxed not as members of the Roman Catholic Church, but as citizens of the State of New York."

That is, said the Bishop, we are citizens when they come to us to gather the taxes, but we are Roman Catholics when we look for a share of the fund thus contributed. [Tremendous applause.] I am at a loss to learn the grounds of this distinction. That we were citizens so long as we had taxes to pay was not denied; but when we seek to participate in the fund, with all their best efforts they could only see one thing, that we were Roman Catholics. But we tell them now that we want this money as citizens. We are Catholics, it is true, and the Constitution gives us a right to be what we are, and as citizens we come and ask for our rights in this matter. But the whole proceeding on their part has been designed to baffle and put us off. To use a homely expression, they have only been throwing dust in the eyes of the public. What is it but throwing dust, teaching all who are interested, that we are looking for the public money to support religion, when we would be amongst the very first to resist such an application of those moneys.

There is another point in relation to this Report; and it is one of

humiliation when I consider that the disingenuousness to which I refer could enter into the minds or plans of the high-minded gentlemen who framed the Report. It is entitled "The Report of the Committee on Arts and Sciences and Schools, on the petition of the officers and members of the Roman Catholic and other churches in the city of New York, for an apportionment of school moneys to the schools attached to said churches." Now, said the Bishop, with the exception of the trustees of the Scotch Presbyterian Church and the Hebrew congregations in Crosby and Elm streets, there was no church in the city of New York that petitioned the Common Council on the subject. They sent in no petitions. They sent remonstrances, however, against the claim of the Catholics, saying in effect to the Common Council: if you grant to these the Catholic petitioners what they claim, you will be run down with applications. And even the Hebrews and the Scotch Presbyterian Church who profess to claim a portion of the fund do not directly petition for it. The Committee should not therefore call them petitions, but should class them where they properly belong, with the remonstrances, for as such they were intended to operate. Do I find these alleged petitioners complaining of the present system? They say: "Your memorialists *had not thought* of asking that any portion of the Common School Fund might be directed from its present channels of disbursement." What is this but an admission, an implied declaration, that such a diversion of the fund from its present channel would be improper, and the whole is designed to impress upon the Common Council the recollection that if the Catholic demand was granted other claimants would arise; for this purpose these petitions were sent in and intended to be used, and in that respect they are more effective than the remonstrances which they appear designed to co-operate with. I do not say that such was the design, but such is the effect in point of fact. "They had not thought," they say, "of asking that any portion of the Common School Fund should be directed from its present channels of disbursement." Why then petition unless to discredit the Catholics? Here again, following up the same idea: "But understanding that the trustees of the Catholic Schools of this city have asked for a part of said fund, if your honorable body shall determine to grant their request and thus establish the principle that this fund though raised by general tax may be appropriated to *church or sectarian schools*, then your memorialists respectfully but earnestly contend that they are entitled to a ratable portion thereof."

We do not, said the Bishop, want this money for church or sectarian schools. We merely want to educate our children without instilling poisonous matter into their minds.

(The Bishop here read the conclusion of the Petition of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, praying that they may be allowed to draw on the school fund for the children taught at their schools; and also the petition of the Hebrew Congregation of a similar tenor, praying for a portion of the fund, "*provided* the Common Council should de-

termine to appropriate it *with reference to religious faith.*") These two petitions, then, continued the Bishop, the only ones praying in any manner for a portion of the fund, are, in fact, prayers against our rights—remonstrances—and should be classed with them. They do not allege that they want the fund or that they are suffering any grievance—but they caution as it were the Common Council against granting the relief we ask, as, in that event, they will also demand a share.

All these gentlemen seem to think that we are very difficult to please; and they particularly urge that if we press our claims, the present system of public education will be broken up. But I have a simple answer to these objections. The schools are not as sacred as conscience. The Constitution secures the right of conscience to parent and child, but is silent on the rights of Common Schools. There is then this answer to the argument which they draw from the dangers to which the prosecution of our claim exposes the Common School System. But we have another answer. Every other denomination seems entirely satisfied with the present system. But we are not satisfied with it. It is not one that we ever can be satisfied with. I shall show you presently that all who have sent in remonstrances against our rights approve of the present Public School System.

The first on the list of remonstrances against our rights which we have in this document No. 80, is "The Remonstrance of the Trustees of the Public School Society;" they of course approve of their own system, and after stating their objections to our claim, they conclude by saying, that their Executive Committee will present a remonstrance more in detail. And in this remonstrance of the Executive Committee which I have also here, are some allegations that require a passing comment. They state there that the objections of the Catholics to the Public Schools are not "on account of any religious doctrines taught in them, but because the peculiar doctrines of the Church of Rome are not taught therein; and they now ask (the remonstrance adds) for a portion of the public money, in order that these doctrines may be taught in connection with the kind of instruction for which these moneys were raised." In the preceding paragraphs are the following statements: "The managers of these schools (the Catholic schools), having what they might deem higher and more important objects in view, in the inculcation of religious creeds or dogmas, could scarcely fail to neglect the literary for the religious culture of the children's minds. If it be urged that the Catholic schools are open to all, without distinction as to religious sect, your remonstrants reply that this fact only enhances the objection to granting the prayer of their petition; which then virtually is *that they may be enabled to gain proselytes at the public expense.*"

First they object to us that if we should be enabled to establish schools for the education of the Catholic children, we would teach our Catechism in them. And then if we reply that our schools are open to all, they charge us with a scheme for making proselytes at

the public expense. On what data do these gentlemen predicate these calumnious statements? We do not want nor ask for the public money to enable us to teach any religious doctrines. The assertion is a calumny for which no foundation can be discovered. [Great applause.]

And now we come to the Methodists.

The members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, after stating in their remonstrance their objections to the grant of the Catholic application, add:

"Your memorialists wish to be understood distinctly to declare their increased confidence in, and approval of, the policy of appropriating the Public School money to the Public Schools only, and therefore remonstrate most decidedly against granting the petition of the Trustees of the Roman Catholic Schools, which, in their estimation, would be a perversion of the Public School Fund."

Here we find the Methodists expressing their confidence in the Public School System.

We have, then, the remonstrance of William Holmes and sixty-one other citizens, protesting against the diversion of the Public School Fund from its present channel. Next comes the remonstrance of the "East Broome street Baptist Church," in which they express their belief "that the present popular and highly efficient Public Schools are better calculated to promote the education of the rising generation than it could be done if entrusted to the great diversity of religious sects into which the people are divided."

"Lockwood Smith, and two hundred and nine other citizens," also remonstrate; reiterating the groundless assertion that the Catholics want the public funds to aid them in educating their children according to their religious faith.

No, that is not what we want; but simply that our children shall not be taught that Catholics are "deceitful."

There is, then, no reason for the Public School Society to apprehend danger from the opposition of other denominations. The Baptists—the Methodists—Mr. Lockwood Smith and two hundred and nine others—all approve of the present distribution of the public fund. They have full confidence in the present system. Let them. We have none, and have no reason to.

We have here, too, the remonstrance of the "Reformed Protestant Dutch Church," which I must not pass over; for you all know that some leading persons in that church are the most gentlemanly, polite, charitable, kind and conciliatory characters imaginable, whenever they treat of us or of our religion. [Laughter.] Well, these gentlemen, too, declare in their remonstrance their unqualified approval of the present administration of the Common School Fund. But in referring to our application, they make some further observations.

"We believe," they say, "it is the only instance in which any society of professed Christians *has ventured to invite* the public authorities in so open a manner to forget or disregard that fundamental principle of our civil compact, '*free toleration of all religious denom-*

inations, special and exclusive privileges to none,' and has boldly solicited that their private and sectarian interests may be taken under the fostering care of this State."

According to the principles of this remonstrance, then, said the Bishop, it is necessary, for the existence of free toleration, to tax you for the support of schools from which you must either derive no benefit, or allow your children's religious feelings and principles to be perverted. For this is the alternative that the present system imposes upon Catholics, and it is to be relieved from this injustice that they ask, and not, as is untruly charged, to violate any principles of free toleration.

In the same manner with those I have read do all the remonstrances proceed, approving fully of the present appropriation of the public funds.

There are no grounds, then, for the pretended alarm for the prosperity of the public schools; or that the costly public structures which they have raised will become worthless. Every denomination besides the Catholics appears to be satisfied with the present system, and from among those who have this confidence enough will be found to fill their schools.

But those gentlemen go too far in their opposition: they place it on grounds that cannot be sustained; they go too far for the law; and even if the law bears them out, they go too far; for if any law of the State of New York operates either to compel a violation of our consciences, or to deprive us of the benefit of taxation, it is not constitutional. There is in the Constitution no principle that can justify coercion of conscience; and against this injustice we will appeal to the end. We cannot be worse than we are now. We are paying now for a system from which we receive nothing in return. When I speak of paying, I do not speak of men who live in three-story houses; for we all pay, the poor as well as the rich—the poor man in the labor which he contributes—not only he who owns or occupies a house, but every one who boards in a house pays for the support of this system. We cannot be worse than we are. We have striven for years to provide a substitute for those schools from which we are excluded, and we cannot be reduced to a worse extremity. They say to us, We throw open our schools; why do you not enter? But if, instead of learning truth, our children are stultified by false history, are open doors a compensation for such a result? Yes, take their books, and when your child has read them through from first to last, what does he know of Catholics? Nothing; hardly knows that such a people existed, except when killing Cranmer, or when reading of Luther as the greatest character of the age; or about Huss being burned by those "deceitful Catholics."

But if they choose to represent Cranmer as a saint, or a martyr, they must not force their opinion of his character upon us. Scholars—men who have studied and know what the truth of history is—know that, so far from being a saint or a worthy character, he was

(at least in our opinion, and in this country we have a right to our opinion) one of the greatest hypocrites. In discussing this matter, gentlemen will say to me, "Bishop, do not press your rights too strenuously; it will only excite prejudices which you know exist on the subject." Yes, they will deplore those prejudices, and yet they will put into the hands of the children of the public the very sources from which these prejudices are derived. They will tell me, "Oh, you know how prejudiced the public mind is;" but if they put into the hands of the youth of this country the false history of Cranmer, and others like it, what can they expect will be the result but a prejudiced public? When they bring forward passages, for the instruction of children, from Beattie, Robertson, Hume, how will children come out from such schools? as if they thought that Catholics had no existence—did not know their own history. I speak of historical learning particularly. In the schools they must have works to exercise and inform the minds of children: but why always select those which convey the worst meaning? *We* have some recollections. Catholics have had a *past*—a glorious past; they have had a history—one from which might be drawn ample lessons of virtue, and wisdom, and patriotism; and instead of selecting from false and prejudiced writers, they might as well have gone back and extracted some portions of Catholic history—something of Catholic achievements—something of Catholic inventions and discoveries. We should not then witness the depressing effect which the repetition of all those slanderous tales against Catholics produces on the young Catholic mind. Have you not observed it yourselves? Have you not seen the young Catholic, whose mind has been filled with these calumnies, half ashamed, when he enters the world, of his Catholic name and his Catholic associates, regarding them often as an inferior, worthless set? and how often has he selected a different class of companions, merely from the servile influence of these prejudices! But if we were allowed our rights, and permitted to draw from the treasures of Catholic knowledge, how different would be the result! Our children might then have their minds imbued with a knowledge of all that their Catholic fathers had done? they would then know that almost all the inventions and discoveries which have ennobled the history of the modern world are the productions of Catholic genius or enterprise; the invention of printing—that greatest and most powerful means in the dissemination of knowledge; the post-office; the Sabbath-school, on which they so much pride themselves, and which is the fruit of the benevolence and piety of a Catholic Archbishop—the sainted Borromeo; the newspaper or gazette; the telescope; the mariner's compass; the discovery of this great continent; all associated with Catholic names and Catholic genius. And to pass from the material world to the world of mind and morals, we will find there the same abundant store of Catholic associations with which to fill the mind of the Catholic child, and teach him to look upon himself and those from whom he has derived his name, with respect and honest pride.

If you would let them have an idea of what there is great or excellent in the Constitution of England, only tell them to take away all that is Catholic, and what will remain? Take it all, and what will be left but poor-laws, and poor-houses, and two or three similar institutions. Such would be the result of a Catholic education. But, deprived of our rights, we can only expect to see two classes —one educated, deriving benefits from a fund to which we have a rightful claim, but from which we are excluded; one class able to devise the means for their elevation; the other uneducated, depressed and degraded; one composed of mechanics, men of knowledge and enterprise; the other left to carry the water and hew the wood, without any means for improving their state except what the poor Catholics can themselves provide. And all this because we will not send our children where they will be trained up without religion; lose respect for their parents and the faith of their fathers, and come out little philosophers, turning up their noses at the name of Catholic, and ashamed of what they are in truth too ignorant to respect or comprehend. Never was there a more cruel injustice than this system entails upon us, but I am willing to believe that it is an injustice of which those who inflict it do not know the full extent.

If the Public School Society would remove the objections of which we complain; if they will not allow bad books or anti-Catholic influences to operate in their system, we should gladly send our children to partake of its benefits; provided advantage be not taken of the humility of their state, and that it will not be as I have known it once, when a child came home from one of these schools abashed, and saying that he could not again attend where all were dressed in their fine clothes and ridiculed his rags and poverty. We have no objection that these gentlemen themselves should take the whole management of the instruction into their hands, provided it be done without the accompanying violations of conscience of which we complain. But I shall press this subject upon those who have the right and the authority to relieve us. I will reduce them to the necessity of admitting the justice of our claims, whether the relief is granted or not. We shall take away every pretext from them which they now use to deprive our children of the rights which a benevolent country has provided for them. Our consciences may appear to them to be singularly sensitive. But what subject is there of greater interest? At the death-bed of the parent what is there that excites in his breast a more keen and anxious solicitude than that his child should remain true and faithful to his religion; and if such is the anxiety of the dying parent, what must be the feelings of the living? But these sacred feelings of the parent are disregarded in this Public School System, and they treat us like the orphans of Stephen Girard. But with the difference which I have before noticed, that in this case the money which they waste in the experiment is ours. But so long as the system remains unreformed, they shall not, they may rely on it, have Catholic children to practice upon.

In the Report of the School Commissioners for the past year there is one thing I am sorry to see—the small number educated by the Public School Society with the large means at their disposal during that period. It is stated there that they educated 13,189 children, while we educated at our own expense one-third of that number; and while we were also obliged to swell their fund. They received from the public fund $115,799 42, during the past year, and yet, while we at our own cost educated one-third as many children as they have done, they come in and remonstrate against our receiving any portion of the public money to which we had contributed. They may tell me it is zeal for the cause of general education that actuates them; but I assert that, with zeal and good management, a much larger number of children might have been educated with the same means than this Report shows. They say they have but one end in view—the public good; but being as they are such large recipients of the public bounty, they should not be the first to step between us and the public councils. They do not comprehend their own position. They do not believe that they are all this time swelling the tide of irreligion. They allege this, and therefore I do not discredit their motives; still, they are not infallible nor impeccable. And I do not see but that, with all their love for power, grasping for the public money, and stepping in to defeat the application of rightful claimants, there may be more that is earthy and fallible in their motives than they admit even perhaps to themselves. But however this may be, one thing is certain, that while the system remains unchanged there can be no more connection on the part of Catholics with the Public Schools.

They pretend that the law cut off all religious societies. But the law did not cut them off. It only moderated the right to demand a portion of the fund. It left it discretionary with the Common Council to grant or to refuse the money. It did not disqualify religious societies from becoming recipients of the public fund. I have examined this question carefully and as well as my numerous other engagements would permit, and I am entirely satisfied that no Catholic can conscientiously allow his child to attend those schools as at present constituted.

While in the popular efforts at reform a hue and cry has been raised against monopolies, there has been gradually a monopoly of mind established; taking it, too, in its most tender and susceptible period; and this monopoly is one which should be guarded against with the utmost jealousy. The duty which it assumes belongs of right to the parent and the citizen, and it is the last which should be given up. If parents had delegated the right, it could not be more authoritatively used than it is now by this monopoly. But the right has not been delegated. It is a self-elected public instructor whose members are chosen within themselves on the principles of the close borough system. And against this monopoly and its spirit of encroachment we must never cease to direct our most anxious attention.

The adversaries of our claims will seldom now dispute the fact of the existence of our grievances. But they will bid us look to public feeling; they will appeal to prejudices which they say are arrayed against us. But I have no alarm. All denominations they say will be leagued against us. If we ask for anything unjust, we might feel apprehensive. But if we make the justice of our case clear, if we clear away the mist which these documents and other similar misstatements have created, my confidence is unshaken that their sense of public justice will make even our opponents themselves accede to our just and temperate demands.

The Right Rev. Prelate here closed his address, throughout the delivery of which he was repeatedly applauded in the most enthusiastic manner, and he sat down amid loud and long-continued cheering.

When several other speakers had addressed the meeting, the Bishop rose and said, that in their present position in relation to this question additional measures should be taken to insure the success of their cause. They must promote it now not by speaking alone, and he would propose that some means of approaching the Common Council should be devised; that a committee be appointed for devising some mode of ascertaining whether the Common Council are still disposed to persevere in denying to the Catholics their rights; that mode might be either by petition or in some other form. The Legislature had not denied to religious societies the right to receive a portion of the Common School Fund. By the alteration which had been made in the old law the *obligation* to distribute a portion of the fund among the religious incorporated societies had ceased, but the discretion to make such a distribution where it would be reasonable to do so was still left. The law does not state that a school connected with a church should not receive a share of the fund. There is no such disqualification imposed, and consequently a discretion is still left to the Common Council to make such a school one of the recipients, when a proper case should arise. It is objected that the Catholics cannot bring themselves within the meaning of any of the terms used in the recent laws. But let this verbiage be put away; let them call it schools or societies, they are certainly one or the other. The law never designed that the Common Council should indulge caprice or whim; but, when they found a just or reasonable ground for the application, they should grant it.

This committee might arrange the Executive part of the business, said the Bishop, so that while we talk and while we write (for it may yet be necessary to write much on this subject) we shall also take some more definite action in the matter. I will therefore move that a committee of five be appointed for the purpose I have indicated. I will suggest that, in order to guard against any imputation of political partiality, two gentlemen of the committee be selected from each of the leading political parties. [Great applause.]

The Bishop's motion being seconded, was then put to the meeting by the chairman and carried unanimously, and the following gentlemen were appointed members of the committee: Rt. Rev. Dr. Hughes, Thomas O'Connor, Dr. Sweeney, James W. McKeon, and James Kelley.

Meeting in the Basement of St. James's Church, September 21, 1840.

On Monday evening, September 21, the Catholics again met in great numbers in the basement of St. James's Church, to receive the report of the committee appointed at the previous meeting to prepare a memorial to the Common Council on the subject of their claim to a portion of the Common School Fund for the education of Catholic children. The Right Rev. Bishop Hughes was present and was received with a warm and affectionate greeting on his entrance. The Very Rev. Dr. Power was also cordially welcomed as he entered the place of meeting, accompanied by a large body of clerical and lay gentlemen, after an absence of some months from the city for the restoration of his health. At the time appointed for the commencement of proceedings Thomas O'Connor, Esq., was again called to the chair, Gregory Dillon, Esq., was chosen Vice-President, and the secretaries of former meetings were re-appointed Mr. B. O'Conner, one of the secretaries, read the minutes of the last meeting, and they were approved and adopted. Mr. James W. McKeon then rose and said that the committee appointed at the last meeting to prepare a memorial to the city authorities had discharged the duty assigned to them, and were ready to make their report. He therefore moved that the Right Rev. Bishop Hughes, the chairman of the committee, be respectfully requested to read the memorial which the committee had prepared. The motion having been carried by acclamation, the Right Rev. Bishop Hughes came forward and read the memorial, which was a most able and interesting document.

On the motion of Mr. Gallagher, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted, and another committee, consisting of Thomas O'Connor, Esq., Dr. Hugh Sweeney, James W. McKeon, Esq., and J. Kelley, Esq., were appointed to proceed at once to present the memorial to the Board of Aldermen which was then in council. In the absence of the chairman on this mission as one of the committee appointed for that purpose, the vice-president became the chairman of the meeting, but he requested the aid of the Very Rev. Dr. Power, who took the chair amidst loud acclamation. A motion was then made that the Petition just read, be printed and published as containing an able, lucid, and clear exposition of the whole question, and the grounds on which the claims of

the Catholics rested, and that by so doing it would prevent a garbled statement of its contents going before the public. But on the suggestion of Bishop Hughes that it might be showing a want of proper courtesy on their part, to do so before publication by order of the Common Council, the motion was withdrawn.*

After Dr. Power had addressed the meeting, the Right Rev. Bishop Hughes presented himself, and was received with great applause. He said he had mentioned, some time ago, that he had understood that a reply, which usually meant an attempt at refutation, was being prepared by the Trustees of the Public Schools. Happening to allude to it one evening, he had ventured to turn prophet and say that it would be no reply in the sense of a refutation, and that prophecy was fulfilled in the document in his hand. He said then there would be no meeting and grappling with the facts and arguments of the Address, and he now found that instead there was an appeal to public opinion! They had the idea that the *prejudices* of the community were with them, and that consequently they could dispense with the trouble of contending with facts and arguments at all; and to get the "weather guage," as the sailor would say, they introduce in the first paragraph the old phrase about "Church and State," and they represent the Catholic Address as a new appeal for a portion of the School Fund for the support of their *church-schools*, as schools in which nothing but the catechism was taught from morning to night. He trusted now, that the language of their Petition would make it clear, for they had been reduced to the necessity of telling them what they did *not* petition for. [Applause.]

Well, after the introduction, which was the making their bow to the prejudices of the community, they come to a proposition at which he was startled; the proposition was in these words: "It is proper, therefore, that the allegations contained in the Address of the Roman Catholics, be either admitted or refuted." Bravo, said he [laughter], now you talk like men. In the next sentence they said, "They are of a grave and serious character"—that they were [applause]—"and such as should, if true, justly deprive the Trustees of the confidence which has been so long reposed in them. *But they are not true.*" And that—"But they are not true"—was all the refutation they gave. After that they might look in vain and they would not find a single fact in their Address disproved; but they proceed to administer to that disreputable prejudice on which they calculated with so much certainty. And as they had furnished no ground of review, as they had taken up no point of the Address, as they had not refuted any of its facts or reasonings, of course he was dispensed from the necessity of going over all they had said, and he should therefore merely go over some portions of it, more for the purpose of passing the evening than for any other purpose. Well, they take advantage of this public prejudice; then they state what they are charged

* This Petition is given on page 102.

with, and they add the significant words "But we forbear." [Laughter.] They say of the books, though, afterwards—they are brought a little to their senses and cry *peccavi*—they do say they have had wrong books in the schools. This they acknowledge. But they say "The reading-books used in the Public Schools are the same as those used in private schools of a similar grade, in which children of various religious persuasions, including those of our more wealthy fellow citizens of the Roman Catholic Church, are educated." And pray was it an approval of those books because some of their "more wealthy fellow citizens of the Roman Catholic Church" allowed their children to be educated where they were used. No; but they submitted to it. But it would seem that the spirit of Proselytism, and the device of meeting the children at the threshold, had become general. They attacked the young mind, knowing that they could not convert the grown-up Catholic in whose mind their holy and divine faith was well established. [Applause.] But if Catholics had allowed their children to attend schools where these books were used it did not follow that they approved of them. Again they say "many of them contain the best, most sublime and impressive essays on morals and religion that can be found in the English language," —that is, they being the judges,—"and are calculated to impress on the young mind a belief in the existence of God"—what a long creed that is!—[laughter]—"the immortality of the soul"—why, Plato believed that!—and a future state of rewards and punishments. "They picture vice in its naked deformity, and present virtue in her most pleasing and attractive colors." And this is the answer they give to the Address of the Catholics; and then, by way of showing what excellent institutions these Public Schools are—for they have not a high test of their moral influence—they say, "Let the records of our criminal courts, our prisons, and the receptacles of those who by reason of 'rioting in the fierceness of unrestrained lusts,' have become a public charge, be examined with reference to the effect of our system of education on the mind and morals, as compared with any other system, and the result will be found highly favorable to the Public Schools." That is to say, if the scholars do not find themselves forthwith in the Penitentiary, the system is not so bad! But we should expect something better. He had said so to the Trustees, and he violated no confidence by the disclosure—[laughter]—he had told them that though the scholars educated in those schools were not the persons most frequently found in the criminal jails, he was able to prove, so far as such a matter was susceptible of proof, that the exclusiveness and the spirit of monopoly in that body of men, and the consequent exclusion of so many from means of education, was the cause why others do go to the Penitentiary. The children of the poor who did not go to those schools were not allowed by the prevailing exclusiveness in the Trustees to be educated out of their "shop;" they were consequently left uneducated and unrestrained; they were left to form bad acquaintances by whom they became corrupted, and they corrupters in their turn. The cause was in the ex-

clusiveness of those men who would not allow them to have teachers in whom they had confidence. [Applause.]

Here they refer to a chapter entitled "Sunday Morning," which he read at a previous meeting from one of those school books; and of all chapters they thought this was selected with the least judgment. They would recollect it was a story of a father and his son passing on the Sunday morning through the churches of the different denominations, and after entering a Catholic place of worship and remarking on every one of the Catholic congregation dipping his finger in holy water and crossing himself as he went in, they wound up that sincerity was the true spirit; or in other words that it made no difference what they believed—whether Quaker, Baptist, Episcopalian, Unitarian, Methodist, or Roman Catholic—provided they raised the man who fell in the street; or provided one raised him, and another applied a smelling-bottle to his nose, and another ran for a surgeon, and another attended to his wife and children, it was no matter what their religious creed was. [Laughter.] Now this had been before commented on in a newspaper paragraph, and in a leisure half hour he wrote an answer, and to put it to the test he asked in that letter that some Christian minister in New York should be got to endorse that chapter from the pulpit, and no one could be found to do it. Now there was a very powerful answer or refutation—for it was to be observed that they lay down the rule that what they don't refute was to be admitted—they meet one of the charges of objections of Catholics in the following manner: "They say that they could not discharge their conscientious duty to their offspring if they allowed them to be brought up under the irreligious principles on which the Public Schools are conducted"—and observe they profess to exclude all sectarianism, and if they do they exclude all Christianity, and the system must be irreligious. Having quoted those words, they give this answer: "And while they ask of the State the means of supporting their schools, that they may train up their children 'in principles of virtue and religion,' they assure the public that they would scorn to support or advance their religion at any other than their own expense." Certainly, Catholics assure the public of that, and he repeated the assurance. But they proceed: "A solution of some of these incongruities may, perhaps, be found in the fact, that they do not class themselves among sectarians, or denominations of Christians, but claim to be emphatically 'The Church.'" Now they never found any such expression in any thing they had said. They (the Catholics) spoke of their position as they stand before the country. The law called them a sect, and they spoke of themselves as the law spoke of them, and those men thus readily resorted to this perversion of their ideas without one iota of proof. They (the Catholics) defied them to show that they had spoken as was asserted. [Applause.] The reverend gentleman who referred a few minutes ago to his part of the subject might have extended his remarks a little further in the same chapter. They speak of the question of education in Ireland, and to justify themselves they introduce what they had

said at a recent conference and the reply that was made to them. They say: "It is known that a large portion of the bishops and clergy of the established and other Protestant churches, and a majority of the Roman Catholic bishops of Ireland, have agreed upon a general system of education, and a collection of extracts from the sacred Scriptures for the National Schools of that country. At the conference just referred to, the question was distinctly put, whether the objection of the Catholic clergy to the Public Schools, so far as regards reading the Scriptures without note or comment, would be removed by the use of these extracts in them. The answer was, that the dissenting bishops had appealed to the Pope against the majority of their body, and as his Holiness had not yet settled the question, he was not prepared to give his answer. The Trustees very much regret that circumstances have placed them in a situation which renders this exposition necessary. But they could not do less and discharge their duty to themselves and the public." Why, the Trustees must have strange notions of the subject to suppose they need express regret for making disclosures which are published in every paper in the Britsh Empire; but the meeting would perceive they were still feeding that abominable prejudice of the public mind; saying in effect: "Though the Protestants quarrel among themselves, they are agreed against you" (Catholics). Oh! but Catholics have appealed to the Pope, and they wanted to create prejudice by that, while they claim credit for the moderation with which they had made it known. Yes, the Catholics do consult the Pope, and they glory in consulting the Holy Father, the Catholic Chief Pastor. [Great applause.] Now it was not to be passed over that these gentlemen are over royal in their ambition when they would place themselves in juxtaposition with the British Crown—would consider themselves as holding the same relation to us that the British Government held with the Irish clergy in the question in dispute between them. But here the question was not the same; for the Trustees of the Public Schools in New York were a private corporation, while the Catholics in Ireland had to do with the British Government; and concession yielding to that government should form no precedent here. The contracting parties on the other side were exceedingly different. But they come to another point to show their liberality—they "yield to the conscientious scruples of the Roman Catholics!" They yield! What have they to yield? But they "are bound to protect the feelings and interests of the Protestant churches!"

In England there is an officer who is designated the "Keeper of the King's Conscience," and the Trustees of the Public School Society are become the guardians of the consciences of both the Catholics and Protestants—emphatically the protectors of "the feelings and interests of the Protestant churches!" [Laughter.] They stand as umpires between the churches, and they profess to regret that the Catholic clergy have not met them to obtain their confidence, and to have a joint examination and expurgation of the Public School books. Why, if they had, in what a situation would they have been?

Suppose he should go to the study of those books day after day, and week after week, to point out the necessary corrections, and after he had taken that trouble by courtesy to supply their want of ability to understand them themselves, should be told that they must first "protect the feelings and interests of the Protestant churches?" Did they think Catholics had no "feelings" at all to be "protected?" Did they think Catholics would make those corrections and submit them to a board where there were but one or two voices that would be raised to "protect" their religion, and enforce their constitutional right to their doctrines? A question was asked of him whether Catholics would be content if they excluded all Scripture "without note or comment." But he told them that Catholics were too humble to expect such a sacrifice. He was not willing to put it in their power to place Catholics before Protestants as having such enmity to the word of God. He did not say they would do so, but it would have been in their power to make that use of that concession, and he was resolved not to make or give them the opportunity. And here, again, after referring to the Pope, and the question of education in Ireland, they tell us they "remain ready and anxious to join with the Roman Catholics in efforts so to model the books and studies in the Public Schools, as to obviate existing difficulties. They think that it may be done. But" —— and whenever they heard *but* in language of this kind, they might expect something insurmountable —[laughter]—"if, as was the case in the Irish National Schools, an appeal to the Pope should be necessary, they are free to confess, in the language of the Address, that 'a perfect neutrality of influence, on the subject of religion,' is indeed impossible." Why, the fact is if they had not truth wherewithal to meet the Catholic's facts and arguments, as this showed they had not, it was not worth their while to sneer at them, or to introduce this sly observation as though it was matter of their concern whether Catholics consult the Pope or not. But Catholics did not require the aid of intrinsic light, while they saw the Public Schools teaching their children that Catholics were "deceitful," without distinction of age, clime or country. Catholics, who were more than triple in numbers all the other bodies together, when they saw books put into the hands of their children which stigmatized them as deceitful, they had no great necessity to consult the Pope about the business. But it was not worth while to pursue the subject further. [Great applause.]

PETITION OF THE CATHOLICS OF NEW YORK FOR A PORTION OF THE COMMON SCHOOL FUND.

TO THE HONORABLE THE BOARD OF ALDERMEN OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

The Petition of the Catholics of New York,
Respectfully represents:

That your Petitioners yield to no class in their performance of, and disposition to perform all the duties of citizens.—They bear, and are willing to bear, their portion of every common burden; and feel themselves entitled to a participation in every common benefit.

This participation, they regret to say, has been denied them for years back, in reference to Common School Education in the city of New York, except on conditions with which their conscience, and, as they believe their duty to God, did not, and do not leave them at liberty to comply.

The rights of conscience, in this country, are held by the constitution and universal consent to be sacred and inviolate. No stronger evidence of this need be adduced than the fact, that one class of citizens are exempted from the duty or obligation of defending their country against an invading foe, out of delicacy and deference to the rights of conscience which forbids them to take up arms for any purpose.

Your Petitioners only claim the benefit of this principle in regard to the public education of their children. They regard the public education which the State has provided as a common benefit, in which they are most desirous and feel that they are entitled to participate; and therefore they pray your Honorable Body that they may be permitted to do so, without violating their conscience.

But your Petitioners do not ask that this prayer be granted without assigning their reasons for preferring it.

In ordinary cases men are not required to assign the motives of conscientious scruples in matters of this kind. But your petitioners are aware that a large, wealthy and concentrated influence is directed against their claim by the Corporation called the Public School Society. And that this influence, acting on a public opinion already but too much predisposed to judge unfavorably of the claims of your petitioners, requires to be met by facts which justify them in thus appealing to your Honorable Body, and which may, at the same time, convey a more correct impression to the public mind. Your petitioners adopt this course the more willingly, because the justice and impartiality which distinguish the decisions of public men, in this country, inspire them with the confidence that your Honorable Body will maintain, in their regard, the principle of the rights of conscience, if it can be done without violating the rights of others, and on no other condition is the claim solicited.

It is not deemed necessary to trouble your Honorable Body with a detail of the circumstances by which the monopoly of the public education of children in the city of New York, and of the funds provided for that purpose at the expense of the State, have passed into the hands of a private corporation, styled in its Act of Charter, "The Public School Society of the City of New York." It is composed of men of different sects or denominations. But that denomination, Friends, which is believed to have the controlling influence, both by its numbers and otherwise, holds as a peculiar *sectarian principle* that any formal or official teaching of religion is, at best, unprofitable. And your petitioners have discovered that such of *their* children as have attended the public schools, are generally, and at an early age, imbued with the same principle—that they become untractable, disobedient, and even contemptuous towards their parents—unwilling to learn any thing of religion—as if they had become illuminated, and could receive all the knowledge of religion necessary for them by instinct or inspiration. Your petitioners do not pretend to assign the cause of this change in their children, they only attest the fact, as resulting from their attendance at the public schools of the Public School Society.

This Society, however, is composed of gentlemen of various sects, including even one or two Catholics. But they profess to exclude all sectarianism from their schools. If they do not exclude sectarianism, they are avowedly no more entitled to the school funds than your petitioners, or any other denomination of professing Christians. If they do, as they profess, exclude sectarianism, then your petitioners contend that they exclude Christianity—and leave to the advantage of infidelity the tendencies which are given to the minds of youth by the influence of this feature and pretension of their system.

If they could accomplish what they profess, other denominations would join your petitioners in remonstrating against their schools. But they do not accomplish it. Your petitioners will show your Honorable Body that they do admit what Catholics call sectarianism, (although others may call it only religion,) in a great variety of ways.

In their 22d report, as far back as the year 1827, they tell us, page 14, that they "*are aware of the importance of early* RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION," and that none but what is "*exclusively general and scriptural in its character should be introduced into the schools under their charge.*" Here, then, is their own testimony that they did introduce and authorize "religious instruction" in their schools. And that they solved, with the utmost composure, the difficult question on which the sects disagree, by determining *what kind* of "*religious instruction*" is "*exclusively general and scriptural in its character.*" Neither could they impart this "early religious instruction" themselves. They must have left it to their teachers—and these, armed with official influence, could impress those "early religious instructions" on the susceptible minds of the children, with the authority of dictators.

The Public School Society, in their report for the year 1832, page 10, describe the effect of these "early religious instructions," without, perhaps, intending to do so; but yet precisely as your petitioners have witnessed it, in such of their children as attended those schools. "*The age at which children are usually sent to school affords a much better opportunity to mould their minds to peculiar and exclusive forms of faith than any subsequent period of life.*" In page 11, of the same report, they protest against the injustice of supporting "religion in any shape" by public money; as if the "early religious instruction" which they had themselves authorized in their schools, five years before, was not "religion in some shape," and was not supported by public taxation. They tell us again, in more guarded language, "The Trustees are deeply impressed with the importance of imbuing the youthful

mind with religious impressions, and they have endeavored to attain this object, as far as the nature of the institution will admit." Report of 1837.

In their Annual Report they tell us, that "they would not be understood as regarding religious impressions in early youth as unimportant; on the contrary, they desire to do all which may with propriety be done, to give a right direction to the minds of the children intrusted to their care. Their schools are uniformly opened with the reading of the Scriptures, and the class-books are such as recognize and enforce the great and generally acknowledged principles of Christianity." Page 7.

In their 34th Annual Report, for the year 1839, they pay a high compliment to a deceased teacher for "the moral and religious influence exerted by her over the three hundred girls daily attending her school," and tell us that it could not but have had a lasting effect on many of their susceptible minds." Page 7. And yet in all these "early religious instructions, religious impressions, and religious influence,'" essentially anti-Catholic, your petitioners are to see nothing sectarian; but if in giving the education which the State requires, they were to bring the same influences to bear on the "susceptible minds of their *own* children, in favor, and not against, their *own* religion, then this society contends that it would be sectarian!

Your petitioners regret that there is no means of ascertaining to what extent the teachers in the schools of this Society carried out the views of their principals on the importance of conveying "early religious instructions" to the "susceptible minds" of their children. But they believe it is in their power to prove, that in some instances, the Scriptures have been explained, as well as read to the pupils.

Even the reading of the Scriptures in those schools your petitioners cannot regard otherwise than as sectarian; because Protestants would certainly consider as such the introduction of the Catholic Scriptures, which are different from theirs, and the Catholics have the same ground of objection when the Protestant version is made use of.

Your petitioners have to state further, as grounds of their conscientious objections to those schools, that many of the selections in their elementary reading lessons contain matter prejudicial to the Catholic name and character. The term "POPERY" is repeatedly found in them. This term is known and employed as one of insult and contempt towards the Catholic religion, and it passes into the minds of children with the feeling of which it is the outward expression. Both the historical and religious portions of the reading lessons are selected from Protestant writers, whose prejudices against the Catholic religion render them unworthy of confidence in the mind of your petitioners, at least so far as their own children are concerned.

The Public School Society have heretofore denied that their books contained any thing reasonably objectionable to Catholics. Proofs of the contrary could be multiplied, but it is unnecessary, as they have recently retracted their denial, and discovered, after fifteen years' enjoyment of their monopoly, that their books do contain objectionable passages. But they allege that they have proffered repeatedly to make such corrections as the Catholic Clergy might require. Your petitioners conceive that such a proposal could not be carried into effect by the Public School Society without giving just ground for exception to other denominations. Neither can they see with what consistency that Society can insist, as it has done, on the perpetuation of its monopoly, when the Trustees thus avow their incompetency to present unexceptionable books, without the aid of the Catholic, or any other Clergy. They allege, indeed, that with the best intentions they have been unable to ascertain the passages which might be offensive to Catholics. With their intentions, your petitioners cannot enter into any question. Nevertheless, they submit to your Honorable Body, that this Society is eminently incom-

petent to the superintendence of public education, if they could not see that the following passage was unfit for the public schools, and especially unfit to be placed in the hands of Catholic children.

They will quote the passage as one instance, taken from Putnam's Sequel, page 266:

"Huss, John, *a zealous reformer from Popery, who lived in Bohemia, towards the close of the fourteenth, and beginning of the fifteenth centuries. He was bold and persevering; but at length, trusting himself to the deceitful Catholics, he was by them brought to trial, condemned as a heretic, and burnt at the stake.*"

The Public School Society may be excused for not knowing the historical inaccuracies of this passage; but surely assistance of the Catholic Clergy could not have been necessary to an understanding of the words "deceitful," as applied to all who profess the religion of your petitioners.

For these reasons, and others of the same kind, your petitioners cannot, in conscience, and consistently with their sense of duty to God, and to their offspring, intrust the Public School Society with the office of giving "a right direction to the minds of their children." And yet this Society claims that office, and claims for the discharge of it the Common School Funds, to which your petitioners, in common with other citizens, are contributors. In so far as they are contributors, they are not only deprived of any benefit in return, but their money is employed to the damage and detriment of their religion, in the minds of their own children, and of the rising generation of the community at large. The contest is between the *guarantied* rights, civil and religious, of the citizen on the one hand, and the pretensions of the Public School Society on the other; and whilst it has been silently going on for years, your petitioners would call the attention of your Honorable Body to its consequences on that class for whom the benefits of public education are most essential—the children of the poor.

This class (your petitioners speak only so far as relates to their own denomination), after a brief experience of the schools of the Public School Society, naturally and deservedly withdrew all confidence from it. Hence the establishment by your petitioners of schools for the education of the poor. The expense necessary for this, was a second taxation, required not by the laws of the land, but by the no less imperious demands of their conscience.

They were reduced to the alternative of seeing their children growing up in entire ignorance, or else taxing themselves anew for private schools, whilst the funds provided for education, and contributed in part by themselves, were given over to the Public School Society, and by them employed as has been stated above.

Now your petitioners respectfully submit, that without this confidence, no body of men can discharge the duties of education as intended by the State, and required by the people. The Public School Society are, and have been at all times, conscious that they had not the confidence of the poor. In their twenty-eighth report, they appeal to the ladies of New York to create or procure it, by the "persuasive eloquence of female kindness;" page 5. And from this they pass, on the next page, to the more efficient eloquence of coercion under penalties and privations to be visited on all persons, "whether emigrants or otherwise," who being in the circumstances of poverty referred to, should not send their children to some "public or other daily school." In their twenty-seventh report, pages 15 and 16, they plead for the doctrine, and recommend it to public favor by the circumstance that it will affect but "few natives." But why should it be necessary at all, if they possessed that confidence of the poor,

without which they need never hope to succeed? So well are they convinced of this, that no longer ago than last year, they gave up all hope of inspiring it, and loudly call for coercion by "*the strong arm of the civil power*" to supply its deficiency. Your petitioners will close this part of their statement with the expression of their surprise and regret that gentlemen who are themselves indebted much to the respect which is properly cherished for the rights of conscience, should be so unmindful of the same rights in the case of your petitioners. Many of them are by religious principle so pacific that they would not take up arms in the defence of the liberties of their country, though she should call them to her aid; and yet, they do not hesitate to invoke the "strong arm of the civil power" for the purpose of abridging the private liberties of their fellow-citizens, who may feel equally conscientious.

Your petitioners have to deplore, as a consequence of this state of things, the ignorance and vice to which hundreds, nay thousands of their children are exposed. They have to regret, also, that the education which they can provide, under the disadvantages to which they have been subjected, is not as efficient as it should be. But should your Honorable Body be pleased to designate their schools as entitled to receive a just proportion of the public funds which belong to your petitioners in common with other citizens, their schools could be improved for those who attend, others now growing up in ignorance could be received, and the ends of the Legislature could be accomplished—a result which is manifestly hopeless under the present system.

Your petitioners will now invite the attention of your Honorable Body to the objections and misrepresentations that have been urged by the Public School Society to granting the claim of your petitioners. It is urged by them that it would be appropriating money raised by general taxation to the support of the Catholic religion. Your petitioners join issue with them, and declare unhesitatingly, that if this objection can be established the claim shall be forthwith abandoned. It is objected that though we are taxed as citizens, we apply for the benefits of education as "Catholics." Your petitioners, to remove this difficulty, beg to be considered in their application in the identical capacity in which they are taxed—viz.: as citizens of the commonwealth. It has been contended by the Public School Society, that the law disqualifies schools which admit any profession of religion, from receiving any encouragements from the School Fund. Your petitioners have two solutions for this pretended difficulty. 1. Your petitioners are unable to discover any such disqualification in the law, which merely delegates to your Honorable Body the authority and discretion of determining what schools or societies shall be entitled to its bounty. 2. Your petitioners are willing to fulfill the conditions of the law so far as religious teaching is proscribed during school hours. In fine, your petitioners, to remove all objections, are willing that the material organization of their schools, and the disbursements of the funds allowed for them, shall be conducted, and made, by persons unconnected with the religion of your petitioners, even the Public School Society, if it should please your Honorable Body to appoint them for that purpose. The public may then be assured that the money will not be applied to the support of the Catholic religion.

It is deemed necessary by your petitioners to save the Public School Society the necessity of future misconception, thus to state the things which are *not* petitioned for. The members of that Society, who have shown themselves so impressed with the importance of conveying *their* notions of "early religious instruction" to the "susceptible minds" of Catholic children, can have no objection that the parents of the children, and teachers in whom

the parents have confidence, should do the same, provided no law is violated thereby, and no disposition evinced to bring the children of other denominations within its influence.

Your petitioners, therefore, pray that your Honorable Body will be pleased to designate, as among the schools entitled to participate in the Common School Fund, upon complying with the requirements of the law, and the ordinances of the corporation of the city—or for such other relief as to your Honorable Body shall seem meet—St. Patrick's School, St. Peter's School, St. Mary's School, St. Joseph's School, St. James' School, St. Nicholas' School, Transfiguration Church School, and St. John's School.

And your petitioners further request, in the event of your Honorable Body's determining to hear your petitioners, on the subject of their petition, that such time may be appointed as may be most agreeable to your Honorable Body, and that a full session of your Honorable Board be convened for that purpose.

And your petitioners, &c.

THOMAS O'CONNOR, *Chairman.*
GREGORY DILLON,
ANDREW CARRIGAN,
PETER DUFFY, *Vice-Chairmen.*

Of a general meeting of the Catholics of the City of New York, convened in the school-room of St. James' Church, Sept. 21, 1840.

B. O'Conner,
James Kelly,
J. M'Loughlin, *Secretaries.*

Meeting in the Basement of St. James's Church, October 5th, 1840.

On Monday evening, Oct. 5th, the Catholics of this city again met in the basement of St. James's Church, in great numbers, by adjournment of the meeting of that day fortnight, from which a memorial had been sent to the Board of Aldermen, setting forth their claim to a portion of the Common School Fund for the education of Catholic children. Thomas O'Connor, Esq., was again called to the chair, and the Secretaries were also re-elected.

James McKeon, Esq., one of the committee appointed to present the memorial to the Common Council, reported that they had discharged the duties assigned to them, and that it was highly probable that an early day would be fixed to hear the arguments of the Catholics and those that opposed their claim.

The Right Rev. Bishop Hughes then presented himself and was received with enthusiastic plaudits. He said the question was now in the hands of those whom the Legislature had appointed to dispose of the Common School Fund; they had presented their claim to that body with confidence, but it was not to be supposed that their demand would be granted without opposition; it was not certain they would be conceded at all. Nevertheless they had taken the only means worthy of their purpose, by applying with confidence and with firmness and with determination to those having in the first instance the power to apply a remedy to the evil of which Catholics complain. The question as it will define itself before that Board, when stripped of all the mystification in which their opponents had enveloped it, was an exceedingly simple one. It will be a question whether it was the intention of the Legislature of the State of New York to fix on the population of this city, and to support by taxation reaching to every citizen, a system of education from which one-fifth of the population can derive no benefit? for he thought he might say that Catholic children formed one-fifth of those who were subject to this taxation. And if this system is to be so constituted, as they found it to be, that Catholics in their consciences cannot allow their children to participate in its benefits, then the question will be were they excluded or not by an act of the Legislature? It is plain they were not, unless indeed the Legislature intended that they should pay for education and receive no benefit in return. *That* the Legislature did not intend—*that* it could not have intended; and therefore between the act of the Legislature and the schoolmaster there must be some inquiry to pervert the stream of justice. [Applause.] The objections that have been raised by the Public School Society are objections which sound alarmingly in the ear, and which from circumstances which are easily accounted for, are apt to turn the judgments of even well-disposed men off their equilibrium—he alluded to the clamor of sectarianism, and that Catholics wish civil money to be appropriated to the purposes of religion. The sound was calculated to alarm, but it required only the exercise of common sense to dissolve these objections into thin air, for Catholics wanted no money from the State of New York for purposes of religion, but for the purpose for which it was claimed from them—for the purposes of education in the strict sense of the term. The education the Catholics were told was ready—the fountain flows constantly, but care was taken to dilute the current before it reached them, so that they could not taste it. [Applause.]

They were told the doors were open to them; they knew they were, but if they entered they went in to learn to live in ignorance of all that was sacred and honorable in the Catholic name; if they entered they knew it was to have Protestant persons and Protestant writers brought up for their admiration; it was to make their children familiar with things that were not theirs, and to leave them in utter ignorance of everything Catholic, unless it was to bring them in to grace some tragic incident and they were only brought in then as executioners. There were some respectable Catholic writers, though perhaps their opponents knew it not, that wrote with flowing pens in the departments of history, morals, legislation, and general literature, but from the books put into the hands of their children in these schools they knew it not, but they did know about Cranmer's execution, and the betrayal by the *deceitful* Catholics of John Huss; and if it were not for the purpose of bringing them in thus, their children would not know that Catholicism was older than Mormonism. [Laughter.] He had been exceedingly amused on looking at the manner the opponents of their claim maintained their exclusive right to the money which Catholics contributed in common with other citizens; but with a great deal of talent and a great deal of confidence in the prejudices of the community, to which they appealed, still it was difficult for them to make out a clear case, even to satisfy those prejudices. He would look at the system as it is.

They were told that the state intended to exclude religion and make the fund applicable solely to civil purposes—solely to secular education—very well. If they excluded all religion then they bring up the children like heathens, and they banish Christianity and leave to infidelity the whole benefit of this system of education. And he did not think it probable that the Christians of New York—that the Protestants of New York—would raise a fund for education from which only infidelity could receive the benefit. That was one ground. But then they were told again that religion was not excluded from instruction. If they then have taught religion how have they been able to go before the Common Council and ask for money? Had Catholics less right than the celebrated body of Quakers? And if the office of instructors was to be conceded at all to whom did it belong? Did it become Catholics to be the instructors of Protestant children, or Protestants to become the instructors of Catholic children? Surely if it was a crime at all it must be a greater crime in the managers of the present schools than in Catholics to teach religion to Catholic children; and it was only in this way that they could throw the whole weight of the charge of giving instruction on infidels, so that it carried water on both shoulders. Before the Common Council their opponents were scrupulous to a nicety, from a fear that its money should go to encourage and maintain religion; but they (the Catholics) went in the name of religion and conscience which did not allow them to educate their children in these schools; and because they went in the name of conscience they were told, Oh, the fund is intended for civil educa-

tion, and if you allow a penny to go for the support of religion, you violate the charter, for it says so and so. Then we (Catholics) charge them with infidelity. And how do they answer? They say Catholics give religious instruction. Do they (the Trustees of the Public Schools) not admit that they do likewise in their report? And that shows that they are aware of the importance of early religious instruction; but they say that none but what is general in its character is given under their charge; so that while the doctors are disputing about what is religion, the managers of these schools have no difficulty in determining at once. It is a pity the community does not send its difficulties to the Public School Society for they can soon decide what religion is. Does not each sect contend that its doctrines are purely Scriptural? And do not the others dispute it? But here the Trustees of the Public School Society decide for them at once; and while they contend, and contend truly, that the State has provided that none of this money should go for the purposes of religion, they have a religion of their own made up, as they say, from what is Scriptural. When Catholics go before Council and ask for their proportion of this fund, "Oh," says the School Society, "it is provided only for secular education." But is that their own practice? They have one reply for Catholics and another for Protestants; they have piety enough not to wish infidelity to have the predominance, and to please the Protestants they introduce religion—Scriptural religion as they call it—and when Catholics find fault with them and wish to teach their own children, they say that the introduction of religion into the schools will forfeit all right to it, for it was not intended or designed for religious purposes. In their report and remonstrance to the petition of Catholics they say, "this fund is purely of a civil character." If so it means that it is intended to teach children to read, and write, and the mathematics; and there is not much religion in these sciences: but they are not so careful to abstain from religion, for religion is religious instruction, and that they give in their own way and thus, in the expenditure of this money, which is appropriated to civil instruction, they contradict themselves; and we shall see how they get out of the contradiction.

They knew they had done this from the commencement, and the first sound of alarm came from themselves. They said, "Oh, there is so much prejudice in the community!" and if Catholics were timid, they might be crushed down by that fear. But if there was prejudice, let its abutments be taken away, so that nothing but truth would remain; and if, while their claim was based on truth, knowing the wrong, it was still inflicted, let it be on the record, that the world might know that Catholics were oppressed without any ground of oppression. [Applause.] He said this because the gentlemen were going from one point to another in their statements from time to time of what was the true ground on which the right of the citizen was based. There is in this country the principle that no man should suffer for the free exercise of his freedom of

conscience; that no man should suffer in his person or in his reputation, though the law cannot arrest the pen of the bigotted slanderer, yet that is the spirit of the law that no man shall be temporarily held accountable for those things which relate to his eternal destiny, for they were things between man and his God, and therefore the rights of conscience were sacred and inviolate. But if that were the case, how can it be insisted on that Catholics shall violate their rights of conscience at the risk of eternal consequences? How could it be pretended that Catholics could submit to a system about which they were not consulted? And how was it that the supporters of the existing system could insist that Catholics were wrong, and that they were right? Now, since conscience cannot be bent or modified to suit the system, Catholics hoped to cause such a modification of the system that it would suit the consciences of all. [Applause.] That was the ground on which Catholics stood. But they were told that Catholics held it to be an essential part of education that the Catholic religion and dogmas should be taught. They knew that schools were supported by the State for the purpose of imparting that part of secular knowledge that would be advantageous. But they did not believe it was designed by the State to establish a system of teaching by which all that was good would be extinguished in the process. They did not desire the public money to be expended in the teaching of their dogmas, but they also did not wish to see it expended in the support of a system by which the bud of faith would be nipped which was springing up in the hearts of Catholic children. But then they were told that Catholics might teach their children after school hours, and on the seventh day. But, after six days' teaching in these schools, every one must be well aware how feeble will be the impressions of religion; how feeble will be the instructions of the pastor to a child that has imbibed the prejudices which the lessons of the school were calculated to create; how feeble would be the admonition; how feeble the inculcation of the dogmas of their faith, when the child was already biased against it by the lessons he was taught, by the associations to which he was exposed, and by the lectures of the teachers on the elucidation of the school lessons. Why, the child would be found to be half a Protestant before he was half a scholar.

But then they were told that if this money were given to Catholics, every other denomination would look for it too. And if they did, he did not see that any great harm would result from it. If any other denomination had the same scruples of conscience, he should say immediately they were entitled to it; but it did not appear that they had. They had proof in the remonstrances that were sent in against the claim made by the Catholics, that they approved of the present school system. They were satisfied with the system, and their scholars were attending under it, while the children of Catholics did not attend; so that, by conceding the claim of the Catholics, they would have the same schools as before, with this

difference, that the children of Catholics that were now without education, or but partially educated, would have a chance, and the ends of the Legislature would be carried out. But suppose it would have the effect of breaking up the system, he did not think any great calamity would be produced by such a result, or any great suffering or disaster to the country or to the community. But the evils had been magnified, and in the pamphlet which had been published they had spoken of the bickerings that would be pursued —and they knew what they had been in other countries—that it would lead to contention and strife, and civil war and bloodshed. Well, but this fund was once divided, and there were no such consequences. It should be a part of education in America, that men should know the rights of conscience of others, and that they should learn to respect them. But when they gather children of all denominations together into these Common Schools, and under pretence that if they are not so taught, they are liable to fight in the street when they meet, they lay down a principle different from that inculcated as a part of the system. If they are taught toleration—if they are taught that all men are not born to think alike—that there are thousands of subjects on which they may differ, and that religion is one on which they are not only at liberty, but are justified and above all censure in fulfilling the dictates of their consciences, then they grow up with a spirit of tolerance to others with whom, when they are men, they have to mingle, and who differ in opinion from them. But when these principles of the schools are insisted upon, is it not in fact proclaiming to their children, "Beware of religion, or you will all get to quarrelling"—[laughter]—it is not to be introduced, or you will get to civil war and bloodshed, as they did in Germany when they got into a thirty years' war! But thus it was with the public School Society; they had not one solid ground to take against the claim which the Catholics made. But, to avoid any difficulty, the Catholics said, Give us our books and teachers in whom we have confidence, and let the School Society itself be the guardian of our schools, and see that the money be faithfully appropriated, and such instruction given as would qualify the children to be good citizens; and then, when their minds and their intellects were stored and trained, and knowing their duty to God and to their fellow-men, then it was they would have the prospect of their children being good, and virtuous, and respectable citizens. So that, putting aside all these difficulties, the question would present itself naturally and necessarily before the Common Council and simply on these grounds: Were Catholics, against their convictions, to be compelled to support and submit to a system which suited those gentlemen (the School Society), who were not Catholics, and who had scarcely a feeling on this particular subject in common with Catholics? Were they to insist upon Catholics paying a tax from which, in the exercise of the guaranteed rights of conscience, they could receive no benefit? Or were they prepared to relieve Catholics from the tax? Or, in a

word, if they will compel Catholics to pay the tax, seeing the difficulties that exist, will they give to Catholics their proportion of the money which the Legislature has set apart for that purpose? The question reduces itself to these simple points: Free Catholics from taxation for schools of any description, and they would stand ready with the money thus saved to help their own schools, and to devote it to education amongst themselves. But if not, and it would be impracticable, for no denomination could be exempted from a general taxation. In the next place, would they allow Catholics to have the benefit of education, without the necessity of violating their consciences; and if they would not, then there was no alternative; they were Catholics, and it was a pity that their consciences would not allow them to enjoy the system which suited others; but they were Catholics, and their consciences were not to be respected. It would be impossible, on any other ground, to deny their rights. It might not be couched in that language, but it would be that in substance: it could not be otherwise. Catholics were anxious for education; and while the managers of these schools pretend that they will give the education, what is the fact? It is obvious, before their eyes, that where schools are open, and teachers are ready, and money is expended, there are hundreds and thousands growing up in the condition which the Legislature wished to remove. If they are willing to educate Catholic children, why not show their willingness? If they were animated by a patriotic spirit, would they not yield a little to what they call the prejudices of Catholics, but which Catholics know to be right, to be the love of truth? But those men would rather leave hundreds and thousands in permanent ignorance, than that one tile should be removed from those palaces which they have built for their own children. That was the condition of the question at this time. What would be the decision of the tribunal before which it had to be discussed and decided they knew not. They had reason to hope that it would be a just one, a conscientious one, and a liberal one; but at the same time no explanation, no pleading, no specious exertions on the subject could ever reconcile them to a system which had done so much to destroy their enjoyment of their religious rights as this has done. It was in vain to say "amend the books;" for if they were permitted to do it this year by courtesy, next year there might be put in a set of corporators that would put in again what they now took out. What was courtesy? Why, they (the Catholics) might sit in judgment on the books, and perhaps, when they had corrected them, their corrections might be again corrected, and the books left as they were before. What security, then could be given to Catholics for the enjoyment of their rights? And while their rights were denied on grounds on which Catholics did not pretend to establish them; while it was pretended before the Council that Catholics would teach religion, and therefore were disqualified, they did that themselves which they said they expected Catholics would do, and for which they opposed the Catholic claim. They have introduced

religion, and it was impossible they could escape from the position of adopting a cold water religion in theory, and yet in practice inculcating a religion to suit their own ideas in these schools. As well and as lawfully might they adopt a system of education supported by the State, which should recognize the system of any one denomination, and disavow all other denominations. They told Catholics they did not teach any particular religion; then they had better teach none at all, for any religion they could teach was far opposed to that of Catholics, who did not recognize them as men fit to go into the pulpit and teach their children. Let them teach those by whom they were recognized as teachers, but not the children of Catholics. He had made these remarks, as it were, as a kind of brief review of the whole ground on which the question stood, so that it might remain fixed on the mind of every one of them as a simple point. The Catholics asked for nothing but what was their right, and what was just; and if there was any other light by which it could be shown that their claim was unjust and not right, they should have no disposition to prosecute it. But in the absence of such conviction, they could not but feel, if their right was still withheld from them, that it could be but for one reason, and that was, that Protestant prejudice was more powerful than truth and justice. [Applause.] But he feared not the issue. The question had made great progress since it was elucidated by their public discussions, and now scarcely a man that he had spoken to, that was competent to judge on the subject, that did not say, "Sir, you are right; there can be no objection to the concession of your claim." But he knew there was in the less intellectual portion of the community a substratum of prejudice. He was aware, however, that this was not the case among the enlightened and the liberal—among men of high, and just, and enlarged, and patriotic views—and it was from these that public opinion was alone worth accepting. [Great and long-continued applause.]

Meeting in the Basement of St. James's Church, October 19th, 1840.

An adjourned meeting of the Catholics was held in the basement of St. James's Church on Monday evening, Oct. 19th, when the officers of previous meetings were re-elected. The Right Rev. Bishop Hughes was received on his entrance with the warmest expression of affectionate regard.

The Right Rev. Bishop Hughes came forward amidst great and general plaudits. He commenced by observing that there was nothing to alarm them in the conclusion at which some seem already to have arrived, or respecting the course to be pursued by the tribunal before which they had laid claim. There was nothing in it to

alarm, and for himself there was nothing to surprise, because he had observed as they had progressed on this question, and whilst they had made some inroad on the advanced posts of public opinion, here and there, that the concentrated and monopolizing power which was opposed to them had been gathering its strength, and had been preparing to exert it to the utmost. They (the School Society) feel as if the charm should be broken, the dazzling prospect on which their eye had rested so long with complacency, the prospect of having seventy thousand children for a few years longer to be moulded at their discretion, and of having a larger number—even hundreds of thousands of dollars for the purpose of so moulding them, would disappear from before them. Such a dazzling prospect as this was enough to tempt men of their philanthropy to cling to the system and that they do cling to it they were assured, for, counting on that futurity they had multiplied schools, and they had not only multiplied schools but they had built other and more splendid edifices—he scarcely knew what to call them—

Mr. O'Connor (chairman)—Sessions houses.

The Bishop. Yes, sessions houses, for the purpose of legislating into all future time for the education of the children of the citizens of New York. This was evidence that they did count on this long futurity of domination, and therefore it was not surprising that they should cling with such tenacity to its perpetuation.

Now it had been his duty to examine the books used in these schools, and whatever might be said hereafter, notwithstanding all that they had printed, or all that they had authorized to be printed by the Board of Assistant Aldermen, that there was nothing in their books against which the Catholics could have any reasonable objection, he, in an examination of the books to ascertain whether that statement was founded in truth, had found many things against which Catholics had reasonable objections. But laying that aside, while Catholics formed one-fifth portion of the citizens whose children were to be taught in these schools, from the first to the last their books did not contain a solitary sentence upon Catholic affairs, nor one line from Catholic authors—not one sentence, not one essay on morals, not one chapter of history, not one section of geography, not a single line from the beginning to the end, as if Catholics from the beginning of creation had been men who had not known how to wield the pen, or to arrange ideas in a proper manner. And not only was this the fact, not only was there this suppression—for he might call it the suppression of the truth—and it was the suppression of the brightest trait in their character, which would affect the mind of their children, attach them to the creed of their fathers, and make them not ashamed of a creed which had produced some of the brightest ornaments that ever did honor to human nature; independent of that science, he had in his hand a dialogue used in these schools for the purpose of teaching their children to read, and to practice them in elocution. It was a dialogue between Cortez the conqueror of Mexico, and William Penn. both founders of colonies,

on the use of the sword, and the more honorable means of defence for the colonies. They discuss the principles on which the colonies were established, and then CORTEZ says:

"It is blasphemy to say, that any folly could come from the fountain of wisdom. Whatever is inconsistent with the great laws of nature, and with the necessary state of human society, cannot possibly have been inspired by God. Self-defence is as necessary to nations as to men. And shall particulars have a right which nations have not? True religion, William Penn, is the perfection of reason. Fanaticism is the disgrace, the destruction of reason.

PENN says, "Though what thou sayest should be true, it does not come well from thy mouth. *A Papist talk of reason!* Go to the inquisition and tell them of reason and the great laws of nature. They will broil thee as thy soldiers broiled the unhappy Guatimozin! Why dost thou turn pale? Is it at the name of the inquisition, or the name of Guatimozin? Tremble and shake when thou thinkest, that every murder the inquisitors have committed, every torture they have inflicted on the innocent Indians, is originally owing to thee. Thou must answer to God for all their inhumanity, for all their injustice."

"*A Papist talk of reason!*" There was a lesson for Catholic children; and yet the School Trustees, through the Assistant Aldermen, told them there was really nothing in their books against which they ought to have the least objection. Yes, they would impress the minds of their children that Catholics are necessarily, morally, intellectually, infallibly, a stupid race. Now he should like to know what reason they had to give, in the introduction of their writers—Robertson, Hume, and others—what reason they could have, when they knew there were such a multitude of Catholic writers, to suppress even the least occasional mention of Catholic writers. Was it because Catholics had no men who had labored in the fields of science to improve the human mind? Now, though it might be a secret to those gentlemen, there was no department of history or philosophy in which the mind of a Catholic had not taken the lead; and the time was when they found the Catholic arm the strongest in pushing the Sun of Science up the heavens. Who had produced works of theology like theirs (the Catholics)? In philosophy, whether of mind or matter, where were the books which for depth of research, or extent of knowledge, equaled or approached the mighty tomes produced by Catholics? And at the period when ancient civilization was destroyed, when the edifice crumbled under the mighty stroke of the Goth and the Hun, and when society was dissolved, they found Catholic minds presiding over its reconstruction, laying its foundations broad and deep, and doing everything calculated to improve the public mind. Who reduced a mass of rude characters into letters which we now call our alphabet? Who but Catholics who thus gave a language to Europe by establishing its basis. Nay, more, after that, who introduced that most important branch of civilization, agriculture? It was the monks, by whose industry and labor the reclaimed wastes became the "model farms" of Europe, and from them agriculture spread.

They heard much of free government and of Parliaments, but was that a Protestant invention? No, it was a Catholic invention; for

it was copied from the Catholic Church. The first models of representative government, and of dignified and noble parliaments, were the councils of the Catholic Church, in which every part of that church had its representative. Thence, then, the idea was borrowed, which has been the pride and boast of England and of this country after her, of representative government. But he might speak also of navigation. Who discovered the continent on which they now lived? Was it not a Catholic? Who made the second voyage to this continent, and stamped his name upon it? Was it not a Catholic?—Americus Vespucius. Who made the first voyage round the globe? Was it not a Catholic? And Catholics were the first to visit both the East and the West Indies; they traversed seas to carry the knowledge of Jesus Christ to the ignorant, and they then became acquainted with the physical position of different countries, and they conveyed that knowledge to the world either in letters or other documents, and added a mass of human knowledge which had assumed a gigantic size before Protestantism first sprung out of the earth. And while things of a less beneficial tendency were going on in other parts of the globe, Catholic missionaries, 200 years ago, penetrated this country and continued a chain round from Quebec to the Mississippi. While persecution was going on in the North and the South, with which Catholics had nothing to do, their free banner waved over Maryland, where the rights of conscience were recognized. They went to the Indians, not to destroy but to convert, to save, and civilize. And if we turn our eyes from these things to others, we shall see those things which are calculated to reflect honor on those who effected their accomplishment. When we see the alleviation of the infirmities of human life, we naturally ask ourselves to whom the world was indebted for the act of mercy. Who planned the structures and laid the foundation of those hospitals for the afflicted, and asylums for the decrepid, aged, and the young and exposed infant? Were they not all introduced and established by the benevolent spirits and the enlightened minds of the Catholics of antiquity? Turn your minds to other structures, and then ask who laid the foundations of the universities? Who originated the idea? Who aided their establishment? It was Catholics alone; and if you blot out the benevolent institutions with which the earth is still studded, for which the world is indebted to Catholics, you will find but a few insignificant ones remaining. If you turn again from these things to the men distinguished by their own intellect—to warriors and legislators—to men distinguished by their eloquence, by their scientific attainments, in jurisprudence, or in other stations in public life, where do you find models worthier of imitation than those by whom the pages of Catholic history are adorned. Passing again from these to the ornaments of ancient literature, of classic Greece and Rome, and while desolation and barbarism passed over Europe with their trains of evils, who, by patient, persevering industry, gathered up the fragments of ancient literature to adorn the human mind? It was done by the labor of the calumniated monks.

Yes, you may turn your eyes on whatever side you please, and you will find that Catholics have nothing of which to be ashamed. You will find no reason for the suppression of all these things with which Catholics can charge themselves, but you will find in every department, if you take away the volumes Catholics have written, and the mighty libraries they have collected, your shelves will present a barren appearance. Why, we have the testimony of eminent Protestant scholars themselves, attesting the fact that one single order alone—the order of Benedictines—did more than all the Protestants together. In every species of knowledge—in history, jurisprudence, and canonical and civil law—in a word, in everything appertaining to human knowledge, it was found that the great predominance was due to Catholic labor and Catholic success; and why then did they not find one page to adorn these school-books from authors like these. Again, where are there poets like Catholic poets? Take from England the works of Catholic writers: take away her Chaucer, and Spenser, and Shakspeare, and Dryden, and Pope, and you take away the cream of English literature. Then, if they turned their minds from these things to others not so immediately essential to the cultivation, but to the adornment of human life—take the study of the mathematics—and who was the first to cultivate that study in the west of Europe? Who invented and arrayed, and introduced that science but the Monk Jerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II.; the same who introduced the first celestial globes. Then, again, in architecture and its application to the construction of bridges, which at one period of European history could not be constructed without calling in the aid of some learned man from a distant country, who was usually some humble monk who knew how to throw the daring arch, to span the river, or to cross the otherwise impassable valley. Take away from England even the architectural structures left by Catholics, and what would remain?—scarcely anything. Oxford would disappear, and the greater part of Cambridge, and nothing would be left but St. Paul's, of which Lord Kingsbnry said, after seeing St. Peter's, it was scarcely fit for anything but to be blown up by gunpowder. If they turned from these things to inventions, they might ask, who invented the art of printing? A Catholic. Who originated that by which information was sent round through every village and hamlet—the post-office? A Catholic. Who invented the clock to tell what time of day it was? A Catholic. Who invented the compass to guide the mariner across the trackless ocean? A Catholic? What is it that Catholics have not done? And if this is the history of this people, why was it that these teachers despised them? and why was it that not a line from Catholic authors was permitted in their books? And they pretended to be all impartiality and to possess feelings of the most liberal and philanthropic character. But turn away from this again to another thing. There are afflictions resting on the children of sorrow, some of whom are deprived of sight, and the sunbeam falls to the earth in vain for them. Now it was a work of benevolence

to discover eyes for these children of sorrow, and to place them at the end of their fingers; or, in other words, to enable them, by running their fingers over raised characters, to read with rapidity; and it is to a Catholic that the invention is to be attributed. Again, there is another class, the deaf and dumb, who can neither hear nor speak. Now, happily for them, there is an invention, which emanated from a benevolent heart, by which they can communicate thought, and for this they are indebted to a Catholic priest. The language for the deaf and dumb was the invention of the Abbé Ponza, a Benedictine of Spain.

Now if these gentlemen of the Public Schools would place Catholics under a dark cloud, he saw no reason why they should not penetrate that cloud, and cause some of the rays of their former glory to return to them. It was then again the Abbé L'Eppe, who on visiting two sisters thus afflicted, as a man of God, was himself afflicted that he could not communicate to them the Christian Religion. He began to move by signs, and continued to improve on his attempt, until at length he acquired the means of communicating with the deaf and dumb with ease and rapidity.

Who was the founder of Sunday-schools? It was Saint Charles Borromeo—a Catholic. In a word, there is no department of knowledge in which Catholics have not been distinguished. But to go further, who discovered a quicker means of communication than the railroad? It was not used so extensively in this country as in some others, but it might be important even here, if an invasion should be made of any part of our coast, to communicate information to Washington and receive an answer back in less time than it could be done by railroads. He would deserve a prize who should invent the means of sending information from Niagara to Washington and receiving an answer back in six or seven hours. And yet the equivalent of this had been done by a Catholic priest who invented the telegraph. [Applause.] If they turned to music, who had brought it to its present state by the perfection of instrumental music? Who had taught the canvas to speak? And who had given life and animation to the cold marble? Catholics. And all the boasted superiority of Protestants was yet an infinite distance from the productions of Catholics, and they were proud to distraction if they succeeded in producing a tolerable copy of that which Catholics had invented. [Applause.] He had thus endeavored to claim for Catholics that to which they were confessedly entitled. The gentlemen of the public schools had not treated them fairly or honorably, when they had thought proper to fill their pages for the instruction of their children, from Hume and Robertson, and other Protestant writers who were all opposed to the Catholics, and not given one sentence from Catholic authors. But he would go now to another point. They had said that there was nothing in their books to which Catholics could object. Why, in the most delicate manner [laughter] they teach that the ceremonies of the Catholic religion are the remnants of idolatry—so slyly and so gently is it introduced.

[Laughter.] In "Conversations on Common Things," which were used as reading lessons for their children, there occurred the following passages:

"*D.* What is frankincense? it was burned in the Catholic church the day I was there; I suppose it is a kind of gum?

"*M.* It is an odoriferous substance, consisting of equal quantities of gummy and resinous particles; it is collected in a very impure state, and refined after importation. We have the gum from Mount Lebanon and Arabia, also in great quantities from the western coast of Africa. It was formerly burnt in all temples of worship, and many Christians were put to death by the idolatrous Jews and Romans, for refusing to burn it before idols."

They would see the connection which children, whether Catholics or Protestants, after reading this lesson would ever associate in their minds. They would never see frankincense without associating therewith the putting to death of Christians by "the idolatrous Jews and Romans, for refusing to burn it before idols." But take another. They had now, after the assertion of these gentlemen that they did not teach religion, the proclamation that Catholics ought not to be allowed any portion of this money because they would teach religion. Now they were told that the teachers were not allowed to give instruction in religion by way of explanation of the reading lessons, but they had a sermon printed at the end of the text, and *such* a sermon. [Laughter.] The book entitled "Popular Lessons" contained a chapter on "The Ten Virgins," and the mysterous words in that lesson were explained to the children at the end of the chapter under the title of "explanations." The first word explained was the word "parable;" and this was the explanation, "A parable is sometimes called a comparison; it shows one thing or circumstance to resemble some other." [Laughter.] The next was the word "virgins;" and what did they suppose that meant? "unmarried women," according to the Public Schools. [Laughter.] After some other explanations they go on to the word "marriage," and here is the explanation:

"*Marriage.*—When a man and woman agree to live together all their lives, and to be called Husband and Wife, their agreement is called *marriage*. The wife takes her husband's name, and goes to his house; and whatever belongs to one of them belongs to the other also.

"When the man takes the woman for his wife, the ceremony of the occasion is called a *wedding*. At weddings, the friends of the couple to be married often assemble, and most commonly the company are very merry and happy together. The marriage ceremony is different in different countries, and among people of different sects."

But here was another, and he confessed he considered it of a much more serious character. It was a chapter introduced for the instruction of their children on "The Character of Christ." Now those gentlemen, of all the men he ever knew, were, to his mind, the most inconsistent, and yet the most complacent in their inconsistency. They were first told that those gentlemen did not teach religion in their schools; and then again, oh yes, they said, we do, but it is the morality of all sects—a kind of religion which all agree in, so that nobody is offended. [Laughter.] Now here was a chapter from

the Bishop of London, from which these men would teach their (Catholic) children the character of Jesus Christ. He would read a passage, and if Rosseau or Voltaire would not give a character more worthy of him, he did not know what they could write. It was certainly all panegyric, but still it suppressed the true part of his character, while it showed that he was not a Philosopher like Socrates, nor a Prophet like Mahomet.

"He was not only free from every failing, but he possessed and practiced every imaginable virtue. Towards his heavenly Father he expressed the most ardent love, the most fervent, yet rational devotion; and displayed in his whole conduct the most absolute resignation to his will, and obedience to his commands.

"His manners were gentle, mild, condescending, and gracious; his heart overflowed with kindness, compassion and tenderness to the whole human race. The great employment of his life, was to do good to the bodies and souls of men. In this all his thoughts, and all his time were constantly and almost incessantly occupied.

"He went about, dispensing his blessings to all around him, in a thousand different ways; healing diseases, relieving infirmities, correcting errors, removing prejudices, promoting piety, justice, charity, peace, and harmony; and crowding into the narrow compass of his ministry, more acts of mercy and compassion, than the longest life of the most benevolent man upon earth ever yet produced.

"Over his own passions he had the most complete command; and though his patience was continually put to the severest trials, yet he was never overcome, never betrayed into any intemperance or excess, in word or deed; 'never once spake unadvisedly with his lips.'

"He endured the cruelest insults from his enemies, with the utmost composure, meekness, patience, and resignation; displayed astonishing fortitude under the most painful and ignominous death; and to crown all, in the very midst of his torments on the cross, implored forgiveness for his murderers, in that divinely charitable prayer, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.'

"Nor was his wisdom inferior to his virtues. The doctrines he taught were the most sublime, and the most important, that were ever before delivered to mankind; and every way worthy of that God from whom he professed to derive them, and whose Son he declared himself to be.

"His precepts inculcated the purest and most perfect morality; his discourses were full of dignity and wisdom, yet intelligible and clear; his parables conveyed instruction in the most pleasing, familiar, and impressive manner; and his answers to the many insidious questions that were put to him, showed uncommon quickness of conception, soundness of judgment and presence of mind; completely baffled all the artifices and malice of his enemies; and enabled him to elude all the snares that were laid for him.

"From this short and imperfect sketch of our Saviour's character, it is evident that he was, beyond comparison, the wisest and the most virtuous person that ever appeared in the world."

"His answers to the many insidious questions that were put to hims, showed *uncommon quickness of conception!—soundness of judgment! and presence of mind!*" and so forth. Now he asked if that was not a very liberal admission in favor of their blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. He asked if a deist or an atheist could be found in New York who would not give him the character which these gentlemen would introduce to their children, and which would almost degrade him to the condition of the Philosophers of Greece. They praise him! But it is with language the most insidious. They give him credit for eluding all the snares of his enemies, but it is as though they said, Snares were laid for him by his enemies, but he

was too *cute* for them. [Laughter.] And yet these men pretend that they, and they alone, ought to monopolize the direction of the mind of infancy. They pretend that they alone should take the contribution of Catholics for so noble a purpose as that of education; become the guardians and directors of Catholic children; and that they alone are fitted to guard the heart, which is of infinitely greater importance than the welfare of the body.

These, then, were the men who were laboring to prove that there was not any single denomination of Christians from which a Board could be formed that was worthy to be confided in. But he would like to know if there was not a Christian denomination to be found from which a Board could be formed of equal respectability with those gentlemen, and he did not wish to detract from their character. It was a libel on the men who were conscientious in other faiths to intimate that they were less capable or less honest than they (the School Trustees). What reason, then, could be given for the interposition of these gentlemen between Catholics and their children? for claiming the right to extort on the one hand the expense of the education, and then its administration, and in its administration to dilute and render it good for nothing? For himself, he had no care in this matter; but for the children of Catholics, as their Bishop, and therefore their spiritual parent and protector, he had a conscientious duty to discharge in the protection and vindication of their principles and their rights. He cared less for the money than for their rights and principles. [Applause.] And what he said for Catholics to-day, he would say for the Lutheran or the Quaker to-morrow, if they had the same conscientious scruples. There was no law—there could be no law in this country under any pretext, that could compel them to violate the rights of conscience, whereby the very existence of society itself in this country depends. He repeated, as a matter of money, it was not so much a matter of importance, as it was as a matter of principle; and for the Catholics, he proclaimed it to the world, that as regarded the Public Schools, there was an end of all connection with them — THE UNION IS REPEALED. [Great applause.] What, then, was their future course? It was that they were obliged to do henceforward as they had done heretofore—to educate their own children, after paying into the common treasury the expense of doing so. They thereby saved their children's principles, and if the gentlemen of the Public Schools deemed it any glory to take the money of the Catholics, poor as many of them were, and appropriate it to a partial system from which the Catholics were excluded, let them enjoy the unenvied glory of doing so; but a conquest over their principles those gentlemen would not obtain. [Applause.]

It remained, then, for them (the Catholics), to unite in soul in proportion to the tenacity of purpose with which the School Society cling to the existing system; and to show those gentlemen with what perseverance and firmness they were determined not to submit to injuries. So far as it depended on them (the Catholics), those

gentlemen would find no acquiescence in a system, which in the conscience and judgment of every impartial man could not merit approbation. They (the Catholics) had to develop their position to the world, and to explain to the community at large the bearing of this system upon them, for there were multitudes that did not comprehend it, and who saw nothing in it affecting their own religion to induce them to examine it. But when Catholics showed how it pressed unequally on them, and on the principles of justice, on their freedom of conscience, and on the liberty which they ought to possess to give instruction to their own children, they would find friends and supporters among those who had no sympathy with their religion. He conceived it could not be otherwise. But all he begged of the Public Council of the Board of Aldermen, was to treat them with candor and frankness, and at once say yes, or no. This was all they expected—as a matter of favor to be conferred on them, they did not ask it, they claimed it as a right for which they had many precedents. In Ireland the Presbyterians objected to the system pursued by the British Government, and that government consulted those objections to remove them; and he would say, glory to those Presbyterians for stating their scruples.

Again, look at Lowell in their own country. The Catholics there being unwilling to place their children under a system which they conceived operated against their consciences, made known their objections to the superintendents of those schools; and those superintendents, on becoming acquainted with the facts, being themselves men of education, without any desire to encroach on the rights, or to get the shavings of the consciences of others—[laughter]—said to the Catholics, Establish your own schools, select your own teachers, and we will pay for them, provided you give education, for education is what we want. Now, cannot these men do that here, instead of pursuing the course which they have pursued hitherto? But if, on the contrary, they say, Keep quiet, we know who you are, we will tell them we are not afraid: the time when Penn told Cortez Catholics could not reason, has gone by; and now Catholics can reason; and when they were made to bear burdens which pressed more heavily than was fair, and reasonable, and right, they would tell those gentlemen that they would not submit to it. [Great applause.]

There was one other subject to which it was his desire to call the attention of the meeting. It was in reference to the opportunity to be afforded them of stating their grievances to the Board of Aldermen. It had been suggested to him by a gentleman very deeply interested in the success of this question, that it might not be expedient for him (the Bishop) to appear in such a place on such an occasion, for it was possible that some language might be used towards him, which, though he might bear it with patience, might be painful to others. On this question, he had replied, he was willing to give up his own opinion, but at the same time he stated that he had no apprehension of anything of that kind, or if anything of the sort

should occur, it would have no effect on him personally, or on his feelings. But he had no apprehensions on the subject, either on questions of propriety or any other.

He, however, had considered whether he should not there be out of place, and whether even in meetings like the present he was not; but so vital and important did he consider the question, that he conceived he could not be anywhere more in keeping with his character as a bishop, than when he stood before them, pleading the cause of the poor and the oppressed. [Great applause.] And so near was the question to his heart that he could bear insult from morning till night. [Renewed applause.] Insult would have no other effect on him than to make him cling still closer to that principle which was to be acted upon in a few days, but the effect of which was to be felt through years and years, through ages and ages, through generations and generations, till the world shall be no more. [Cheers.] For such a question he might venture to the farthest boundaries of propriety—to the farthest limits which propriety would allow a bishop to go. He was, however, willing to submit his opinion to the meeting. He should not consider himself out of place there; and he had nothing to dread on that occasion. [Great applause.] He then passed a high eulogium on the character of Mr. Francis Cooper, and on his firmness in refusing to take the oaths prescribed for members of the Legislature, and when he conceived them contrary to the right of conscience, and concluded by proposing the addition of that gentleman to the committee deputed to wait on the Board of Aldermen, to state the ground of their claim—an addition which he considered valuable, inasmuch as Mr. Cooper was familiar with the subject, having been himself connected with the Common School System.

BISHOP HUGHES' GREAT SPEECHES

ON THE CLAIM OF THE CATHOLICS TO A PORTION OF THE COMMON SCHOOL FUND, BEFORE THE BOARD OF ALDERMEN OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, ON THURSDAY AND FRIDAY, THE 29TH AND 30TH OCTOBER, 1840.

On Thursday, the 29th October, 1840, the Board of Aldermen met in special session, for the purpose of hearing the arguments of the Catholics in favor of their claim to a separate portion of the Common School Fund, and the School Society, and the Societies of the Methodist Episcopal Church in opposition. The Board of Assistant Aldermen was present, by invitation of the Board of Aldermen, to hear the discussion. The deep interest which was felt in the question by the community generally was exhibited by the dense crowd which filled the spacious halls long before the doors of the Council Chamber were thrown open, and by the anxious solicitude which was manifested to hear the debate.

Some time elapsed before the Aldermen and the gentlemen who were to take part in the proceedings could obtain a passage through the mass of human beings that struggled for admission, even with the aid of a body of police officers, and great numbers of individuals were ultimately unable to gain admission.

When the Board became organized, and some points of form had been determined, it was agreed to hear the parties in the order in which their petitions or remonstrances had been received by the Council—viz., first the Catholics, then the Public School Society, and lastly the Societies of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which were respectively represented by the following Committees and Counsel:—The Catholics, by the Right Rev. Bishop Hughes, the Very Rev. Dr. Power, Thomas O'Connor, Esq., Francis Cooper, Esq., Dr. Hugh Sweeney, James McKeon, Esq., and James Kelly, Esq.; the School Society, by Theodore Sedgwick, Esq., and Hiram Ketchum, Esq.; the Methodist Episcopal Churches, by the Revs. Dr. Bangs, Dr. Bond, and George Peck.

Before entering on the discussion, the reading of the petition of the Catholics and the remonstrances from the other Societies here represented, was called by the Alderman of the Sixteenth Ward, and they were read accordingly by Mr. John Paulding, the Reader to the Board.

The Right Rev. Bishop Hughes then rose to address the Board in behalf of the Catholics, and spoke as follows:

Gentlemen of the Board of Aldermen,—Unaccustomed as I am to address a body of gentlemen such as I see here before me, I may not always be correct in the manner of my address: I hope, therefore, that any mistakes of mine may be imputed by this Honorable Board to my inexperience. I would also, on the threshold of the subject, observe, that in no part of the discussion on this question, so far as it has gone, am I conscious of having imputed to any gentleman who is opposed to the claim in which I have so deep an interest, any motive or design of a sinister character. I am sorry, therefore, that the Public School Society should have been pleased to refer to the language of our document as though imputation had thereby been cast upon their motives. I am sure if they again review our documents they will not find one solitary instance of any imputation dishonorable to them personally as gentlemen. We speak of their system apart from themselves; and we speak of it with that freedom which it is the right of American citizens to speak of the public actions and public proceedings of public men; but again will I repeat, that in no instance to my knowledge has there been imputed to those gentlemen one solitary motive, one single purpose unworthy of their high standing and their respectable character. They have alleged, in some of their documents, that we charge them with teaching infidelity; but we have not done so. We charge it as the result of their system, not that they are actively engaged in teaching infidelity; and not only do we not say this, but we interpose the declaration, that we do not believe such to be their intention, but that the system has gone beyond their intention. Yet, after this, they ascribe to themselves these imputations, and they cap their salvo by saying, that even the authors of the address shrink from a picture of their own coloring—a picture which they not only charge that we have drawn of them, but also of all other classes and denominations of our fellow-citizens. Now, I venture to repeat, that in no instance have we imputed to them motives which can reflect on them as honorable men. I make these observations in the commencement, simply to show how much has been written of the petitioners on assumptions which have no foundation on any thing that has been written or said by us. I know well the Public School Society is an institution highly popular in the city of New York; but I should be sorry to suppose that those gentlemen would permit themselves to interpose that popularity between them and the JUSTICE which we contend for when we seek that to which we believe we have a legal right. At the same time it is proper for me, at the commencement, to clear away another objection which an attempt has been made, in both the remonstrances that have been read, to oppose to the exceedingly simple principle for which we contend. The attempt has been made, (and you will perceive the whole document, which issued as a Report from the Board of Assistant Aldermen, as well as the remonstrances of the Public School Society, and the Methodist Episcopal Church, is based on the same false assumption,) to assume false premises in this matter, which are, that we want this money for the promotion of the ecclesiastical interests of our Church. Now, if these Societies wish to enter their remonstrances against our petition they should first read the language in which we have urged our claim, and if they had, they would have saved themselves the trouble, in my opinion, of reasoning on arguments which are but figments of their own creation and no proposition of ours. Have not we distinctly stated not only what we want, but, to guard them against accusing us of what we do not want, have we not said that we do not want the public money to promote ecclesiastical interests? for to this money, for such a purpose, we have no right. And, also, have we not further stated, that if it can be shown that we want the money for this purpose, that we will abandon our claim—that if

it can be shown that we want it for sectarian interest we will relinquish it altogether? We have said in the first place:

"Your petitioners will now invite the attention of your honorable body to the objections and misrepresentations that have been urged by the Public School Society to granting the claim of your petitioners. It is urged by them that it would be appropriating money raised by general taxation to the support of the Catholic religion. Your petitioners join issue with them, and declare unhesitatingly, that if this objection can be established the claim shall forthwith be abandoned. It is objected that though we are taxed as citizens, we apply for the benefits of education as 'Catholics.' Your petitioners, to remove this difficulty, beg to be considered in their application in the identical capacity in which they are taxed, viz.: as citizens of the commonwealth. It has been contended by the Public School Society, that the law disqualifies schools which admit any profession of religion from receiving any encouragements from the school fund. Your petitioners have two solutions for this pretended difficulty. First. Your petitioners are unable to discover any such disqualification in law, which merely delegates to your honorable body the authority and discretion of determining what schools or societies shall be entitled to its bounty. Secondly. Your petitioners are willing to fulfill the conditions of the law so far as religious teaching is proscribed during school hours. In fine, your petitioners, to remove all objections, are willing that the material organization of their schools, and the disbursements of the funds allowed for them, shall be conducted and made, by persons unconnected with the religion of your petitioners, even the Public School Society, if it should please your honorable body to appoint them for that purpose. The public may then be assured that the money will not be applied to the support of the Catholic religion.

"It is deemed necessary by your petitioners to save the Public School Society the necessity of future misconception, thus to state the things which are *not* petitioned for."

Yet, notwithstanding this clear and simple language, you perceive both the remonstrances, of the School Society and the Episcopal Methodists, go on this false issue, that we want this money for sectarian and illegal purposes! Our language could not be plainer than it was on this point, and yet there has been uncharitableness enough in these societies to assert the contrary. I have deemed it necessary to make this explanation at the commencement to impress your minds, gentlemen, with what it is we seek and what it is we seek not, because I know a deal may be done towards a proper elucidation of this subject by preserving its simplicity. The remonstrants warn you, gentlemen, against giving money for sectarian purposes. We join them in that admonition. We contend that we look in honesty and simplicity alone for the benefits of education; and as members of the commonwealth and as Catholics we seek but that which we believe to be just, and legal, and right.

I shall now, gentlemen, review very briefly both the documents, because they submit to your Honorable Body the grounds on which that claim, which we believe to be just, is opposed. After the introduction of that from the Public School Society, we find in the second paragraph the following passages:

"The subject has, however, been so fully elucidated and ably argued, in documents now among the public records, that your remonstrants cannot hope to shed any additional light upon it. They therefore beg leave to refer your honorable body to Document No. 80, of the Board of Assistant Aldermen, as containing the reasons on which your remonstrants would rely, in opposing the applications of religious societies for a portion of the school fund. It is believed that no decision of the City Government ever met with a more general and cordial response in the public mind."

Yes, it may well be so believed, for the reason that that whole document went on a *false issue*, and therefore it was thus believed. But if I prove, as I shall, that the premises had no foundation in reality, then the arguments founded thereon must fall to the ground, for they were but castles in the air. It proceeds:

"As the Roman Catholics very recently issued an address to the people of this City and State, urging at large their reasons for a separate appropriation of school money, to which your remonstrants have replied, they now present copies of said documents, which they respectfully submit to your honorable body, as containing matter relevant to the question under consideration. The petition of the Roman Catholics now pending presents, nevertheless, some points which your remonstrants feel called upon to notice.

By a misapprehension of the law in relation to persons who are conscientiously opposed to bearing arms, which is applicable to persons of every religious persuasion, they attempt to adduce an argument in favor of the prayer of their petition, and say that they only claim the benefit of the same principle in regard to the education of their children. Now the facts are, that the law imposes a fine, or tax as an equivalent for personal military services, and in the event of there being no property on which to levy, subjects such persons to imprisonment, and numbers are every year actually confined in the jails of this State."

Now I conceive the illustration there referred to was a strong one. The parents and guardians of tender offspring have a right connected with their nature by God himself in His wise Providence, and they should be shown a strong reason for transferring it to others. And I adduced it as an illustration and as a strong one—why? Because the defence of the country is a thing connected with self-existence and preservation; and yet, so tender is the genius of this happy country of the rights of conscience, it dispensed with all those who had religious scruples from a compliance with the law, and changed it into a small fine, whereby the right was shown, and also the disposition to waive it.

"With the religious opinions of the denomination of Christians referred to, your remonstrants have nothing to do. In opposing the claims of the Roman Catholic, and several other churches, to the school money, they have confined their remarks to broad general grounds alike applicable to all; but the petitioners have seen fit to single out a religious society by name, and intimate or indirectly assert, not only that their peculiar religious views lead to insubordination and contempt of parental authority, but that the Trustees of the Public Schools, who are of this denomination, by their numbers or the 'controlling influence' they exert, have introduced the 'same principle' into the public schools, and that their effects are manifested in the conduct of the Catholic children who have attended them."

Now I am exceedingly surprised that those gentlemen should go so far from the text to draw reproach upon themselves. We said nothing to authorize this language. We simply stated the fact; we mentioned the circumstance of the controlling influence of those holding peculiar sectarian views; but we did not draw the conclusion, whether the insubordination of the children of our poor people was the result of the principles taught in the schools or of a want of domestic influence. And yet these gentlemen have gone on to draw upon themselves an imputation of which we respectfully disclaim the authorship. They proceed:

"Your remonstrants feel bound, therefore, in reply, to state that of the one hundred citizens who compose the board of trustees, there are only twelve of the denomination thus traduced——— "and of these six or seven accepted the situation by solicitation of the board, for the purpose of superintending the management of the colored schools, to which object they have almost exclusively confined themselves."

Now I should be one of the last to detract from the merits of this denomination. Some of them I have known personally, and others by their history, and my opinion has always been of them that they are among the foremost in every benevolent act and social virtue, and to lend their arm to strengthen the weak and the oppressed; and therefore it is no reproach to them that they take the lead in this work of benevolence of which I give them credit. They go on to say:

"Of the motive that induced this extraordinary portion of the petition, your remonstrants will not trust themselves to speak," ——

It might be recollected, gentlemen, if there were a leaning that way, it was after the publication of the "Reply" to our "Address," which, though it has the name, is no *reply* to our arguments. It is not an answer; but in it they take the occasion to sneer at us, as I shall soon have occasion to show; yet I may here observe, that it would have been better if they had addressed themselves to the principles of eternal justice on which we rest.

"Of so much of it," they add, "as conveys an idea that the Trustees who are of this religious persuasion introduced, or attempt to introduce, into the public schools their

own peculiar opinions," we never charged that they did; "they can only say that no one of the numerous and serious charges brought against your remonstrants by the petitioners, is more entirely destitute of foundation in fact. If a disposition existed in any quarter to give a sectarian bias to the minds of the children, it will readily be seen that the most successful method would be through the selection of teachers."

Why, there was no necessity for this vindication at all.

"In one of the documents now submitted to your Honorable Body, it is stated that, in appointing teachers, no regard is had by the Trustees to the religious profession of the candidates, and that six or seven of the present number are Roman Catholics."

I have seen this statement figure in almost every document of that Society, and yet I have not been able to find "six or seven of the present number who are Roman Catholics:" and I doubt if they can be found, except they are such Roman Catholics as we see our children become after they have been in these public schools; that is, Catholics who have no feelings in common with their church—Catholics who are ashamed of the name, because in the school-books and from the teachers they hear of its professors only as "Papists," and of the religion itself only as "Popery." It is such as these, I fear, that pass as Catholics, though I only know of one who is worthy of the name. "From an inquiry now made, it is found that only two of the teachers belong to the 'Society of Friends.'" And I don't suppose that better teachers could be obtained anywhere, when confined within the limits prescribed; except they have the privilege to introduce religious instruction. And without that it matters but little whether they are of the Society of Friends or not. They continue:

"It is with regret that your remonstrants find themselves under the painful necessity of saying that the petition of the Catholics contains garbled extracts and detached portions of some parts of their annual reports in relation to religious instruction, and so arranged and commented upon as to convey a meaning directly opposite to the one intended and clearly expressed in the original documents."

Now, I will allow the reading of it, and if there are any garbled extracts there, I will be the first to correct it. But I am surprised, when we quote the words of their documents, that they should urge this charge. Let the documents be read. I have no dread on this subject.

"The same means are resorted to in quoting the language of the Trustees, when urging the importance of using measures for inducing the poor to have their children educated. On different occasions, your remonstrants have suggested to the Common Council the expediency of requiring, by legal enactment, the attendance at some 'public or other daily school' of the numerous 'vagrant children who roam about our streets and wharves, begging and pilfering;' and this is tortured in the Catholic petition into a desire of 'abridging the private liberties of their fellow-citizens,' and an acknowledgment, on the part of the Trustees, 'that they had not the confidence of the poor.'"

Yet I should think, gentlemen, such a reluctance to attend their schools as to make it necessary to apply for a legal enactment to procure first the money and then to compel an attendance, would show that they did want that confidence. I know they have not the confidence of our body. Yes, they have obtained two enactments from the Common Council, depriving the parents in time of need—even when cold and starvation have set in upon them—of public relief, unless the children were sent to these, or some other schools. And I have seen them urging ladies, in their public documents, to obtain their confidence by soothing words; and I have seen them urging employers to make it the condition of employment. Yet, after all this, they pretend that they have had the confidence of the poor. I do not say that they have not merited it according to *their* views: but I do not think they should expect all mankind to submit to their views of the matter, to the sacrifice of their own. They say:

"The records of the schools will demonstrate that the industrious and respectable portions of the laboring classes repose entire confidence in the public school system and its managers."

Then that portion in behalf of whom I stand here is not to be classed with the "industrious and respectable!" They then proceed to another point:

"The subject of objectionable matter in the books used in the public schools is so fully discussed in the papers now submitted to your honorable body, that little more would seem to be called for under this head. Finding their strenuous and long-continued efforts to induce the Catholic clergy to unite in an expurgation of the books unavailing, the trustees commenced the work without them, and it is now nearly completed. If anything remains to which the petitioners can take exception, no censure can, by possibility, attach to your remonstrants; and the trustees assert with confidence, that if any has escaped them, there is now less matter objectionable to the Roman Catholics, to be found in the books used in the public schools, than in those of any other seminary of learning, either public or private, within this State."

Now they could not adopt a worse test, for I defy you to find a reading book in either public or private seminary, that in respect to Catholics is not full of ignorance. Not a book. For if it were clear of this it would not be popular; and if they refer to this, then they refer to a standard which we repudiate. But it must be remembered those people can send their children to those schools or keep them at home. They are not TAXED for their support. But here we are; it is the public money which is here used to preserve the black blots which have been attempted to be fixed on the Catholic name. They say again, (and it is an idea that will go exceedingly well with the public at large, for it will show how amiable and conciliating are these gentlemen)—that they have submitted the books to us as though we have nothing to do but to mark out a passage and it will disappear. But are we to take the odium of erasing passages which they hold to be true? Have they the right to make such an offer? And if we spend the necessary time in reviewing the books to discover passages to be expurgated, have they given us a pledge that they will do it, or that they will not even then keep them in? Have they given us a pledge that they will do it as far as their denomination is concerned? And then, after all the loss of time which it would require to review these books, they can either remove the objectionable passages, or preserve them as they see fit. An individual cannot answer for a whole body. They may make a fine offer which may be calculated to impose on the public, but if we put the question if they are able and if they are willing, I should like to know whether they can, and will, pass a law to show us that they are sincere and that the object can be carried out? That would alter the case; or we may correct one passage to-day, and another next week; and then another body may come into power, and we may have to petition again and again. Could they then do it if they would? And should they if they could? They add:

"In conclusion, your remonstrants would remark that they have not thought it expedient, on this occasion, to enter into a detailed defence of their conduct, as regards all of the charges preferred by the Roman Catholics. Those charges are before your honorable body, and the trustees will cheerfully submit to any inquiry that you may see fit to institute in relation to them; and even if it can be shown that your remonstrants are as 'eminently incompetent to the superintendence of public education' as the petition of the Roman Catholics intimates, it would not, they respectfully suggest, furnish any apology for breaking down one of the most important bulwarks of the civil and religious liberties of the American people."

This much then as regards this document, which it will be perceived goes on a false assumption that we want this money for a sectarian purpose, because it was so referred to in the report of the Committee of the Board of Assistant Aldermen, which denied our claim; for when I come to that it will be found that every proposition in it goes on the assumption that we wish this money for religious purposes. If we did, it would be just to deny it to us. But I will now take up another document, and I regret

that I cannot treat it with the respect I would otherwise wish to do. The document from the Public School Society, however it might have been led aside, and however feeble in its reasoning, contained nothing, I trust and believe, which was intended to be disrespectful to us. It was couched in language at which I cannot take offence; though it was weak in its principles, its reasoning was decent. I cannot say as much for this which is from "The undersigned committee, appointed by the pastors of the Methodist Episcopal Church in this city." They commence by observing, "That they have heard with surprise and alarm"—they should have seen our petition instead of taking "hearsay" for their authority—"that the Roman Catholics have renewed their application to the Common Council for an appropriation from the Common School Fund, for the support of the schools under their own direction, in which they teach, and propose still to teach, their own sectarian dogmas."

Where did they find that? Where did they find that statement? I should like to know from the gentlemen who signed this remonstrance where they have their authority for such an assertion? We disclaim it in the petition against which they remonstrate. It shows then how much trust can be placed in "hearsay," when they should and might have examined the petition against which they remonstrate, in which they can find no such thing.

"In which they teach, and propose still to teach, their own sectarian dogmas: not only to their own children, but to such Protestant children as they may find means to get into these schools."

I ask these gentlemen again what authority they have for such an assertion? I should like to see the argument which gives them their authority to use language and to make a statement so palpably false as this is.

"Your memorialists had hoped that the clear, cogent, and unanswerable arguments, by which the former application for this purpose was resisted, would have saved the Common Council from further importunity."

We shall see whether the arguments were so clear, cogent, and unanswerable by and by.

"It was clearly shown, that the Council could not legally make any sectarian appropriation of the public funds; and it was clearly shown that it would be utterly destructive of the whole scheme of public school instruction to do so, even if it could be legally done. But it seems that neither the constitution of the State, nor the public welfare are to be regarded, when they stand in the way of Romon Catholic sectarianism and exclusiveness."

There is an inference for you; and a very unfounded one it is too. "It must be manifest to the Common Council, that if the Roman Catholic claims are granted, all the other Christian denominations will urge their claims for a similar appropriation"—And I say they have the right to do it, I wish they would do it, for I believe it would be better for the future character of the city, and for its fame, when this generation shall have passed away. If they did claim it and the claim was granted, then an effort would be made to raise good and pious and honest men. —— "and that the money raised for education by a general tax, will be solely applied to the purposes of proselytism, through the medium of sectarian schools. But if this were done, would it be the price of peace? or would it not throw the apple of discord into the whole Christian community? Should we agree in the division of the spoils?"

I am exceedingly sorry that the gentlemen who drew up the remonstrance had not more confidence in the power of their own religious principle than to suppose that it would be necessary to contend violently for what they call the "spoils." We have submitted to be deprived of them for

years, and we have not manifested such a disposition; and I am surprised that they who understand so much of the power of religion should attach so much value to the little money which is to be distributed as to suppose that it would set Christians—professing Christians—together by the ears in its distribution.

"Should we agree in the division of the spoils? Would each sect be satisfied with the portion allotted to it? We venture to say, that the sturdy claimants who now beset the Council, would not be satisfied with much less than the lion's share; and we are sure that there are other Protestant denominations, besides ourselves, who would not patiently submit to the exaction."

After what they have said by authority as the grounds of their opposition, where, instead they should have had history for their guide, I am not surprised that they should prophesy in the matter. I, too, may prophesy and I will say that the "sturdy claimants" are as respectable as they are, and I trust it will never be attributable to us that we claim more than is our common right, and if that should be violated with respect to the Methodist Episcopal denomination, we shall be far from the ranks of those who may be the violaters.

"But when all the Christian sects shall be satisfied with their individual share of the public fund, what is to become of those children whose parents belong to none of these sects, and who cannot conscientiously allow them to be educated in the peculiar dogmas of any one of them? The different committees who on a former occasion approached your honorable body, have shown, that to provide schools for these only would require little less than is now expended; and it requires little arithmetic to show that when the religious sects have taken all, nothing will remain for those who have not yet been able to decide which of the Christian denominations to prefer. It must be plain to every impartial observer that the applicants are opposed to the whole system of public school instruction."

Have we said so? And on what authority have these gentlemen the right to say it if we have not? Where are their data? And yet they come before this Honorable Body and make such assertions with the sanction of their whole church!

"And it will be found that the uncharitable exclusiveness of their creed must ever be opposed to all public instruction which is not under the direction of their own priesthood. They may be conscientious in all this; but though it be no new claim on their part, we cannot yet allow them to guide and control the consciences of all the rest of the community."

Why, it would be a silly and absurd thing on our part to look for it. But we never thought of it. It is a fiction of these gentlemen's own creation. I contend we ask nothing for the community but for ourselves, and I trust it will be granted if it is right, and if we can be shown that it is not right we will abandon it cheerfully. But their assertion is wholly destitute of foundation.

"We are sorry that the reading of the Bible in the public schools, without note or commentary, is offensive to them; but we cannot allow the Holy Scriptures to be accompanied with *their* notes and commentaries"—Have we asked such a thing? or in any way solicited it?—"and to put into the hands of the children, who may hereafter be the rulers and legislators of our beloved country; because among other bad things taught in these commentaries is to be found the lawfulness of murdering heretics; and the unqualified submission, in all matters of conscience, to the Roman Catholic Church."

I have a feeling of respect for many of their denomination, but not for the head or the heart of those who drew this document up. Here it states an unqualified falsehood. Here it puts forth a false proposition, and that proposition has been introduced here as a slander. I can prove that it is so. And depending on the confidence here reposed in me, I propose and pledge myself to forfeit a thousand dollars, to be appropriated in charities as this council may direct, if those gentlemen can prove the truth of this allegation; provided they agree to the same forfeiture to be appropriated in a similar manner, if they fail

to establish its truth. If they can prove that the Catholic Church sanctions, or has made it lawful to murder heretics, I will forfeit that sum. I feel indignant that we should be met, when we come with a plain, and reasonable, and honest request to submit to the proper authorities, with slanders such as that, and that in the name of religion, which is holy. I wish them to hear what I say. I know very well their books tell them so; but they should look at the original and not at secondary authorities when they assail our reputation and our rights.

"But if the principle on which this application is based should be admitted, it must be carried far beyond the present purpose. If all are to be released from taxation, when they cannot conscientiously derive any benefit from the disbursement of the money collected, what will be done for the Society of Friends, and other sects who are opposed to war under all circumstances?"

With that I have nothing to do, and, therefore, I will pass on to another point.

"The Roman Catholics complain that books have been introduced into the public schools which are injurious to them as a body. It is allowed, however, that the passages in these books, to which such reference is made, are chiefly, if not entirely, historical; and we put it to the candor of the Common Council to say whether any history of Europe, for the last ten centuries, could be written, which could either omit to mention the Roman Catholic Church, or mention it without recording historical facts unfavorable to that Church?"

And this is what the remonstrants call a strong issue. They assert that no history could be written which could either omit to mention the Roman Catholic Church, or mention it without recording historical facts unfavorable to the Catholic Church. If this be the case, I ask you whether, as citizens entitled to the rights of citizens, we are to be compelled to send our children to schools which *cannot* teach our children history without blackening us. But again they say,

"We assert that if all the historical facts in which the Church of Rome has taken a prominent part could be taken from writers of her own communion only, the incidents might be made, more objectionable to the complainants, than any book to which they now object."

No doubt of it; and it only proves that Catholic historians have no interest to conceal what is the truth. But I contend that there are pages in the Catholic history brighter than any in the history of Methodism; and that there are questions and passages enough for reading lessons, without selecting such as will lead the mind of the Catholic child to be ashamed of his ancestors. The Methodist Episcopal Church is a respectable church, and I am willing to treat it with becoming respect; but it is a young church; it is not so old as the Catholic Church, and therefore has fewer crimes; but I contend again it has fewer virtues to boast of. And in its career of a hundred years it has done as little for mankind as any other denomination.

"History itself, then, must be falsified for their accommodation; and yet they complain that the system of education adopted in the public schools does not teach the sinfulness of lying!

"They complain that no religion is taught in these schools, and declare that any, even the worst form of Christianity, would be better than none; and yet they object to the reading of the Holy Scriptures, which are the only foundation of all true religion. Is it not plain then, that they will not be satisfied with any thing short of the total abandonment of public school instruction, or the appropriation of such portion of the public fund as they may claim, to their own sectarian purposes?"

All the time they go on the false issue. They charge that which we disclaim, and they reason on a charge of their own invention, and which we never authorized. Now, as I have a word to say about the Holy Scriptures, I may as well say it at this, as at any other time. Their assumption

is that because the Scriptures are read, sufficient precaution is taken against infidelity. But I do not agree with them in that opinion, and I will give my reason. What is the reason that there is such a diversity of sects all claiming the Holy Scriptures as the centre from which they draw their respective contradictory systems—that book which appears out of school by the use made of it, to be the source of all dissension, when it does not come to the minds of children with such authority as to fix on their minds any definite principles? As regards us, while the Protestants say theirs is the true version, we say it is not so. We treat the Scriptures reverently, but the Protestant version of the Scriptures is not a complete copy, and as it has been altered and changed, we do not look upon it as giving the whole writings which were given by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. We object not to the Holy Scriptures, but to the Protestant version without note or comment. We think it too much to ask Protestants to relinquish theirs and take ours for the use of the public schools. If we could ask you—if we could propose that you should take our book—if we should ask you to put out the Protestant Scriptures and take ours, with our note and comment, do you think Protestants would agree to it? Do you not think we should be arraigned as enemies of the Word of God?—for that is one charge made when it is sought to denounce us. When we speak language of this kind, instead of understanding us according to our comprehension of the subject, they charge that we are enemies to the Holy Scriptures. But to object to their version is not to object to the Holy Scriptures; and I am prepared to show them that no denomination has done so much in the true sense for the Scriptures as the Catholic Church. The remonstrants add:

"But this is not all. They have been most complaisantly offered the censorship of the books to be used in the public schools. The committee to whom has been confided the management of these schools in this city, offered to allow the Roman Catholic Bishop to expurgate from these books any thing offensive to him."

And now they go out of their way to sneer at us, and you will observe the flippancy with which they do it.

"But the offer was not accepted; perhaps, for the same reason that he declined to decide on the admissibility of a book of extracts from the Bible, which had been sanctioned by certain Roman bishops in Ireland. An appeal, it seems, had gone to the Pope on the subject, and nothing could be said or done in the matter until his Holiness had decided. The Common Council of New York will therefore find, that when they shall have conceded to the Roman Catholics of this city the selection of books for the use of the public schools, that these books must undergo the censorship of a foreign Potentate. We hope the time is far distant when the citizens of this country will allow any foreign power to dictate to them in matters relating to either general or municipal law."

Prophets again; but not prophets of charity. I, sir, say not prophets of good-will, for there is something more in their souls than the public welfare. There is something in their insinuation that is insulting, and a tone which does not show a mind enlightened and enlarged, and an appreciation of equal justice and equal rights. Just their way. They hear that an appeal has gone to the Pope; and if we desired to appeal, also, we should claim the right to do it without asking permission from any one. Catholics all over the world do it when their consciences make it a duty, but not in matters of this kind. "These books must undergo the censorship of a foreign Potentate!" Now we regard him only as supreme in our *Church*, and there's an end of it.

"We cannot conclude this memorial without noticing one other ground on which the Roman Catholics, in their late appeal to their fellow-citizens, urged their sectarian

claims, and excused their conscientious objections to the public schools. Their creed is dear to them, it seems, because some of their ancestors have been martyrs to their faith. This was an unfortunate allusion."

Some! "Some of their ancestors have been martyrs to their faith." I speak of the Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland, and when you reflect on the bigoted and unjust laws which Great Britain founded against all that were Catholics, by which their churches were wrested from them, and a bribe was offered as an inducement to the double crime of murder and of perjury, when it authorized any man to bring the head of a Catholic to the commissioner, and if he would only swear it was the head of a priest he got the same price as for the head of a wolf, no matter whose head it was—and when legislation of that kind continued for centuries, this, you must agree with me, was being martyrs indeed. But when have the Methodists shown a sympathy for those contending for the rights of conscience? When the Dissenters of England claimed to be released from the operation of the "Test and Corporation" act by which they were excluded from civil office, did the Methodist Episcopal Church assist them? Not a solitary petition went from them for the enlargement of their freedom. And is it a wonder that we look to conscience and admire those who had the firmness to suffer for conscience' sake? By the penal laws against Catholics the doors of Parliament were closed against us, if we had a conscience, for it required us to take an oath which we did not believe to be true, and therefore we could not swear it. There it is, sir; it is because we have a conscience, because we respect it, that we have suffered, and while virtue is admired on earth, the fidelity of the people that are found standing by the right of conscience will command the admiration of the world. And yet, we are told, it was an unfortunate allusion!

"Did not the Roman Catholics know, that they addressed many of their fellow-citizens who could not recur to the memoirs of their ancestors without being reminded of the revocation of the Edict of Nantz—"the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day, the fires of Smithfield." What is that to us? Are we the people that took part in that? "Or the crusade against the Waldenses? We would willingly cover these scenes with the mantle of charity." They had better not make the attempt, for their mantle is too narrow. "And hope that our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens will in future avoid whatever has a tendency to revive the painful remembrance."

Let them enter upon that chapter and discuss the charitableness of their religion, and I am prepared to prove—I speak it with confidence in the presence of this honorable assembly—that the Catholic religion is more charitable to those who depart from her pale, than any other that ever was yoked in unholy alliance with civil power.

"Your memorialists had hoped that the intolerance and exclusiveness which had characterized the Roman Catholic Church in Europe, had been greatly softened under the benign influences of our civil institutions. The pertinacity with which their sectarian interests are now urged, has dissipated the illusion."

Sectarian interests, again, although we have disclaimed them.

"We were content with their having excluded us, 'ex cathedra,' from all claim to heaven, for we were sure they did not possess the keys, notwithstanding their confident pretensions."

Why they need not be uneasy about our excluding them from heaven, for their opinion is that they have no chance to enter if they have anything to do with us; and therefore our excluding them is of no avail.

"Nor did we complain they would not allow us any participation in the benefits of purgatory—"

Pray what has that to do with Common School Education?

"For it is a place they have made for themselves, and of which they may claim the exclusive property."

Well it is no matter whether we believe in purgatory or not; it is no matter for the Common Council to decide. But if they are not satisfied with our purgatory, and wish to go farther, they may prove the truth of the proverb which says "they may go farther and fare worse."

"But we do protest against any appropriation of the public school fund for their exclusive benefit, or for any other purposes whatever. Assured that the Common Council will do what it is right to do in the premises, we are, gentlemen, with great respect, your most obedient servants, N. Bangs, Thomas E. Bond, George Peck."

And now I have gone through these two remonstrances, both of which, it will be seen, refer to the document of the Board of Assistant Aldermen, and rest their opposition on the same ground. Of that document, I will pass over the introduction, but I may observe that its authors, by what influence I am unable to say, have been made to rest their report upon an issue such as I have already described, and for which our petition furnishes no basis. I will first call your attention to the following observations:

"The petitioners who appeared, also contended that they contributed, in common with all other citizens who were taxed for the purpose, to the accumulation of the Common School Fund, and that they were therefore entitled to a participation in its advantages; that now they receive no benefit from the fund inasmuch as the members of the Catholic Churches could not conscientiously send their children to schools in which the religious doctrines of their fathers were exposed to ridicule or censure. The truth and justice of the first branch of this proposition—

That is the payment of taxes,

—"cannot be questioned. The correctness of the latter part of the argument, so far as the same relates to books or exercises of any kind in the Public Schools, reflecting on the Catholic Church, was denied by the School Society."

Now it is to be remembered that this denial, of anything objectionable in the books of the Public School Society, was made at the period of the last application. I am persuaded those gentlemen, if they had known there was any thing objectionable to the Catholics, would not have denied it. I am sure they believed there was nothing, and from this circumstance I think I may fairly draw this inference, that they had not paid that attention to the books which they should have done, knowing the variety of denominations contributing to this fund and entitled to its benefits; or knowing this and the feelings and principles of Catholics, that they were incompetent for the proper discharge of their responsible duties. It is only on one of these two grounds that I can account for their *denial.* But since that time they have not only admitted that the objection was correct, but they have expunged passages from the books which at the time of this denial they said did not exist. I shall pass on now to the two questions on which the decision of the Committee was made to rest. The first is—"Have the Common Council of this city, under the existing laws relative to Common Schools in the city of New York, a legal right to appropriate any portion of the School Fund to religious corporations?"

Whether they have or not one thing is clear and certain, that it is not as a "Religious Corporation" that we apply for it; and it seems to me that this should have struck the attention of the Public School Society, and the other gentlemen who have remonstrated. We do not apply as a religious body—we apply in the identical capacity in which we are taxed—as citizens of the commonwealth, without an encroachment on principle or the violation of any man's conscience. But secondly they ask—"Would the exercise of such power be in accordance with the spirit of the constitution, and the nature of our government?"

Certainly not. If the constitution and government have determined that no religious denomination shall receive any civil privilege, the exercise of such power will not be in conformity with the spirit of the constitution and the

nature of our government. But there is throughout and in all these documents a squeamishness, a false delicacy, a persuasion that everything which excludes religion abroad is right and liberal. It would be unnecessary for me to follow this report sentence by sentence if there had not been so much reliance placed on it by those who have remonstrated; but as so much consequence has been attached to it I will call your attention to some other passages. They go on to say: "Private associations and religious corporations were excluded from the management of the fund and the government of the schools. Private interest, under this system, could not appropriate the public treasure to private purposes, and religious zeal could not divert it to the purposes of proselytism."

Why there is nothing of the kind intended. We have been driven by the obligation of our consciences, and at our expense, which we are poorly able to bear, to provide schools; but they are not convenient, they are not well ventilated, and are not well calculated to give that development to your young citizens which they ought to have; why argue, then, against religious corporations, and, in treating this question, bring prejudices into view which ought to have no existence in reality? They then go on to give the history and origin of the present law and of the Public School Fund, and it seems that for a period of time, and a long period, the Legislature designated the schools which might participate in this bounty. Each religious denomination provided for the instruction of its own poor; they had provided schools, and their exertions were honorable and laudable. The Legislature granted its aid, and the respective Societies were encouraged to go on with the good work, and they did go on year after year, and then there was never heard that disputation which appears now to be so much dreaded. There was not then heard dissentation between neighbors, or strife between societies; everything went on peaceably, and why? Because the schools and the citizens were not then charged that religion was a forbidden subject. Nor should you now make it a forbidden part of education, because on religious principles alone can conscience find a resting-place. It should be made known that here conscience is supreme—that here all men are free to choose the views which their judgments, with a sense of their responsibility to an eternal weal or woe, shall offer for their adoption. It should be taught that here neighbors have the right to differ, and whatever is the right of one must be recognized as the right of the other; and the distribution of this fund will be better calculated to benefit the community than it can be by these public schools where everything seems to be at par except religion, and that is below par at an immense discount. They tell us then that—"The law was imperative in its character, and the several religious societies of the city possessed a legal right to draw their respective portions of the fund from the public treasury, subject only to the restriction, that the money so received should be appropriated to the purposes of free and common education."

But that "*right to draw*" has been taken away; yet there is nothing in the act by which the right to draw is taken away which forbids their receiving it still, if in the judgment of this Honorable Body the circumstances of the case entitle them to it. It is not an impeachment—the legislature had no intention to reflect on religious bodies—it had no intention to blackball religion in the Public Schools; and yet that view has been taken of it. Such was not the case; but because circumstances had arisen; and what were they? Why gross abuses had been practiced by one of the religious societies, and—"The funds received by the Church were applied to other purposes than those contemplated by the act."

Under some pretext the favor to expend the school moneys had been conferred on that Society in a way that distinguished it from all other Christian denominations and societies; and the other seeing this privilege

conferred on one and not on the rest, ventured to remonstrate with the Legislature; they intimated that the partiality to that Society of Baptists was an injustice to others, and they remonstrated against the law conferring exclusive privileges and against no other thing whatever. And yet by every document, and by this very document, it seems to be imagined that the Legislature did not revoke special favors granted to that Society, but withdrew its aid from all Christian churches; so that all the men who remonstrated against this partial legislation were found to have been themselves deprived of the privilege which they had enjoyed, and this on the strength of their own remonstrances for quite another thing. And the discretion which the Legislature had exercised to designate the schools which should receive this fund was transferred to this Honorable Body, the Common Council of the City of New York. And why was it transferred? I cannot speak positively, but while it seems to me that there were abuses shown to exist by the remonstrants, of which they made complaint, we may suppose the Legislature conceived it difficult for them to take cognizance of the matter, not being on the spot, but that the Common Council being here, and being a body chosen by the people in which, consequently, the public would have confidence, was the best and most fitting body to designate from time to time the institutions or schools which should be entitled to receive those school moneys. This must have been their intention, and yet this has been interpreted as repealing the law in order to deprive those denominations of a legal right (for right they had, and they could come and demand the money) and not a mere transfer of the discretion to give this money from the Legislature to the Common Council of New York. Now all this, which is so plain and simple has been construed by these gentlemen of the Public School Society as what? As conferring a monopoly upon them. As a law disqualifying all religious denominations receiving it. So it has been interpreted. But if it were so, we ask not for the money on the ground that we are a religious corporation, but of public utility, for the purpose of giving an education to a large and destitute class which otherwise will not have the means to procure it. We ask it to secure a public advantage, and if the objections anywhere exist to which I have directed your attention, they do not apply to our case. Gentlemen, I think it unnecessary to detain you any longer on this subject as referred to in this document, because while the question is composed of one simple fact, they are arguing against dangers which do not threaten them. But then they go on to say, "to prevent in our day and country, the recurrence of scenes so abhorrent to every principle of justice, humanity, and right, the Constitution of the United States, and of the several States, have declared in some form or other, that there should be no establishment of religion by law; that the affairs of the State should be kept entirely distinct from, and unconnected with those of the Church; that every human being should worship God, according to the dictates of his own conscience; that all churches and religions should be supported by voluntary contribution; and that no tax should ever be imposed for the benefit of any denomination of religion, for any cause, or under any pretence whatever."

All this is doctrine to which we subscribe most heartily. And while we seek to be relieved from the evils under which we suffer, we do not seek relief to the detriment of any other sect. What! is this country independent of religion? Is it a country of Atheism, or of an Established Religion? Neither the one nor the other; but a country which makes no law for religion, but places the right of conscience above all other authority —granting equality to all, protection to all, preference to none. And while all these documents have gone on the presumption of preference, all

we want is that we may be entitled to *protection* and not preference. We want that the public money shall not be employed to sap religion in the minds of our children—that they may have the advantages of education without the intermixture of religious views with their common knowledge which goes to destroy that which we believe to be the true religion. There is another feature connected with this subject—which is the definition given of a public school such as should be entitled to this money. "If the school money," says these gentlemen,—and I must believe they are imposed on by a statement which is not correct. I believe if they had known the true statement, they would not have published in their report such a statement as this: "If the school money should be divided among the religious denominations generally, as some have proposed, there will be nothing left for the support of schools of a purely civil character; and if there should be, in such a state of things, any citizen who could not, according to his opinions of right and wrong, conscientiously send his child to the school of an existing sect, there would be no public school in which he could be educated. This might, and probably would be the case with hundreds of our citizens."

Now, let me for a moment invite your attention to that part of the subject which I have now the honor to submit to you; and it is that part on which all these documents go, that religious teaching would vitiate all claim to a participation in this public fund. A common education, then, as understood by the State, is a secular education, and these documents contend that any religious teaching, no matter how slight, will vitiate all claim to a participation in this fund. Now, the Public School Society, in their reports, have from time to time stated themselves, and, observe, with a consciousness that the jealous eye of the community is upon them—they state, still under this restriction, that they have imparted religion. Now, if this doctrine be correct, they are no more entitled to the Common School Fund than others? Or, is the doctrine correct, and yet one must abide by it and not another? Again, these gentlemen charge us with accusing them of teaching infidelity, when taking this tax they give that education which, they state to us when we apply for a portion of this money, the State contemplates to give the scholar. Now, if the child be brought up without religion what is he? "Oh," they say, "we do not teach it." Is it necessary to teach infidelity? It does not require the *active* process. To make an infidel, what is it necessary to do? Cage him up in a room, give him a secular education from the age of five years to twenty-one, and I ask you what he will come out, if not an infidel? Whether he will know anything about God? And yet they tell you that religious teaching is a disqualification. What will a child be, then, if you give him their education from his youth up to the age of twenty-one? Will he know anything of God, and of a Divine Redeemer? of a Trinity, of the incarnation of the Saviour, and the redemption of the world by the atonement of Christ, or of any of those grand doctrines which are the basis and corner-stone of our Christianity? And because we object to a system of teaching which leads to practical infidelity, we are accused of charging the Public School Society with being infidels. They furnish the basis of the charge; we do not wish to do so. Now, I ask you whether it was the intention of the Legislature of New York, or of the people of the State, that the Public Schools should be made precisely such as the infidels want? Permit me to say, when I use the term infidel, I mean no disrespect to those that are so. I would not be one; but I respect their right to be what they please. A few days ago, a gentleman, who professes to be one of this class, and who would not allow his children to be scholars where religion is taught at all, said he could send them to the Public School, for there the education suited him. What, then, is the consequence? That while the public education of New York is guarded in such a manner as to suit the infidel, the chil-

dren become so. And is there any authority in this Board, or of a legislative body at Albany, or is there any Board in the Union, with power by the constitution, to exclude religion or to engraft it? Neither the one nor the other. The infidel says truly, that there is no religion taught, and, therefore, he can send his children; and I should like to know why any member of a Christian church should be forced to do violence to his convictions and not be permitted to enjoy equal advantages? If the infidel can send his children to these schools because no religion is taught there, and who, therefore, has to make no sacrifices of conscience, why cannot the Christian enjoy equal advantages? They say their instruction is not sectarianism; but it is; and of what kind? The sectarianism of infidelity in its every feature. But because it is of a negative kind, and they do not admit the doctrines of any particular denomination, because they do not profess to teach religion, therefore it is suited for all! As a test, therefore, of this principle, give this purely secular knowledge to a young man, keep him from intercourse with the rest of the world, give him nothing else, and what sort of a man would he be? What would be the state of his mind? A blank—a perfect blank as to religious impressions. But I contend that it is infidelity, and I hope the Public School gentlemen hear what I say. But, again, I do not charge it on their intention, and their assertion is purely gratuitous when they say that such an accusation is made against them. Here is the observation of the report on this subject:

"If religious instruction is communicated, it is FOREIGN to the intentions of the school system, and should be *instantly abandoned*. Religious instruction is no part of a Common School education."

Such, then, is the nature of that report which, I take leave to repeat, has been prepared by the gentlemen who drew it up as a committee, under the impression fixed on their minds that Catholics want this money to promote their religion, and that if it were granted to us others would want it for their respective religions also; and on this assumption they decided; but against this false issue I protest, whether set forth in this report or in the two remonstrances before this Council—one from the Public School Society, and the other from the Methodist Episcopal Church. It is not my business to speak in relation to the Public School Society at large. Of its history I have taken pains to make myself sufficiently possessed to speak; and I find that in its origin, so far from disclaiming all connection with religion, so far from conceiving religious teaching disadvantageous, it was originally incorporated for the purpose of supplying the wants of the destitute portion of the population, and their petition for a charter set forth

"The benefits which would result to society from the education of such children, by implanting in their minds the principles of RELIGION and morality."

At this time every denomination taught its own, and received an equal portion of the fund from the public authorities to aid them in their good work, so that their children were provided for, and this Society came to gather in the neglected and the outcast—they came as gleaners, after the reapers had gone through the field, and a most benevolent purpose theirs was; and their object I repeat, when they applied to the Legislature, was set forth to be—(for they did not conceal the advantages of a religious education)—to produce benefits to society by the implanting in the minds of such children the principles of religion and morality. There were children belonging to no denomination, and this Society seeing the benefits which would result to society from the education of such children by implanting in their minds the principles of religion and morality, undertook this benevolent work, and covered themselves and the name of their Society with glory by that undertaking. But it is strange that what then was so advantageous to the community—the implanting in the minds of children the principles of religion and morality—should have ceased to be so

now; and that they or their successors should seek to make that very thing a disqualification, and to turn it against all denominations of Christians, and claim themselves to monopolise the fund and the teaching on the principle that no religion shall be imparted. Now, has the Legislature seen fit to alter the character so as to make religious teaching a disqualification of all other sects?

Was it for that purpose that this Society, step by step, obtained enlarged privileges, by which not only the neglected children of the community, but those of others, came under their care, that they obtained grants from the public treasury and the exchequer of the city, to an amount of many thousands of dollars, until the Society claims to be the true and only Society, though existing as a private corporation, electing its own body, fixing a tax for the privilege of membership, sometimes $10, at others $20, $25, and $50, any of which sums is too much for a poor man to pay; and out of this organized body electing the Trustees to carry on the work?

I mention this, not to blame them, for they believe they are doing good, but to show that even with men who are honorable in every day-life, how much watchfulness and vigilance, how much tact and talent, is used to grasp more and more, till they absorb all, and completely deprive all others of any participation in the advantages of controlling this fund.

It is not my intention, as it is not my peculiar province, to enter into the legal part of the argument; but I have to regret that the gentleman who did intend to treat it, and to whose department it belonged, has been unfortunately prevented by the bursting of a small blood-vessel. But though my experience has not qualified me to enter into legal matters, yet, as a citizen, I might have the right to express my opinion on the monopoly which this Society claims; and that opinion is contrary to the monopoly, and not only contrary to their monopoly, simply regarded as a monopoly, but because I believe that a monopoly of this description should be regarded with double jealousy. Why? Because this monopoly is of greater weight than in ordinary cases; of great weight pecuniarily—for last year the fund amounted to $115,000—because the distribution of that money gives to them a patronage which, considering the weakness of human nature, is in danger of being used disadvantageously; because it gives to them privileges of infinitely higher importance than any that can be estimated by dollars and cents—the privilege of stamping their peculiar character on the minds of thousands and tens of thousands of our children. They ought to be men, to discharge the trust of such a monopoly, as pure as angels, and almost imbued with wisdom from above—such men they should be, when they would venture to come and stand by the mother's side, and say, in effect, "Give me the darling which you have nourished at your breast—give it to me, a stranger, and I will direct its mind. True, you are its parent; but you are not fit to guide its youthful progress, and to implant true principles in its mind; therefore give it to me, and give me also the means wherewith to instruct it." That is the position of that Society; and they ought to be almost more than men for this—as doubtless they are honorable men in their proper places; but of that we should have the most satisfactory evidence, that we may be well assured that they are fitted to discharge their duties. It is this consideration that brought me here, as the first pastor of a body of people, large and numerous as they are known to be; but poor as many of them are, and exposed to many hardships, they have children with immortal souls, whose condition is involved in this question, and if it is an impropriety in the clerical character, I would rather undergo the reproach than neglect to advocate their rights, as far as I have the power, with my feeble ability.

The Catholics of the city of New York may be estimated as one-fifth of the population; and when you take account of the class of children usually attending the Public Schools, and consider how many there are in this city

who are in affluent circumstances, which enable them to give an education to their children, who do not therefore participate in the teaching of the Public Schools; and when you consider the numbers not attending any school at all, I say, of those people, who, by their poverty, are the objects most usually composing the number that require the assistance of the Common School Fund, Catholics are one-third, if not more. And when I see this one-third excluded—respecting, as I do, their welfare in this life, as well as their welfare in a brighter world—then it is that I come forward thus publicly, and stand here to plead for them. I conceive we have our rights in question, and, therefore, most respectfully, I demand them from this Honorable Board.

I am not surprised that there should be remonstrances against our claim; but I did hope, in an age as enlightened as this is, and among gentlemen of known liberality of feeling, that their opposition would not have been characterized as this has been. However, it is not to me a matter of surprise; for I believe if some of those gentlemen, who consider themselves now as eminent Christians, had lived at the period when Lazarus lay languishing at the gate of the rich man, petitioning for the crumbs that fell from the table, they would have sent their remonstrance against his petition.

When the Methodist Episcopal Church sent its petition for a portion of this fund, some eight years ago, then it was not unconstitutional! Yet, did the Catholics send in their remonstrance against it? When their theological seminaries obtained (and they still receive) the bounty of the State, did, or do, the Catholics complain? Has there been a single instance of illiberality on the part of the Catholics, or a want of disposition to grant rights as universal as the nature of man may require? And I have been astonished only at this, that good men, with good intentions, should prefer to cling to a system, and to the money raised for its support by the public liberality—that they would sooner see tens of thousands of poor children contending with ignorance, and the companions of vice, than concede one iota of their monopoly, in order that others may enjoy their rights. I say this, because I am authorized to say it.

And what am I to infer, but, that they prefer the means to the end. The end designed, is to convey knowledge to the minds of our children; the means is the public fund; and, by refusing to cause the slightest variation in their system, they cling to the means, while they leave thousands of children without the benefit which the State intended to confer. They may pursue that course, but the experience of the past should have taught them that, while they maintain their present character, a large portion of their fellow-citizens have not—cannot have—confidence in them.

But they have said that, if a portion of this fund is given to Catholics, all other sects will want it. Then, let them have it. But I do not see that that is probable; and my reason is this: They have sent in remonstrances against the claim of the Catholics, as you will see by a reference to document No. 80, all of which go to prove that they are satisfied with the present Public School System. And if they are satisfied, and their children derive benefit from it, let them continue to frequent the schools as they do now. The schools are no benefit to Catholics now; we have no confidence in them; there is no harmony of feeling between them and us; we have no confidence that those civil and religious rights that belong to us will be enjoyed, while the Public School Society retains its present monopoly. We do not receive benefit from these schools: do not, then, take from Catholics their portion of the fund, by taxation, and hand it over to those who do not give them an equivalent in return. Let those who *can*, receive the advantages of these schools; but as Catholics *cannot*, do not tie them

to a system which is intended for the advantage of a class of society of which they form one-third, but from which system they can receive no benefit.

There are many other topics connected with this subject, to which I might advert; but I must apologize for the length of time that I have trespassed on your patience. I feel, unaccustomed as I am to address such a body, and hurried as was my preparation, that I have not been able to present the subject before you in that clear and lucid manner that would make it interesting; but it was not with that view that I claimed your attention in relation to it; it was with far higher motives: and I now, with confidence, submit it to your judgment.

BISHOP HUGHES' SECOND DAY'S SPEECH BEFORE THE BOARD OF ALDERMEN AND COUNCILMEN, IN ANSWER TO MR. SEDGWICK, MR. KETCHUM, DR. BOND, DR. SPRING, AND OTHERS, WHO ADDRESSED THE CITY COUNCIL IN OPPOSITION TO THE PETITION OF THE CATHOLICS; ALSO THE DISCUSSION IN REGARD TO THE AUTHORITY OF THE RHEMISH TESTAMENT AS A CATHOLIC VERSION, ETC.

When Mr. Ketchum concluded his argument on the first day, the Rev. Dr. Bond appeared as the representative of the Methodist Episcopal Church, but he gave way to the Right Rev. Bishop Hughes, who desired to make a brief reply to the two legal gentlemen who had addressed the Board. He said:

I have a few remarks that I wish to make, partly in reference to myself and partly to my principles, and the views submitted with regard to those principles; but the debate has taken a range too wide and too legal for me to pretend to follow it throughout. I am not accustomed to the niceties of legislation or the manner of interpreting statutes or acts of the Legislature; but to sum up the whole of the two eloquent addresses made by the gentlemen who have just spoken, they amount to this: that either the consciences of Catholics must be crushed and their objections resisted, or the Public School System must be destroyed. That is the pith of both their observations. They argue that there must be either one or the other of these two results, and those gentlemen are inclined to the course of compelling conscience to give way, they being the judge of our conciences which they wish to overrule; so that the Public School Society—and I do not desire to detract from it as far as good intentions are concerned—shall continue to dispose of the Public School Fund notwithstanding our objections and reasoning on which they are based. The gentleman who last spoke appeared to imagine that I wished the exclusion of the Protestant Bible, and that, for the benefit of the Catholics, I laid myself open to the

charge of enmity to the word of God; but I desire nothing of the sort. I would leave the Protestant Bible for those who reverence it; but for myself, it has not my confidence. Another objection which he made was of a personal character to myself; but while that gentleman started with the beautiful rule of charity to others, and with a lecture on the propriety of retaining our station in life, and the impropriety of the public appeals of which he was pleased to speak, I regret that his practice was not in accordance with his precept—and that while he was lecturing me on the subject, he himself should have gone beyond anything which proper discussion called for. If I attended those meetings, it was because I felt the evil of the present system as regards us—not its evils as regards others; and we must be permitted to be the judges of our own duties, and to see for ourselves, while we accord to others the same right for themselves. I beg to disclaim any intention to overrule this community, or to bring anything from Rome, except to those who believe in its spiritual authority. Consequently, all those remarks of that gentleman have been out of place; and for the rest, I conceive the true point has not been touched. Not one of our objections or scruples of conscience has he undertaken to analyze, nor the grounds on which they exist. When I gave those reasons for our objections, I thought some argument would have been urged fairly against them; but the only end the gentleman appears to have in view, is the preservation of the School Society, and to maintain that they have a patent right to the office. That, I know, is his object; but I did not expect to hear any man construing the law as that its advantages cannot reach us unless we lay down and sacrifice our consciences at the threshold. I have spoken for myself, and I have disclaimed all high-handed objects; but the gentleman insists, notwithstanding the pledge which we have given, that, in spite of all, we shall teach our religion. I disclaim such intentions, and I do not think it fair in that gentleman to impute intentions which we disclaim. The gentleman has drawn a beautiful picture of society if all could live in harmony (I would it could be reduced to practice), whether born in foreign parts or in this country. But if all could be brought up together—if all could associate in such a state without prejudice to the public welfare, while the Protestants use such books as those to which we object, it could only be by the Catholic concealing his religion; for if he owns it he will be called a "Papist." The gentleman says that one of the books to which we object is not a text-book used in schools; but, if not, it is one of the books placed in the library to which I do not say *we* contribute more than others; but it is supported at the public expense, to which Catholics contribute as well as others. I will read you one passage and leave you to judge for yourselves what will be its effects on the minds of our children. The work is entitled "The Irish Heart," and the author, on page 24, is describing an Irish Catholic, and he says: "As for old Phelim Maghee, he was of no particular religion."

And how do the gentlemen describe the Public Schools, but as schools of religion and no religion! They say they give religious instruction; but again they say it is not religion, for it does not vitiate their claim.

"As for old Phelim Maghee, he was of no particular religion."

"When Phelim had laid up a good stock of sins, he now and then went over to Killarney, of a Sabbath morning, and got *relaaf* by *confissing* them out o' the way, as he used to express it, and sealed up his soul with a *wafer*."

That is the term they apply to our doctrine of transubstantiation; and they want us to associate and to enjoy everything in harmony when they thus assail our religious right.

"——— and return quite invigorated for the perpetration of new offences."

Now, suppose Catholic children hear this in the company of their Protestant associates! They will be subject to the ridicule of their companions, and the consequence will be that their domestic and religious attachments will become weakened, they become ashamed of their religion, and they will grow up *Nothingarians*.

But again, on page 120, when speaking of intemperance, we find the following:

"It is more probable, however, a part of the papal system."

And this, notwithstanding all that Father Mathew has done.

"For, when drunkenness shall have been done away, and with it, that just relative proportion of all indolence, ignorance, crime, misery, and superstition, of which it is the putative parent; then truly a much smaller portion of mankind may be expected to follow the dark lantern of the Romish religion."

"That religion is most likely to find professors among the frivolous and the wicked, which by a species of ecclesiastical legerdemain can persuade the sinner that he is going to heaven, when he is going directly to hell. By a refined and complicated system of Jesuitry, and prelatical juggling, the papal see has obtained its present extensive influence through the world."

And, unless we send our children to imbibe these lessons, we are going to overturn the system! But is that the true conclusion to which the gentlemen should come, from our petition? Is that reasoning from facts and the evidence before their eyes? I have promised not to detain the Board, and therefore I would merely say, if I have attended those meetings, it was not with the views the gentleman has imputed to me, nor to distinguish myself as has been insinuated. I have taken good care to banish politics from those meetings, and if I have mentioned the number of Catholics, or of their children, it was to show how far this system falls short of the end which the Legislature has in view. I disclaim utterly and entirely the intention imputed to me by the gentleman, but I will not longer detain the Board.

Mr. Mott, one of the Public School Trustees, with the permission of the Board, explained the manner in which the book which the Right Rev. Prelate had last alluded to, had found its way into the schools. It was one of a series of tales published by the Temperance Society; and when a committee was appointed for filling the library,

their attention was called to the first number of the series; they had read two or three of them which had come from the press, and as they appeared adapted to the reading of children, the committee admitted them, and by some mistake it was supposed that all the other volumes of the same series and under the same title were ordered too, and they were sent in as they were issued from the press after that period, and in this way the book in question had crept in. But this being discovered by a Catholic Trustee, it was withdrawn, and of this the gentlemen were fully apprised, and therefore he asked if it was generous or just to quote that book, under these circumstances, to strengthen the cause of the Catholics.

The Right Rev. Bishop Hughes assured the gentleman that he, until that moment, had not heard of the books having been withdrawn.

The Rev. Dr. Bond then again rose to address the Board as the representative of the Methodist Episcopal Church; but as it was now 10 o'clock, it was proposed by one of the aldermen to take a recess until Friday afternoon at 4 o'clock which was agreed to, and the Board adjourned.

The Board re-assembled at four o'clock on Friday the 30th October, 1840, by adjournment from the previous day, but some time elapsed before the debate could be resumed, in consequence of the difficulty which the gentlemen, who took part in the proceedings, found in gaining an entrance to the Council Chamber, through the greatly increased crowd of persons who were anxious and struggling to be present. After the room had been filled to overflowing, many hundreds were still excluded who desired admission; but the room was filled to its utmost capacity, even to standing room in the windows, and those still crowding round the entrance door were obliged to endure the disappointment. David Graham, Esq., Alderman of the Fifteenth Ward, presided on this occasion as the *locum tenens* of the President, Mr. Alderman Purdy, who, however, was present seated with the Aldermen. There were also present many distinguished and reverend gentlemen of various denominations of this city, besides those who took part in the discussion. Dr. Brownlee was seated near Dr. Bond during that gentleman's speech, but he did not attempt to address the Board. The Rev. Dr. Pise, and other reverend gentlemen of the Catholic Church, were seated with the Right Rev. Bishop Hughes, and the Very Rev. Dr. Power, and many preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, were in the vicinity of the orator by whom they were represented. When all the gentlemen were seated, the President called upon the Rev. Dr. Bond, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, to proceed with the debate on behalf of the remonstrants of that body. When Drs. Bond, Knox, Reese and Bangs had addressed the Council, Dr. Spring, of the Brick Presbyterian Church arose, and in the course of his remarks, said: "The gentleman has sought to prove that the present system leads to infidelity. Now, sir, *let no man think it strange that I should prefer infi-*

delity to Catholicism. Even a mind as acute as Voltaire's came to the conclusion that, if there was no alternative between infidelity and the dogmas of the Catholic Church, he should choose infidelity. *I would choose, sir, in similar circumstances, to be an infidel to-morrow.*" At the conclusion of Dr. Spring's harangue, the President called upon the Right Rev. Dr. Hughes to conclude the debate, who immeditately arose to reply to the arguments of all the gentlemen who had been heard on the subject, and spoke as follows:

Mr. President, it would require a mind of much greater capacity than mine to arrange and mature the topics, relevant or otherwise, that have been introduced into this discussion, since I had the honor to address you yesterday. No less than seven or eight gentlemen of great ability have presented their respective views on the subject, and not only on the subject in regard to its intrinsic merits, but on subjects which they deemed, at least, collateral, but which I think quite irrelevant. The gentleman who last addressed you (Dr. Spring) is entitled to my acknowledgments for the candor with which he expressed his sentiments in reference to it; namely, that he was opposed to it more because it came from Catholics, than if it had been presented by any other denomination. That gentleman is entitled to my acknowledgment, and I award it, if worthy of his acceptance. The subject—for it is exceedingly important that the subject should be kept in view—is one, as I stated before, that is very simple. We are a portion of this community; we desire to be nothing greater than any other portion; we are not content to be made less. There is nothing, sir, in that system of the Public School Society against which any of the gentlemen who have spoken, either in their individual capacity or as the representatives of bodies of people, have urged a single conscientious objection, and, of course, they have no right to complain—they are satisfied, and, therefore, I am willing that they should have the system, but I am not willing that they should press it upon me, and for good reason. And, sir, if this honorable body rejects the claim of your petitioners, what is the issue? That we are deprived of the benefits to which we are entitled, and that we are not one iota worse than we were before. That is our consolation. But the whole range of the argument of the gentleman, who spoke last, was, to show that this Public School System was got up with the concurrence of public opinion, and that having been so got up, it had worked beautifully, and that gentlemen who never heard of conscientious objections to it, because it suits their views, deem it wonderful that we can have any conscience at all on the subject. That is the amount of it. What! no ground for conscientious objection, when you teach our children in those schools that "the *deceitful* Catholics" burned John Huss at the stake, for conscience, when evidences are numerous before you of a more just and a more honorable character—when you might find on the page of history, that in Catholic Poland every avenue to dignity in the state was opened to Protestants, by the concurrent vote of eight Catholic

Bishops, whilst the vote of any ONE of them, according to the constitution of the Polish Diet, of which they were members, could have prevented the law being passed—and what is more, when the first lesson of universal toleration and freedom of conscience the world was ever called to learn, was set by the Catholics of Maryland—I speak in the presence of gentlemen who can contradict me if they know where to find the authority—and what was this but homage to the majesty of conscience, by a Church which they wish to establish as a persecuting Church. That Church, sir, which the gentleman has come here to prove justifies the murdering of heretics, was the first to teach a lesson which Protestants have been slow to learn and imitate, but which the religion they profess should have taught them. But not these examples alone; there are hundreds more. At this day in Belgium, where Protestants are in a minority of one to twelve, the state votes them an equal portion, and where their clergy are married, a larger portion, and that with the concurrence of the Council and the Catholic Bishops. The gentleman need not tell me of Catholicism; I know it well; and what is more, I know Protestantism well; and I know the professions of good will of Protestants do not always correspond with their feelings. But I should like to know whether or not in Protestantism they find authority for persecuting to the knife, not Catholics alone, but each other, even after they have proclaimed the right of every man to think for himself. With good reason, sir, do I contend for conscience, but they may think a Catholic has no right to have a conscience at all. They may think because this system is beautiful in their view, that this pretension to conscience on the part of Catholics ought to be stifled, as a thing not to be admitted at all. But that will not do. Man in this country has a right to the exercise of conscience, and the man that should raise himself up against it will find that he has raised himself up against a tremendous opponent. Now, what is it we ask? You have heard from beginning to end the arguments on this occasion, and though I may not follow the wanderings of this discussion through all its minute parts, if I pass over any part, be assured it is not from any desire to avoid, or any inability to refute what has been said against us. I may pass over many points, but I will not pass over any great principle, and you have, no doubt, given so much attention to the subject as to enable you, if I should not recapitulate the whole, to decide justly. It has been urged, that if you give Catholics that which they now ask, you will give them benefits which will elevate them above others; but, I contend most sincerely, and most conscientiously, that we have no such idea; and when you shall have granted the portion we claim, if you should be pleased to grant it, I conceive then, and not before, shall we be in the enjoyment of the protection, and not privilege, to which we are entitled. That is my view of the subject; but, I have been astonished to perceive the course of argument of the gentlemen who oppose our claim, generally speaking. What it is they contend for I cannot deter-

mine; but, it seems to be the preservation of the existing system. They were among the first to disclaim the doctrine that the end justifies the means, and if in attaining their end they find they can not reach it without injustice, then as conscientious and high-minded men, they should have paused by the way, and have ascertained whether the means were worthy of them and of our glorious country. Yet, sir, they have generally overlooked this, and it is no new thing to find that they have labored to promote the benefit of their own society, at the sacrifice of the rights of others. Sir, it is the glory of this country that when it is found that a wrong exists, there is a power, an irresistible power, to correct the wrong. They have represented us as contending to bring the Catholic Scriptures into the Public Schools. This is not true; but, I shall have occasion to refer more particularly to this by and by. They have represented us as enemies to the Protestant Scriptures "without note and comment," and on this subject I know not whether their intention was to make an impression on your honorable body, or to elicit a sympathetic echo elsewhere; but, whatever their object was, they have represented that even here Catholics have not concealed their enmity to the Scriptures. Now, if I had asked this honorable Board to exclude the Protestant Scriptures from the schools, then there might have been some coloring for the current calumny. But I have not done so. I say, gentlemen of every denomination, keep the scriptures you reverence, but do not force on me that which my conscience tells me is wrong. I may be wrong, as you may be; and as you exercise your judgment, be pleased to allow the same privilege to a fellow being, who must appear before our common God and answer for the exercise of it. I wish to do nothing like what is charged upon me—that is not the purpose for which we petition this honorable Board, in the name of the community to which I belong; I appear here for other objects, and if our petition be granted our schools may be placed under the supervision of the public authorities, or even of commissioners, to be appointed by the Public School Society; they may be put under the same supervision as the existing schools, to see that none of those phantoms, nor any grounds for those suspicions which are as uncharitable as unfounded, can have existence in reality. There is, then, but one simple question—will you compel us to pay a tax from which we can receive no benefit, and to frequent schools which injure and destroy our religious rights in the minds of our children, and of which in our consciences we cannot approve? That is the simple question. Or, will you appoint some other system, or will you leave the children of our denomination to grow up in that state of ignorance which the School Society has expressed its desire to save them from? Or shall the constable be employed, as one reverend gentleman seems to recommend (Dr. Bangs), or some public officer to catch them and send them to school? For, from this moment, in consequence of the language used, and the insulting passages which those books contain, Catholic parents will not send

their children there, and any attempts to enforce attendance would meet with vigorous resistance from them. I have now presented what is, in reality, the simple issue; it is no matter whether we believe right or not, for neither the Catholic nor the Protestant religion is on trial here; and I repeat, therefore, that the gentleman who represents the Methodist Church has taken so much pains to distil through the minds of this meeting, a mass of prejudice which it will take several hours, but at the same time very little beside, for me to refute and scatter to the winds. I shall, perhaps, not dwell long on that part, because I judge it is irrelevant to the case in hand, but still I shall feel authorized to trespass on the patience of the meeting a short time, though but a short time, to remove the improper prejudice which may have been created.

He says that the people have a right to interfere and to give to the children of the State an intellectual education, that this must be carried out in some form or other, and that this system is as little objectionable as any that could be presented. That may be; I do not dispute the possibility of it, because it is unimportant; but if he did mean to contend that that system which has been once sanctioned must continue to be sanctioned, although its sanction was merely by the tacit consent of the different denominations, and although it should become violative of the religious rights of any, then he goes beyond the limits which even the Constitution of the land has made sacred. I have been represented as endeavoring to create excitement on this subject. To that I shall refer immediately; but I may here refer to my objection to the existing system, on the ground that it has a tendency to infidelity, and may observe that I know clergymen of other denominations who are also opposed to it on the ground of its infidel tendency. There are many who have the conviction that it tends to infidelity, and who know that the preventive referred to is not equal to stem the tendency to infidelity which does exist.

The first gentleman who spoke, and he spoke with a frankness and sincerity for which I give him credit, contended—and when I answer his objection, I wish to be understood as speaking to all that took up that objection—and it was urged more or less by the whole—that it was inconsistent to charge upon the system a tendency to infidelity, and then a teaching of religion, and that this teaching was anti-catholic. Now this would be inconsistent under some circumstances; but the gentleman left out the grounds on which that charge was made, and it will be proper, therefore, that I should state those grounds. In the document which emanated from the Board of Assistants last spring, they say that the smallest particle of religion is a disqualification, and that "religious instruction is no part of a common school education." Now, was it the intention of your honorable body to exclude all religion? Was it the intention of the State Legislature? Did any public authority require that the public school education should be winnowed as corn on a barn floor, and all religion driven out by the winds of heaven as chaff not

worthy to be preserved? Was there such authority? Who made such a decision? And yet that very decision, I ask you, if we are not authorized to interpret as proof of the charge, that the system has a tendency to infidelity? For, banish religion, and infidelity alone remains. And, on the other hand, we find the gentlemen of the Public School Society themselves repeatedly stating that they inculcate religion, and give religious impressions; and I say it does them credit; for as far as they can they ought to teach religion. It would be better, if they did, for those who are satisfied with THEIR religious teaching. This explanation will set us right in the minds of your honorable body. It is first said no religion is taught, and then it is admitted that religion is inculcated; and next our petition is opposed because it is alleged that if our prayer be granted religion will be taught. What weight, then, is the objection of the Public School Society entitled to, if this be the fact? And where is our inconsistency? If there is a dilemma, to whom are we indebted for it but to the Report of the Board of Assistants on the one hand, and to the testimony of the Public School Society on the other. Let us not, then, be charged with inconsistency.

Now, sir, I contend there is infidelity taught. I do not mean in its gross form; but I have found principles of infidelity in the books—and one that would pass current as a very amiable book—a religious lesson which I would not suffer a child to read, over whom I had any influence. The lesson represents a father and his son going about on Sunday morning to the different churches, the little boy asking questions as they pass along from one to the other; at last the boy said to his father—I may not quote the words, but I shall be found right in substance—"What is the reason there are so many different sects! Why do not all people agree to go to the same place, and to worship God in the same way!" "And why should it not be so?" replied the father. "Why should they agree? Do not people differ in other things? Do they not differ in their taste and their dress—some like their coats cut one way and some another—and do they not differ in their appetites and food? and in the hours they keep and in their diversion?" Now, I ask if there is no infidelity in that? I ask if it is a proper lesson to teach children, that as they have a right to form their own tastes for dress and food, they have the right to judge for themselves in matters of religion? for, with deference to the Public School Society, children are too young to have such principles instilled into them. Let them grow up, before they are left to exercise their judgment in such weighty matters; at least, do not teach Catholic children such a lesson at so early an age; and, in all I have said, I desire to be understood as abstaining most carefully from prescribing any rule, or method, or book, for any denomination with which I am not connected. But for Catholic children I speak, and I say it is too early for them to judge for themselves. And is this all? No, sir; one other passage, and for that there may perhaps be something to be said as to its defence, because it is from the pen of an eminent

Protestant divine, the Bishop of London. I presume the Bishop of London, when he wrote that passage, must have been writing on some subject connected with infidelity; he must have been writing against infidelity, and indulging in a range of argument which might be proper for such a subject, but out of place in the hands of common-school children. What was that passage? Why, it is one which represents the Divine Redeemer as a *man of respectable talents.*

Mr. KETCHUM rose, and intimated his doubt of such a passage being in the books.

The Right Rev. PRELATE continued. I have read it in their books, but the Trustees have recalled them. I hope not for the purpose of depriving me of the opportunity of quoting the page. Such a lesson is now to be found in one of the books, which represents the Divine Redeemer as showing uncommon quickness of penetration and sagacity. I ask whether such a lesson is a proper one for children, and whether such is the instruction to be given to them of the Redeemer of the world? The gentleman who first spoke, said it was not in reality religion that was taught, but mere morality that was inculcated—the propriety of telling the truth and of fulfilling all moral duties. If this be true, it is still strange that the School Society should prefer the word "religious." He did not deny that it was a kind of religion, and that the precepts of the Decalogue were inculcated, and while the Public School Society admit that religion is inculcated — and the legal gentleman, their representative, does not disclaim it, so far as it forms the groundwork of a good moral character—it may be taken as admitted. And now, if they teach religion, let us know what it is to be. Let them not delegate to the teachers, some of whom may teach one religion, some another, the authority or permission to make "religious impressions," to give "religious instruction," to give a "right direction to the mind of youth," and all the other phrases which we find in their documents. Now, on the subject of religion and morals, would they teach morals without religion, which I conceive will be found as visionary as castle-building in the air. Mr. Ketchum says they are taught not to lie, but without religion he furnishes no motive for not lying. If a man tells me not to lie, when it is my interest to lie, I, as a rational being, want a motive for telling the truth. My love of gain tells me if I lie, and lie successfully, it will add to my fortune; and if I am told to abstain from lying, at the risk of my fortune, let me have a reason. But if I am told there is God to whom I am accountable, that is a motive; but, then, it is a teaching of religion. Yes, sir, when I am told there is a God, I am taught religion; and therefore I am astonished that the Report which has gone forth from the other Board should declare that the smallest teaching of religion vitiates the claim. You may as well think to build an edifice without a foundation, as to pretend to produce moral effects without religious belief.

There may not be the details of religion, but there must be the

principle, to a certain extent, otherwise you cannot lay the foundation of good morals for men. Now, sir, I will show you that Mr. Stephen Girard, of Philadelphia, who had no religious belief whatever, in his will, by which he bequeathed large sums of money for the purpose of procuring great and material benefits to society—but which has been looked upon by many Christians, of every denomination, in Philadelphia, rather as a curse than a blessing—even he speaks of morality without religion nearly as the Public School Society does. He says:

"Secondly, I enjoin and require that no ecclesiastic, missionary, or minister, of any sect whatsoever, shall ever hold or exercise any station or duty whatsoever in the said College; nor shall any such person ever be admitted for any purpose, or as a visitor, within the premises appropriated to the purposes of the said College. In making this restriction, I do not mean to cast any reflection upon any sect or person whatever; but, as there is such a multitude of sects, and such a diversity of opinion amongst them, I desire to keep the tender minds of the orphans who are to derive advantage from this bequest free from the excitement which clashing doctrines and sectarian controversy are so apt to produce. My desire is, that all the instructors and teachers in the College shall take pains to instill into the minds of the scholars the purest principles of morality, so that on their entrance into active life they may, from inclination and habit, evince benevolence towards their fellow-creatures, and a love of truth, sobriety, and industry, adopting at the same time such religious tenets as their matured reason may enable them to prefer."

He left two millions of dollars to the city of Philadelphia, provided that poor orphans should be brought up to respect infidelity. He did not say a word against religion, but he took care to stand by, not personally, but by his executors, in his will, to prevent its precepts being inculcated in the minds of those who are the dependents on his bounty. They were to have the purest principles of morals instilled into their minds; but the attempt is vain when religion is not placed as the foundation of morals.

He, like the Public School Society, stands by to see that the potter shall give no form to the vase, till the clay grows stiff and hardened. Then it will be too late.

The gentlemen also made objection to our schools, because, he said, they were in our churches. The fact is, we were obliged to provide them where we could, and our means would permit; and there are some of them in the basement of our churches. And he conceived it impossible to keep them from sectarian influence, because the children would be within hearing of the chant of divine service; as though sectarianism depended on geographical distances from church. But this could not have been a valid objection, because the Public School Society has had not only schools under churches, but in the session rooms of churches.

I shall refer now to the learned gentlemen who followed him (Mr. Ketchum), and I can only say that this gentleman, with a great deal of experience in this particular question, really seems to me to confirm all I say on the ground we have taken. I know he lectured me pretty roundly on the subject of attending the meetings held under

St. James' church. I know he did more for me than the Pope: the Pope "mitred" me but once, but he did so three or four times during the course of his address. He read me a homily on the duties of station; and he so far forgot his country and her principles, as to call it a "descent" on my part, when I mingled in a popular meeting of freemen. But it was no descent; and I hope the time will never come when it will be deemed a descent for a man in office to mingle with his fellow-citizens when convened for legitimate and honorable purposes.

But from his speech it would appear, that his experience has been obtained by the discharge of the duty of standing advocate of denial; and yet, with all his experience and opportunities of research, his inability to overturn our grounds confirms me in the conviction that they are not to be removed, even by the aid of splendid talents; for that speech, like most others, went on the false issue that we want privileges. But we want no privilege. That speech, like the speech from the throne, might have been the speech of years past, and might have been stereotyped; for its only novelty, which proved to me that it was not all the work of antiquity, was the part which appertained to myself. And not only that, but I have to say, that when I came into this hall—and it is the first time I ever stood in an assembly of this description—I felt that I was thrown on the hospitality of the professional gentleman; and I think if I and that gentleman could have exchanged places, I should not have looked so hard at him as he did at me. In fact, throughout that speech he, with peculiar emphasis, and a manner which he may, perhaps, have acquired in his practice in courts of law, fixed upon me a steady gaze—and he has no ordinary countenance—and addressed me so solemnly, that I really expected every moment he would forget himself, and say "the prisoner at the bar." (Laughter.) He did not, however. He passed that over; and whilst I recognize and respect the "human face divine," because God made it to look upward, I may here observe, that it has no power to frighten me, even if it *would* be terrible; and therefore I was not at all disturbed by the hard looks which he gave me. The gentleman will pardon me, I hope, in this, for it is natural enough, after what has been said—though I know it was said in good humor, to claim the privilege to retort.

Well, sir, this was not all, but he told us something about going to the stake. He was sure, if any of the public money was voted to the denomination of a reverend gentleman, whose name I will not mention, the Catholics would go to the stake. Now, sir, we have no intention to do so. We know the public money does go to the support of religion; it goes to the support of chaplaincies, theological seminaries, universities, and chaplains of institutions whose appointments are permanent; and be it remembered, that one of the first lectures delivered in one institution, the University of this city, which was aided from the public funds, was on the anti-republican tendency of Popery. And yet we did not go to the stake for that; and why? Because, though our portion of taxation mingles with

the rest, we have no objections to the use of it which the law prescribes, so long as no inalienable rights of our own are involved in the sacrifice.

But, again, he said, if any of the money was appropriated to the Catholic religion, Protestants would go to the stake. I will not say whether Protestants are so exclusive; while we submit to taxation for Protestant purposes, without going to the stake, whether, if we participate, they will go to the stake, is not for me to say.

Then he came to the Protestant Bible, "without note or comment;" and "it was hard for him to part with that translated Bible." He stood by it, and repeated that "it was hard to give up the Bible," just as if I had said one word against it; and as if I was about to bring the Pope to banish it out of the Protestant world, or wished to deprive any man who venerates it of any use he may think proper to make of it. And there, again, he looked so much as if he were in earnest, that, at one time, I thought he was actually about to rush to the "stake." But there was no stake there to go to, except that which he holds in the exchequer of the Public School Society. It is a most comfortable way of going to martyrdom.

Sir, the gentleman taunted me for having attended the public meetings of Catholics on this subject, and he imputed the prejudice which exists against the Public School system to the observations I have made, as though it were of my creation. In answer to that I may state, what has been the fact for years, that Catholics have been struggling to have schools, and to the extent of their means we have them; and what is the reason? Do you suppose that we should impose additional burdens upon ourselves, if we were satisfied with those Public Schools? Do you suppose we should have paid for our bread a second time, if that which these schools offered had not, in our opinion, been turned to a stone? No, the existence of our own schools proves that I have not excited the prejudice; but still it is at all times my duty to warn my people against that which is destructive or violative to the religion they profess; and if they abandon their religion they are free; but so long as they are attached to our religion, it is my duty, as their pastor, as the faithful guardian of their principles and morals, to warn them when there is danger of imbibing poison instead of wholesome food. That is the reason; and I am sorry that he has not found a motive less unworthy of me than that he has been pleased to assign.

Then—and I may as well take up the question now as elsewhere—it has been said that it is conceived to be an inconsistency in our argument, that we object to the Public Schools because religion is taught in them, and yet, in the schools which we propose to establish, or rather, which we have established, but for which we now plead, we profess to teach no sectarianism; and the question arises, "if you are opposed to religion in these schools because it is sectarianism, how can you teach religion in your schools, and yet your schools not be sectarian?" This is the position in which they place

us; and in answer I have to state, that, in the first place, we do not intend to teach religion. We shall be willing that they shall be placed under the same inspection that the Public Schools are now; and if it should be found that religion is taught, we will be willing that you shall cut them off. You shall be the judges. You may see that the law is complied with, and if we violate it, let us be deprived of the benefits for which the conditions were prescribed. But there is neutral ground on which our children may learn to read and cipher. If they read, it must be something that is written; words are signs of ideas, and in the course of their instruction they may be made so to shape their studies as to loathe Catholicism, without learning any other religion. And this could be produced, not alone in reference to Catholics, but Presbyterians, Methodists, Unitarians, or any other. They might find that their children disregard their own religion, while they are not taught any other. Suppose the Presbyterians, or any other denomination, were in the minority, and Catholics were numerically what Protestants are now, and therefore were able to decide what lessons their children should read in these schools, I ask you if the gentleman would not conceive he had reasonable objections, if they had forced upon them a system of education which teaches that their denomination, past, present, and to come, was deceitful? Now, take up these books, which teach all that is infamous in our history; which teach our children about the "execution of Cranmer," the "burning of Huss," and "the character of Luther." If such a practice were reversed, what would he do?

Now, in our schools, I would teach them; I would give our children lessons for exercise in reading, that should teach them that when the young tree of American liberty was planted, it was watered with Catholic blood, and that therefore we have as much right to everything common in this country as others. I should teach them that Catholic bishops and Catholic barons at Runneymede wrung the charter of our liberties—the grand parent of all known liberty in the world—from the hands of a tyrant. I should teach them where to find the bright spots on our history, though the gentleman who represents the Methodists knew not where they were to be found. This I would do, and should I violate the law? If, instead of the burning of Huss, I gave them a chapter on the character of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, as a reading lesson, would that be teaching them of purgatory, and the doctrine of Transubstantiation?

But if our circumstances were reversed, so that Catholics controlled the public schools, would not Presbyterians have a right to complain?—and should not we be tyrants while we refused to listen to their complaints, if we spread before *their* children lessons on the burning of Servetus by Calvin, and on the hangings of members of the Society of Friends by those who held Calvin's doctrines? I should listen to their appeal in such a case with feelings far different from those manifested by them in regard to others. But I would do more, in order that those little vagrants, of whom the gentleman speaks, might come into school. Their parents themselves having

by persecution been deprived, in many instances, of an education, do not fully appreciate its advantages, and if you seek to enforce the attendance of their children, they will resist; if you attempt to coerce them you will not succeed. But if you put them in a way to be admitted without being dragged by force to the school, or without destroying their religious principles when they enter (which you have no right to do), then you will prepare good citizens, educated to the extent that will make them useful to their country. Then their parents, having confidence in their pastors, will send their children to schools approved of by them—and the children themselves may attend schools where they need not be ashamed of their creed, and where their companions will not call them "Papists," and tell them that ignorance and vice are the accompaniments of their religion. That will be the result, and I conceive it will be beneficial.

Much has been said about the distinction between morality and religion, and about those certain broad principles on which it is thought all can agree. And yet our opponents contend—and I am surprised at the circumstance—gentlemen who are not only Christians themselves, but Christian ministers, contend all through for the rights of those who are not of the Christian religion, but are commonly called infidels. An attempt has been made to draw a distinction between morality and religion. I have already said, and there is not a gentleman here who will pretend to deny it, that morality must rest on religion for its basis. I refer you, and it is not an ordinary authority, to a man who passed through life with the most beautiful character and the most blameless reputation that ever fell to the lot of a public man; one who was distinguished almost above all other men; one, of whom it would be profane to say that he was inspired, yet, of whom history has not handed down one useless action, or one single idle word, a man who left to his country an inheritance of the brightest example, and the fairest name that ever soldier or statesman bequeathed to a nation—that man was GEORGE WASHINGTON. Hear what he says in his FAREWELL ADDRESS, on the attempt now being made to preserve morality whilst religion is discarded from the public schools.

"Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it be simply asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligations DESERT the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

"'Tis substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of

free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?"

Such is the warning, the solemn warning of this great man. If you take away religion, on what foundation do you propose to rear the structure of morality? No—they stand to each other in the relation of parent and offspring, or rather they are kindred principles from the same divine source, and what God has joined together, let no man put asunder.

Now, with regard to all said by me against the Protestant Bible, I appeal to this honorable body whether I ever said one word hostile to that Bible; and yet, from the address of the gentlemen on the other side, men abroad, who should read their speeches, would be led to believe that I not only entertained, but that I had uttered sentiments of hostility to that work. And it is ever thus that our principles and our feelings are misrepresented, while gentlemen profess to be conscious of entertaining no prejudice against us as Catholics. One gentleman, however, avowed his hostility to us on this ground, and for his candor I tender my acknowledgment. The whole effort of some of the gentlemen, indeed of all who have spoken on the subject, has been to show that the system must be made so broad and liberal that *all* can agree in it—but I think they contend for too much when they wish so to shape religion and balance it on its pedestal as to make it suit every body and every sect; for if infidels are to be suited, and it is made to reconcile them to the system, I want to know whether Catholics or any other class are not entitled to the right to have it made to suit them. And if everybody is to be made satisfied, why is it that Catholics and others are discontented and excluded? Is it not manifest that what they profess to accomplish is beyond their reach? Now the infidels have found able advocates in the reverend gentlemen who have spoken in the course of this discussion—I mean the interests of infidelity—and why is it, then, that the gentlemen who plead for that side of the question, enter their protest against ours? I should like to know why there is this inconsistency. If the rule is to be general, why is it not general?

I pass now to the reasoning of one learned gentleman who spoke yesterday, and defended the Protestant Bible. Now this was unnecessary in that gentleman—it was in him a work of supererogation to vindicate the Protestant Scriptures—it was useless to defend a point which had not been attacked. It was time lost; and yet, perhaps, not altogether lost; for in some respects it may have been profitable enough. In entering on its defence, he said it was the instrument of human liberty throughout the world—wherever it was, there was light and liberty; and where it was not, there was bondage and darkness; and he brought it round so, that he almost asserts that our Declaration of Independence has been copied from the Bible. No doubt the just and righteous principles on which that Declaration has its foundation, have their sanction in the Bible, but I deny their immediate connection, and on historical grounds,

for it is known that its author looked upon St. Paul as an imposter; consequently their connection is not historically true. But while the gentleman referred to our notes (but which we disown and repudiate), as containing principles of persecution—how was it that after the Protestant Bible, "without note and comment," came into use, every denomination of Protestants in *the whole world* that had the misfortune, for it must have been a misfortune, to be yoked to civil power, wielded the sword of persecution, and derived their authority for so doing from the *naked text?* Yes, in Scotland, in all her confessions of faith—in England, and I appeal to her penal laws against Catholics, and those acts by which the Puritans and Dissenters were pursued, men who had the misfortune, like ourselves, to have a conscience, were driven out, and all was done on the authority of the Bible, without note or comment, and for the public good and the good of the Church. I do not say that the Bible sanctioned persecution, but I deny that the absence of notes is an adequate preventive. I refer to history. And almost to this day, though the Bible has been translated three hundred years, even in *liberal* governments, the iron heel of persecution has been placed on the dearest rights of Catholics. The gentleman to whom I alluded said, no doubt, what he knew would be popular out of doors, for he seems, with others, to imagine that the world began at the period of the Reformation. He seems to think that everything great originated at that period. But does he not know that eight hundred editions of the Bible had been printed before the Reformation? And does he not know that two hundred editions had been circulated in the common tongue, in the common language of the country? And has he yet to learn that the first prohibition to read the Bible came not from a Catholic, but from a Protestant—from Protestant Henry VIII., of "glorious memory?" He was the first to issue a prohibition, and it was not till Catholics saw the evil—not of the Bible, but the bad uses men were making of the Bible, that they placed its perusal under certain restrictions, and cautioned their people against hastily judging of it for themselves. All had been united and harmonious, but by the use, or abuse, which men made of the Bible, all became doubt and speculation, the positive revelation of Christ was shaken or destroyed. They saw this Bible, and what then? But, while these school gentlemen contend that it is a shield against infidelity, and that all sects here agree, how is it out of the schools? Why, no sects agree upon it. How is it that the Bible, which is given by the inspiration of God, the God of truth, is made use of in this city even, to prove a Trinity, and to disprove a Trinity? How is it that Trinitarians quote it to prove their doctrines, and Unitarians quote it to establish the opposite doctrines? How is it that whilst one says from the Bible that God the Father is God alone, and that Christ is not equal to Him, for He says, "*The Father is greater than I,*" another argues from the same Bible that the Father and Son are equal, because Christ says "*The Father and I are one?*" And another comes with the Bible in his hand, and

says, I believe, and I can prove it from this Bible that Christ *alone* is the Almighty God, and the Father and the Spirit are only attributes of the same person! Why, this Bible which they say is the foundation of all truth, and they say well, when it is truly understood, a grace which God can vouchsafe, and, no doubt, He does to many, this Bible is harmonious in its every doctrine. But that is not the point—the point is the uses we see men make of it, and this is the sum of our reason that we wish our children not to be taught in the manner in which Protestant children are taught in reference to the Bible.

And then, again, if you teach that there is a hell, according to the Bible, others will contend that the Scriptures teach no such doctrine, and so I might pass on to other points, to show you whilst they thus contend for the Bible as the guide to truth, there is this disagreement among them, at least in this country, where human rights and liberties are understood as allowing every man to judge for himself. Is there not, then, danger—is there no ground to apprehend that when our children read this Bible, and find that all these different sects father all their contradictions on the Bible as their authority, they will derive their first notions of infidelity from these circumstances? But there is another ground on which it is manifest we cannot allow our children to be taught by them. Whilst we grant them the right to take, if they please, the Protestant Bible as the rule of their faith, and the individual right to judge of the Bible—and this great principle they proclaim as the peculiar and distinctive, and most glorious trait in their religious character and history—and let them boast of it, there is no difficulty on the subject—they interpret the Bible by the standard of reason, and therefore, as there is no given standard of reason—as one has more and another less—they scarcely ever arrive at the same result, while the Bible, the eternal Word of God, remains the same. But this is not a Catholic principle. Catholics do not believe that God has vouchsafed the promise of the Holy Spirit to every individual, but that He has given His Spirit to teach the Church collectively, and to guide the Church, and therefore we do not receive as the Bible except what the Church guarantees; and wanting this guarantee, the Methodist gentleman failed to establish the book, which he produced with its notes, as a Catholic Bible. We do not take the Bible on the authority of a "King's Printer," who is a speculating publisher, who publishes it but as a speculation. And why? Because by the change of a single comma, that which is positive may be made negative, and *vice versa*, and then is it the Bible of the inspired writers? It is not. They proclaim, then, that theirs is a Christianity of reason; of this they boast, and let them glory. Ours is a Christianity of faith; ours descends by the teaching of the Church; we are never authorized to introduce new doctrines, because we contend that no new doctrine is true, from the time of the apostles, unless it has come from the mind of God by a special revelation, and to us that is not manifest among the reformers. We are

satisfied to trust our eternal interests, for weal or woe, on the security of that Catholic Church, and the veracity of the divine promises. You perceive, therefore, that Protestants may agree in the system where this Bible is thus introduced; but it is not in accordance with the principles of Catholics, that each one shall derive therefrom his own notions of Christianity. It is not the principle of Catholics, because they believe in the incompetence of individual reason, in matters of such importance. It is from this self-sufficiency and imputed capacity that men derive such notions of self-confidence, which, owing to a want of power to control in some domestic circles, if taught to our children, lead to disobedience and disregard of the parental authority.

I have been obliged to enter into this, which is rather theological than otherwise, to put you in possession of the true ground. We do not take the Protestant Bible, but we do not wish others not to take it if they desire it. If conscience be stifled, you do not make us better men or better citizens, and therefore I say, gentlemen, respect conscience, even though you think it in error, provided it does not conflict with the public rights.

I have sufficiently disposed of the addresses of the two legal gentlemen who have spoken. I will now call the attention of this honorable body to the remarks of the reverend gentleman who spoke in relation to the Rhemish Testament. I did use, sir, yesterday an expression which I used with reluctance; but when we were charged before this honorable body—when the reverend gentleman who represents a numerous denomination, charged us with teaching the lawfulness of murdering heretics, that expression came on me as a thunderbolt, because I thought that truth should proceed from the lips of age and a man of character. And, sir, I knew that position was not true, and that it was an easy matter to assert a thing, but not so easy to disprove it. I might take advantage of circumstances to charge a man with things that it would take weeks to disprove, and therefore I thought it necessary to nail that slanderous statement to the counter before it could have its designed influence here or elsewhere. That gentleman began with great humility, and with professions of being devoid of prejudice, and then he said that those meetings to which he referred, and which he called "public gatherings," had caused him to feel greatly alarmed about this question, as if the stability of your Republic was endangered, provided Catholic children received the benefits of a common school education! He said I had applied certain remarks to the creed of the Society of Friends, and, though perhaps it was somewhat out of order, but wishing to set the gentleman right, I denied that I had done so. But since then the reporter has handed me the notes taken of what I did say, and from them also it appears that I said no such thing. He referred to the practice of teaching religion in the schools; but of that I have disposed already.

He then, while going through the introductory part of the remonstrance of the Methodist Episcopal Church, threw out constantly

calumnious charges against the Catholic Church and the Catholic religion; he did not throw them out as assertions but by inuendo, as "if it be true," and "I should like to know," as if I am here for the purpose of supplying everything he would "like to know." And how can I meet him when insinuation is the form in which his charges are thrown out? Why, their very feebleness takes from an opponent the power of refutation. But when he comes to something tangible, then I can meet him. Having gone through a series of insinuations, he misrepresents our intentions, notwithstanding we disclaim such an intention, he indulges in the gratuitous supposition that if your honorable body should grant our petition, we shall secretly teach the Catholic religion. But if we do, is not the law as potent against us as against the public schools? If they teach religion, as they acknowledge, why may not we? We are not grasping to obtain power over others, but we desire in sincerity to benefit a portion of our own neglected children. I shall pass over, therefore, a great deal of what the gentleman "would like to know," for I do not know if it is of importance to the subject. He said this Rhemish Testament was published by authority; but he began by a retreat, and not by a direct charge: he did "not profess to say that our Church approved of it;" but it was printed and published, and it was not on the "Index," as if every bad book in the world must be in the *Index;* and with this evidence of fact, he comes here and spreads before the American people the slander and calumny that the Catholics by their notes and comments teach the lawfulness of murdering heretics. Now, sir, I will take up that book and the parts he read with the notes, giving an explanation as though they came from Catholics. Do you know the history of that book, sir? If not, I can tell you. When Queen Elizabeth scourged the Catholics from their altars, and drove them into exile, these men held a common notion, which was natural and just, that England was their country, and that they were suffering unmerited persecution. The new religion, not satisfied with toleration for itself, grasped the substance of things, grasped the power of the State, seized all their temples; and not even satisfied with this, scourged the Catholics from their home and country; and they did write these notes, and why? They wrote them in exile, smarting under the lash and the torture, and in connection, too, with a plan for the invasion of England by Philip II. of Spain. Their object was to disseminate amongst Catholics of England disaffection to Queen Elizabeth, and thus dispose them to join the true Catholics and oppose the heretics, because the heretics were their enemies, were the enemies of their rights, and had crushed them. But when that book appeared in England, was there a single approval given it, a single Catholic that received it? Not one. When it was published for political ends—to aid the invasion of Philip—did the English Catholics receive it? Never. But the gentleman said it was published by the Bishops of Ireland, and with their approbation, and with the approbation of a great number of the Catholic clergy; and this after his own ad-

mission that, insomuch as it had not been approved by the Holy See, the Bishop of Rome, it was not of authority in the Catholic Church. Now I shall take up both parts, and first I should like to know where is his authority that it was published by the Bishops of Ireland? I pause for a reply, and I shall not consider it an interruption.

Dr. BOND. Do you wish an answer?

Bishop HUGHES. I do, sir; I desire your authority.

Dr. BOND. Why, if we are to believe history, it is true; it is stated in the "British Critic."

Bishop HUGHES. Oh! I am satisfied.

Dr. BOND. It could not have been reviewed, if it did not exist.

Bishop HUGHES. Oh! it is here; and that proves its existence, without the "British Critic." It was gone out of print again, and not a Catholic now heard of it; but your *liberal* Protestant clergymen of New York republished it. What for? To bring infamy on the Catholic name; and it was from this Protestant edition, and not from Ireland, that the Methodist gentleman received it. I am now not surprised at his saying so often that he would "like to know," for a little more knowledge would be of great advantage to him. I need not read it.

Dr. BOND. Oh, you had better.

Bishop HUGHES. Well, sir, anything to accommodate you.

"It is a remarkable fact, that notwithstanding the whole New Testament, as it was translated and explained by the members of the Jesuit College at Rheims, in 1582, has been republished in a great number of editions, and their original annotations, either more or less extensively, have been added to the text; yet as a work it is appealed to as an authority; the Roman Church admit both the value of the book and the obligation of the Papists to believe its contents. We have no more striking modern instance to prove this deceitfulness."

It must be recollected that this is a Protestant publication; the Catholics did not circulate it, but the Protestant ministers did, to mislead their flocks and to bring infamy on their Catholic fellow-citizens.

"The Douay Bible is usually so called, because although the New Testament was first translated and published at Rheims, yet the Old Testament was printed some years after at Douay; the English Jesuits having removed their monastery from Rheims to Douay, before their version of the Old Testament was completed. In the year 1816, an edition, including both the Douay Old, and the Rhemish New Testament, was issued at Dublin, containing a large number of comments, replete with impiety, irreligion, and the most fiery persecution. That edition was published under the direction of all the dignitaries of the Roman Hierarchy in Ireland, and about three hundred others of the most influential subordinate priests."

Now, I called for the gentleman's evidence of this, and the gentleman was found *minus habens*—he has it not to give. The prints said so, and he believed the prints! Now, sir, this is a grave charge, and I am disposed to treat it gravely; but I should not feel worthy of the name of a man, I should feel myself unworthy of being a member of the American family, if I had not risen and repelled such a charge as it deserved.

Dr. BOND. You have not read all I read.

Bishop HUGHES. I will read all the gentleman may wish, if he will not keep me here reading all night.

"The notes which urged the hatred and murder of Protestants, attracted the attention of the British churches, and, to use the words of T. Hartwell Horne, that edition of the Rhemish Testament, printed at Dublin in 1816, corrected and revised and approved by Dr. Troy, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, was reviewed by the 'British Critic,' vol. viii., pp. 296–308; new series; and its dangerous tenets, both civil and religious, were exposed."

That is the testimony.

Dr. BOND. There is another paragraph.

Bishop HUGHES. Well, I will read the other.

"This publication, with many others of a similar character produced so great an excitement in Britain, that finally some of the most prominent of the Irish Roman prelates were called before the English Parliament to prove their own work. Then, and upon oath, with all official solemnity, they peremptorily disclaimed the volumes published by their own instigation, and under their own supervision and auspices, as books of no authority; because they had not been ratified by the Pope, and received by the whole Papal church."

Now, what authority have we for this charge of perjury against the Irish bishops, better than the gentleman's own? It is so stated here; what authority is there for that?

Dr. BOND. It was so stated before the British Parliament.

Bishop HUGHES. I should regret, on account of your age, if I used any expression that might be deemed harsh.

Dr. BOND. Take the liberty to say what you please.

Bishop HUGHES. With regard to these notes, I have to observe, that they were written in an age (1582) when the rights of conscience were but little understood. Protestants in that age everywhere persecuted, not only Catholics, but each other. And long after, the Puritans of New England, with the Bible, and without notes, persecuted with torture, and even to hanging their fellow-Protestants. It was not wonderful, therefore, if in such an age Catholics were found to entertain the opinions set forth in the notes. But, bad as they are, it is remarkable that they do not sustain the calumnious charge of the reverend gentleman, that they "teach the lawfulness of murdering heretics."

And now, sir, let me call your attention to the book itself.

In the 13th chapter of St. Matthew there is this text, at the 29th verse. It occurs in the parable of the cockle (in the Protestant version, *tares*) and the wheat, in answer to Christ's disciples, who asked: "*Wilt thou that we gather it up?*" And he said, "No: *lest perhaps, gathering up the cockles, you may root up the wheat also together with it.*" The annotation on this is:

"Ver. 29. *Lest you pluck up also.* The good must tolerate the evil, when it is so strong that it cannot be repressed without danger and disturbance of the whole Church, and commit the matter to God's judgment in the latter day. Otherwise, where ill men, be they heretics or other malefactors, may be punished or suppressed without disturbance and hazard of the good, they may, and ought, by public authority, either spiritual or temporal, to be chastised or executed."

They may and ought, "*by public authority!*" Why, the proposition of the gentleman was, that Catholics were taught to kill their Protestant neighbors. Now, there is not throughout the whole volume a proposition so absurd as the idea conveyed by him. Bad as the notes are, they require falsification to bear him out.

Again, Luke ix. 54–55: "*And when his disciples James and John had seen it, they said, Lord wilt thou we say that fire come down from heaven and consume them? And turning, he rebuked them, saying, You know not of what spirit you are.*" Annotation:

Ver. 55. *He rebuked them.* Not justice, nor all rigorous punishment of sinners is here forbidden, nor Elias's fact reprehended, nor the Church or Christian princes blamed for putting heretics to death. But none of these should be done for desire of our particular revenge, or without discretion and regard of their amendment, and example to others. Therefore Peter used his power upon Ananias and Saphira when he struck them both down to death for defrauding the Church."

I am afraid I shall fatigue this honorable body by going over these notes; nor is it necessary that I should follow the gentleman in all his discursive wanderings. There is nothing in this to authorize the murdering of heretics.

But again, Luke xiv. 23. "*And the Lord said to the servant, Go forth unto the ways and hedges; and compel them to enter, that my house may be filled.*" Annotation:

"*Compel them.* The vehement persuasion that God useth, both externally, by force of his word and miracles, and internally by his grace, to bring us unto him, is called compelling: not that he forceth any one to come to him against their wills, but that he can alter and mollify a hard heart, and make him willing, that before would not. Augustine, also, referreth this compelling to the penal laws, which Catholic princes do justly use against heretics and schismatics, proving that they who are by their former profession in baptism subject to the Catholic Church, and are departed from the same after sects, may and ought to be compelled into the unity and society of the Universal Church again; and therefore, in this sense, by the two former parts of the parable, the Jews first, and secondly the Gentiles, that never believed before in Christ, were invited by fair, sweet means only; but by the third, such are invited as the Church of God hath power over, because they promised in baptism, and therefore are to be revoked not only by gentle means, but by just punishment also."

Sir, the punishment of spiritual offences and the allusions here made to it, have their roots too deep and too wide-spreading to be entered into and discussed in the time that I could occupy this evening. It would be impossible to go over the historical grounds which suggest themselves in connection with the subject, to show the results to the state of society which grew unavoidably out of the breaking up of the Roman Empire, and the incursion of new and uncivilized nations and tribes. Society had been dissolved, with all the order and laws of the ancient civilization. It was the slow work of the Church to re-organize the new and crude materials; to gather and arrange the fragments; to re-model society and social institutions as best she might. There was no other power that could digest the crude mass; the fierce infusions of other tongues

and tribes and nations that had, during the chaos, become mixed up with the remains of ancient Roman civilization. She had to begin by religion, their conversion to Christianity being the first step; and the Catholic Church being the only one in existence. Hence the laws of religion are the first with which those new populations became acquainted, and the only ones that could restrain them. Hence, too, what is called canon law went before, and civil law gradually followed, oftentimes mixed with and deriving its force from the older form of legislation. The actual state of society made it unavoidable that this should be the order of things. Civil governments oftentimes engrafted whole branches of the ecclesiastical law in their secular codes; and ecclesiastical judges were often the interpreters and administrators of both.

Canonical law and civil law, thus blended, became the codes of civil government, from the necessity of the case, and it is to this state of things that the authors of the notes make allusion in their text. But, as I have remarked, the subject is too deep to be properly discussed on this occasion, when time is so brief, and so many speakers to be replied to.

We now come to Acts xxv. 11:

"*I appeal to Cæsar.* If Paul, both to save himself from whipping and from death, sought by the Jews, doubted not to cry for honor of the Roman laws, and to appeal to Cæsar, the Prince of the Romans, not yet Christened, how much more may we call for aid of Christian princes and their laws, for the punishment of heretics, and for the Church's defence against them. *August. Epist.* 50."

Here you see the working of human interest; and it is not the first time, among Protestants and Catholics, nor will it be the last, that men have made the Word of God and sacred things a stepping-stone to promote temporal interests. They say there, "Heretics have banished us, and is it not naturally the interest of Catholics to join a Catholic prince to put down our stern persecutors?" As if they had said to their fellow-Catholics of England, a Catholic prince will soon make a descent on our country, it will be your duty, as it is your interest, to join in putting down the heretic Elizabeth, who has driven us from our country.

I go now to Hebrews x. 29: "*How much more, think you, doth he deserve worse punishments who hath trodden the Son of God under foot, and esteemed the blood of the Testament polluted wherein he is sanctified, and hath done contrarily to the spirit of grace?*" Annotation:

"*The blood of the Testament.* Whosoever maketh no more of the blood of Christ's sacrifice, either as shed upon the cross or in the chalice of the altar, for our Saviour calleth that the blood of the New Testament, than he doth of the blood of calves and sheep, or of other common drinks, is worthy death, and God will in the future life, if it be not punished here, revenge it with grievous punishment."

"God will in the next life punish!" Why, as bad as these notes are, objectionable and scornfully repudiated as they were by the Catholics of England, bad as they are, they do not sustain the gentleman, whose assertion has gone as far beyond the truth as it is so

very far beyond charity. I do not find the notes from the Apocalypse, which would have gone to show in like manner that, bad as they were, they do not support the accusations made.

Dr. BOND. There are others as well.

Bishop HUGHES. Well, I will give you the rest.

The PRESIDENT. Perhaps it is not necessary. But if they are, it is not necessary to interrupt the gentleman.

Bishop HUGHES. Such then, sir, are the notes put by the Catholic translators of the New Testament, at Rheims, in 1582—smarting as they were under the lash of Elizabeth's persecution, and looking forward with hope to the result of the invasion by Philip II. They were repudiated indignantly by the Catholics of England and Ireland from the first; and were out of print, until some Protestant ministers of New York had them published, in order to mislead the people and to excite odium against the Catholic name.

But here, sir, is the acknowledged Testament of all Catholics who speak the English language; this is known and may be read by any one, it is the 14th edition in this country, it corresponds with those used in England and Ireland; and if any such notes can be found in it, then believe Catholics to be what they have been falsely represented to be.

But the reverend gentleman disclaims originating the slander. He took it, we are told, from the British Critic, as if that which is false must become true, from the moment it is put in type and printed. But, sir, he should have known that the article in the British Critic was refuted at the time, and has been since refuted in the Dublin Review. And it so happens that Doctor Troy, then Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, and who is here represented as having approved these notes, had to sustain a law-suit with the Dublin publisher, who was also a Protestant—not for approving the work, but for DENOUNCING it, which destroyed the publisher's speculation. and involved a suit against the Archbishop for damages!! This is attested by Dr. Troy's letter, now before me, and by the legal proceedings, and in a speech made by Daniel O'Connell to the CATHOLIC BOARD at the time (1817), we find the following:

"*From the Dublin Evening Post of the 6th of December*, 1817.

CATHOLIC BOARD—THE RHEMISH BIBLE.

A remarkably full meeting of the Catholic Board took place on Thursday last, pursuant to adjournment—Owen O'Conner, Esq., in the Chair.

After some preliminary business, Mr. O'Connell rose to make his promised motion, for the appointment of a Committee to prepare a denunciation of the intolerant doctrines contained in the Rhemish Notes.

Mr. O'Connell said, that on the last day of meeting he gave notice that he would move for a committee, to draw up a disavowal of the very dangerous and uncharitable doctrines contained in certain notes to the Rhemish Testament. He now rose to submit that motion to the consideration of the Board. The late edition of the Rheimish Testament in this country gave rise to much observation; that work was denounced by Dr. Troy; an action is now depending between him and a respectable bookseller in this city; and it would be the duty of the Board not to in-

terfere, in the remotest degree, with the subject of that action, but, on the other hand, the Board could not let the present opportunity pass by of recording their sentiments of disapprobation, and even of abhorrence of the bigoted and intolerant doctrines promulgated in that work. Their feelings of what was wise, consistent, and liberal, would suggest such a proceeding, even though the indecent calumnies of their enemies had not rendered it indispensible. A work called *The British Critic*, had, no doubt, been read by some gentlemen who heard him. The circulation of the last number has been very extensive, and exceeded, almost beyond circulation, the circulation of any former number, in consequence of an article which appeared in it on the late edition of the Rhemish Testament. He (Mr. O'Connell) said he read that article; it is extremely unfair and uncandid; it gives with audacious falsehood, passages, as if from the notes of the Rheimish Testament, which cannot be found in that work; and, with mean cunning, it seeks to avoid detection by quoting, without giving either text or page. Throughout, it is written in the true spirit of the inquisition, it is violent, vindictive, and uncharitable. He was sorry to understand that it was written by ministers of the Established Church; but he trusted, that when the charge of intemperance should be again brought forward against the Catholics, their accusers would cast their eyes on this coarse and illiberal attack—here they may find a specimen of real intemperance. But the very acceptable work of imputing principles to the Irish people which they never held, and which they abhor, was not confined to *The British Critic*. *The Courier*, a newspaper whose circulation is immense, lent its hand, and the provincial newspapers throughout England—those papers which are forever silent when anything might be said favorable to Ireland, but are ever active to disseminate whatever may tend to her disgrace or dishonor. They have not hesitated to impute to the Catholics of this country the doctrines contained in those offensive notes—and it was their duty to disclaim them. Nothing was more remote from the true sentiments of the Irish people. These notes were of English growth; they were written in agitated times, when the title of Elizabeth was questioned, on the grounds of legitimacy. Party spirit was then extremely violent: politics mixed with religion, and, of course, disgraced it. Queen Mary, of Scotland, had active partisans, who thought it would forward their purposes to translate the Bible, and add to it those obnoxious notes. But very shortly after the establishment of the College at Douay, this Rhemish edition was condemned by all the Doctors of that Institution, who, at the same time, called for and received the aid of the Scotch and Irish Colleges. The book was thus suppressed, and an edition of the Bible, with notes, was published at Douay, which has ever been since adopted by the Catholic Church; so that they not only condemned and suppressed the Rheimish edition, but they published an edition, with notes, to which no objection has, or could be, urged. From that period there have been but two editions of the Rhemish Testament; the first had very little circulation; the late one was published by a very ignorant printer in Cork, a man of the name of M'Namara, a person who was not capable of distinguishing between the Rhemish and any other edition of the Bible. He took up the matter merely as a speculation in trade. He meant to publish a Catholic Bible, and having put his hand upon the Rhemish edition, he commenced to print it in numbers. He subsequently became bankrupt, and his property in this transaction vested in Mr. Cumming, a respectable bookseller in this city, who is either a Protestant or Presbyterian; but he carried on the work, like M'Namara, merely to make money of it, as a mercantile speculation; and yet, said Mr. O'Connell, our enemies have taken it up with avidity; they have asserted that the sentiments of those notes are cherished by the Catholics in this country. He would not be surprised to read of speeches in the next Parliament on the subject. It was a hundred to one but that some of our briefless barristers have already commenced composing their dull calumnies, and that we shall have speeches from them, for the edification of the Legislature, and the protection of the Church. There was not a moment to be lost—the Catholics should, with one voice, disclaim those very odious doctrines. He was sure there was not a single Catholic in Ireland that did not feel as he did, abhorrence at the principles these notes contain. Illiberality has been attributed to the Irish people, but they are grossly wronged. He had often addressed the Catholic people of Ireland. He

always found them applaud every sentiment of liberality, and the doctrine of perfect freedom of conscience; the right of every human being to have his religious creed, whatever that creed might be, unpolluted by the impious interference of bigoted or oppressive laws. Those sacred rights, and that generous sentiment, were never uttered at a Catholic aggregate meeting, without receiving at the instant the loud and the unanimous applause of the assembly.

"It might be said that those meetings were composed of mere rabble. Well, be it so. For one, he should concede that, for the sake of argument. But what followed? Why, just this:—that the Catholic rabble, without the advantages of education, or of the influence of polished society, were so well acquainted with the genuine principles of Christian charity, that they, the rabble, adopted and applauded sentiments of liberality, and of religious freedom, which, unfortunately, met but little encouragement from the polished and educated of other sects."

(Then follows the passage which we have quoted in the preceding article.)

"Mr. O'Connell's motion was put and carried, the words being amended thus:

"'That a Committee be appointed to draw up an address on the occasion of the late publication of the Rhemish Testament, with a view to have the same submitted to an aggregate meeting.'"

Such, sir, are the history and the authority of the notes put to the Rhemish translation of the New Testament. The denunciation of Dr. Troy spoiled the sale of the work in Ireland, and the publisher sent the remaining copies for sale to this country; but even this did not remunerate him, as his loss was estimated at £500 sterling. It must have been from one of these exiled copies, that the Protestant edition, published in this city, now produced, was taken. These being the facts of the case, if I were a Protestant, I should feel ashamed of a clergyman of my church, who, from either malice or ignorance, should take up such a book, with the unchristian view of blackening the character of any denomination of my fellow citizens. But not only this, sir, but look at the array of the names of Protestant ministers, in this city, certifying, contrary to the fact, that this text and these notes are by the authority of the Catholic Church, and then say, whether there is no prejudice against the Catholics! I shall now dismiss the subject.

Sir, the Methodist gentleman, in the whole of his address, in which he made the charge I have now disposed of, and of which I wish him joy, slyly changed the nature and bearing of my language in the remarks I made last evening. For instance, respecting Purgatory, of which I observed if they were not satisfied with our Purgatory and wished to go further, they might prove the truth of the proverb, which says they may "go farther and fare worse." He said I "*sent*" them farther. But that corresponds with the rest. I did not send them farther. I here disavow such feelings in the name of human nature, and of that venerable religion which I profess.

But he has seen that "betting," as he was pleased to call it, is a sin, because forsooth, "he would get my money without an equivalent." Now I think he suspected the contrary. But I did not propose betting. His calumny had taken me by surprise; but was it not fortunate, almost providential, that I had at hand a direct refutation, for if his charge had gone abroad uncontradicted, the ignorant or bigoted would have taken it on his authority, and quoted it with as much assurance as he did on that of the British Critic—

and for the same unholy purpose. He took me, I say, at an unfair moment, and then it was, I stated, that if the gentleman could prove his charge—there were gentlemen here who had confidence in my word, and I said I would pledge myself to forfeit $1000 to be distributed in charities to the poor, as this council might direct, provided he would agree to the same forfeiture, if he failed to prove it. This is not betting.

He says that his Church has taught him the sinfulness of betting. But this did not deserve that name. It was only an ordeal, to test his confidence in the veracity of the slander contained in the Methodist Remonstrance. I may not, indeed, have the same scruples about what he calls gambling, that he has; but I do remember, what he seems to have forgotten, that there is a precept of the Decalogue—a commandment of the living God, which says: "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor."

I now pass to another portion of this gentleman's remarks. He contends that it is impossible to furnish reading lessons from history for the last ten centuries, without producing what must be offensive to Catholics. The history of Catholics is so black, that the Public Schools could not, in his view, find a solitary bright page to refresh the eye of the Catholic children. This is set forth in the Remonstrance of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and this the reverend gentleman undertook to support in his speech. He said that history must not be falsified for our accommodation. That the black and insulting passages against us and our religion, placed in the hands of our children at the Public Schools, were not to be charged as a defect in the system—inasmuch as the Trustees could find worse, but would be obliged to falsify history itself to find better. From this defence you can judge what confidence Catholics can place in this society, or in the schools under their charge.

I contended that there existed portions of history eminently honorable to Catholics. But, says he, "history is philosophy, teaching by example—the good and the bad must be taken together." Then how does it happen that the bad alone is presented in the Public Schools? Besides, if all the good and all the bad which history ascribes to Catholics must be presented, it would make a library rather large for a class-book in the Public Schools. Hence the necessity of a selection; and how is it, that in the selection the bad is brought out, and the good passed over in silence as if it did not exist? Why is the burning of Huss selected? Why the burning of Cranmer? Why are our children taught in the face of all sense and decency, that Martin Luther did more for learning, than any other man "since the days of the Apostles!" Why is "Phelim Maghee" represented as "sealing his soul with a wafer,"—in contempt to the holiest mystery known to Catholics, the Sacred Eucharist? Why are intemperance and vice set forth as the necessary and natural effects of the Catholic Religion? All this put in the hands of Catholic children, by this society, claiming to deserve the confidence of Catholic parents!

Now the Methodist gentleman says that all this is right—that the Trustees could not possibly, within the last ten centuries, find history which would not be offensive to Catholics—and that to make it otherwise, it must be falsified. Now, sir, I should like to know, whether it can be expected that we should have any confidence in schools, for the support of which we are taxed, in which our religious feelings are insulted, our children perverted, and whose advocates tell us gravely that we ought to be satisfied that things cannot be otherwise, unless history is to be falsified for our convenience! To this we never shall consent! Religious intolerance has done much to degrade us, and its most dangerous instrument was depriving us of education.

The gentleman (Dr. Bond) has corrected some of my remarks of last evening, on the Methodist Episcopal Church. The fact is, the style of Remonstrance presented here, as emanating from that Church, imposed on me the necessity of alluding to the history and principles of that denomination. It is unpleasant to me, at any time, to use language calculated to wound the feelings of any sect or class of my fellow citizens. But they who offer the unprovoked insult, must not complain of the retort. I stated that the Methodists in England had never done a solitary act to aid in the spread of civil and religious liberty in that country; that whilst the Catholics aided the Dissenters in obtaining the repeal to the Test and Corporation Acts, the Methodists never contributed to that measure, by so much as one petition in its favor. But it appears I fell into a mistake, which the gentleman corrected with great precision and gravity. The "Methodist Society," in England, he tells us, is something quite different from the "Methodist Episcopal Church," in the United States. The former consider themselves only as a society in the Established Church, just as the religious orders, the Dominicans, Jesuits, &c., are in the Catholic communion. Certainly it is new to me to learn that the Methodists and the Church of England are in such close and affectionate spiritual relationship. For although the Methodists consider themselves a society within the pale of the Establishment, the members of the Established Church are quite of a different opinion, since it was only the other day that I read of a Presbyter of that Church having been suspended by his Bishop, for having preached in a Methodist Meeting-house! So that the affection of the Methodists for the Church of England, does not appear to be very cordially reciprocated.

This gentleman tells us that the Methodists, who are only a "Society" in England, are an "Episcopal Church in America." Yes, sir, Mr. Wesley, who was himself but a *Priest*, actually consecrated a Bishop for the United States! And hence the Methodist *Episcopal* Church—a new order of Episcopacy, deriving their authority and character from Mr. John Wesley, a mere *Priest*. But, with or without Bishops, their whole history proves how much they imbibed of the intolerance of the established Church of England, to which he tells us they are so intimately allied in that coun-

try, but which at all times spurns the connection. This same John Wesley held and wrote that no government ought to grant toleration to Catholics; because, forsooth, either from ignorance of Catholic doctrines or bigotry against them, he was pleased to believe and assert falsely that they held it lawful to murder heretics. When the government of Great Britain was about to mitigate the code of penal laws and persecution against the Catholics, in 1780, who was more fervent and fanatical in opposition to the exercise of mercy than John Wesley? The great object of the Protestant Association, headed by Lord George Gordon, was to oppose the least mitigation of severity. Who was more active in the intellectual operations of that society than Mr. John Wesley? Under the leadership of Lord George Gordon they raised a rebellion in that year, and when the mob had plundered, destroyed, and burnt the houses and churches of the Catholics, spread consternation throughout the city of London, and caused human blood to flow in torrents, we have this same Wesley, with sanctimonious gravity, charging it all on the Catholics—the victims of its fury—and contending that it was a "Popish plot." His services in that Association had been acknowledged by a *unanimous vote of thanks*, dated February 17th of that very year. This was in 1780—when the mighty events which had occurred in this country taught the British government the expediency of relaxing the penal laws against so large a portion of her subjects in England and Ireland. The rebound of those events had been felt throughout the world. They were the events created and accomplished by the great fathers of this Republic, then struggling into existence; and whilst Catholics and Protestants fought bravely side by side in the ranks of independence—while a Catholic Carroll was signing its charter, and another Carroll, a Priest, and (tell it not in Gath) a Jesuit, was employed on an embassy to render the population of Canada friendly, or at least not hostile to our struggle; whilst a Catholic Commodore, Barry, was doing the office of a founder and father to our young and gallant Navy, what was John Wesley doing? He was creeping to the British throne to lay at the feet of His Majesty's government the offer to raise a regiment and put them at the disposal of the crown, expressly to put down what he called the "American Rebellion;" to crush the rising liberties of your infant country!

Now, sir, I think I was authorized to state that the Methodists have done as little for the spread of human liberty, the rights and equality of mankind, as any other denomination—no matter how old or how young. If they have not done extensive mischief, of which the gentleman boasts, it is to be remembered that they never possessed supreme civil power, and that in the order of time they have been too insignificant, and are still too juvenile to have done extensive evil. If they have done private good, as the gentleman contends, I confess it reminds me of Stephen Girard's charity. He was exceedingly rich; and because he was rich, people thought he was very wise. And inasmuch as he despised all external show of

religion, it was inferred he was very charitable to the poor, without, however making a display of it. If it was so, no man ever practiced better the counsel of the Gospel, "not to let the left hand know what the right hand doeth" in the matter. It was so private that no one ever could find it out. So it is with the Methodist Church with regard to any public benefit ever conferred on mankind; we have yet to hear of it.

I will now satisfy the gentleman on another subject which seems to trouble him, and on which he "should like to know." And as other gentlemen have alluded to it, I hope the same explanation will suffice in reply to them all.

Before the British government released the Catholics from the penalties under which they labored, among which not the least was the exclusion of the schoolmaster, they called upon them to disavow principles which they knew Catholics did not entertain. But in order to reconcile the prejudices of the English people, they had an investigation of those imputed principles before the houses of Parliament; they called upon some distinguished Catholic citizens and questioned them on several points such as those the gentleman has so frequently referred to, among which was the spiritual authority of the Pope. From the testimony which they took I now quote. It is part of the testimony of Dr. Doyle, Bishop of Kildare; but other bishops and public men were all examined on the same subject.

Question. "According to the principles which govern the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, has the Pope any authority to issue commands, ordinances, or injunctions, general or special, without the consent of the King?"

Answer. "He has."

"Question. "If he should issue such orders, are the subjects of His Majesty, particularly the clergy, bound to obey them?"

Answer. "The orders that he has a right to issue must regard things that are of a spiritual nature; and when his commands regard such things, the clergy are bound to obey them; but were he to issue commands regarding things not spiritual, the clergy are not in anywise bound to obey them."

Consequently, if His Holiness, as the gentleman, Mr. Ketchum, said, should forbid the reading of the Declaration of Independence, it would not be of any authority.

Mr. KETCHUM. Does the book say so?

Bishop HUGHES. I am authority myself in matters of my religion. Surely, sir, I am not here to betray it; and I am astonished that the gentleman is not better acquainted with history on the matter. He amused us a little while ago with the idea of what terrible consequences might ensue if the Pope, a "foreign potentate," should forbid us to read the Declaration of Independence; or forbid the reading of the Bible in our Common Schools. He even apologized for his alarm with singular simplicity: "he meant no reflection. This matter had come out in evidence here." It was then,

sir, I wondered at his not having read history, or having read it to so little advantage.

Did he not know that, long before the Declaration of Independence, Venice rose out of the sea, a Catholic State, with all her republican glory round about her? And when the Pope, in his capacity of "foreign potentate," attempted to invade her temporal rights, her Catholic sons did what they ought to have done, they unsheathed their swords and routed his troops. Did they thereby forfeit their allegiance to him as spiritual Head of the Church on earth? Not an iota of it. To a man who reads history, and understands it, this fact alone points out the difference, in the creed of Catholics, between the Pope and the potentate. The Venetians knew that the Pope, in his spiritual capacity, belongs to a kingdom which is not of this world. And the allegiance of Catholics to him, out of his own small dominions, is due to him only in his spiritual capacity. Whatever temporal right was acquired over independent states by the Popes in former ages, was owing to no principle of Catholic doctrine, but purely to the disorders of the times and the pusillanimity of weak rulers, who, in order to secure the Pope's protection, made themselves his vassals. The Popes, in such circumstances, would have been more or less than men, had they refused to embrace these opportunities of aggrandizement so placed within their reach, and often pressed upon them. Now every Catholic is familiar with this view of the subject, and yet, except a few of larger minds and better education, it has hardly penetrated the density of Protestant prejudice. Hence you hear them giving the most absurd construction to the duties of Catholics between the supposed conflicting claims of their country and the imputed principles of their religion. Permit me here to call your attention to the true and beautiful exposition of the case as set forth in the language of a gentleman who, though a Catholic, is acknowledged to be a man of as high honor, as lofty and patriotic principles, and as unblemished a character, as any man the nation can boast of: I mean Judge Gaston, of North Carolina. The State has no son of whom she is, or ought to be, prouder. And yet, up till within a few years, the laws of that State disqualified a Catholic from holding any, even the office of a constable. In a speech made by Judge Gaston, in the Convention for revising the State Constitution, in reference to this matter, he says:

"But it has been objected, that the Catholic religion is unfavorable to freedom; nay, even incompatible with republican institutions. Ingenious speculations on such matters are worth little, and prove still less. Let me ask who obtained the great charter of English freedom but the Catholic prelates and barons at Runnymede? The oldest, the purest democracy on earth is the little Catholic republic of San Marino, not a day's journey from Rome. It has existed now for fourteen hundred years, and is so jealous of arbitrary power, that the executive authority is divided between two Governors, who are elected every three months. Was William Tell, the founder of Swiss liberty, a royalist? Are the Catholics of the Swiss cantons in love with tyranny? Are the Irish Catholics friends to passive obedience and non-resistance? Was Lafayette, Pulaski, or Kosciusko, a foe to civil freedom? Was Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, unwilling to jeopard fortune in

the cause of liberty? Let me give you, however, the testimony of George Washington. On his accession to the Presidency, he was addressed by the American Catholics, who, adverting to the restrictions on their worship then existing in some of the States, expressed themselves thus: 'The prospect of national prosperity is peculiarly pleasing to us on another account; because, while our country preserves her freedom and independence, we shall have well-founded title to claim from her justice the equal rights of citizenship as the price of our blood spilt under your eye, and of our common exertions for her defence, under your auspicious conduct.' This great man, who was utterly incapable of flattery and deceit, utters, in answer, the following sentiments, which I give in his own words: 'As mankind become more liberal, they will be more apt to allow that all those who conduct themselves as worthy members of the community are equally entitled to the protection of civil government. I hope ever to see America among the foremost nations in examples of justice and liberality; and I presume that your fellow-citizens will never forget the patriotic part which you took in the accomplishment of their revolution, and the establishment of their government, or the important assistance which they received from a nation in which the Roman Catholic faith is professed.' By the by, sir, I would pause for a moment to call the attention of this committee to some of the names subscribed to this address. Among them are those of John Carroll, the first Roman Catholic bishop of the United States; Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, and Thomas Fitzsimmons. For the characters of these distinguished men, if they needed vouchers, I would confidently call on the venerable President of this Convention. Bishop Carroll was one of the best men and most humble and devout of Christians. I shall never forget a tribute to his memory paid by the good and venerable Protestant Bishop White, when contrasting the piety with which the Christian Carroll met death, with the cold trifling that characterized the last moments of the skeptical David Hume. I know not whether the tribute was more honorable to the piety of the dead, or to the charity of the living prelate. Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, the last survivor of the signers of American Independence—at whose death both houses of the Legislature of North Carolina unanimously testified their sorrow, as at a national bereavement! Thomas Fitzsimmons, one of the illustrious Convention that framed the Constitution of the United States, and for several years the Representative in Congress from the city of Philadelphia. Were these, and such as these, foes to freedom and unfit for republicanism? Would it be dangerous to permit such men to be sheriffs and constables in the land? Read the funeral eulogium of Charles Carroll, delivered at Rome by Bishop England—one of the greatest ornaments of the American Catholic Church—a foreigner, indeed, by birth, but an American by adoption, and who becoming an American, solemnly abjured all allegiance to every foreign king, prince, and potentate whatever—that eulogium which was so much carped at by English royalists and English tories—and I think you will find it democratic enough to suit the taste and find an echo in the heart of the sternest republican amongst us. Catholics are of all countries, of all governments, of all political creeds. In all they are taught that the kingdom of Christ is not of this world, and that it is their duty to render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's."

I shall now proceed with the testimony of the Irish Bishops in order, which was interrupted by the gentleman's question.

Here, sir, is the testimony of another bishop—Dr. Murray, the present Archbishop of Dublin—before a Committee of the British Parliament.

"To what extent and in what manner does a Catholic profess to obey the Pope?—Solely in spiritual matters, or in such mixed matters as come under his government; such as marriage, for instance, which we hold to be a sacrament as well as a civil contract. As it is a sacrament, it is a spiritual thing, and comes under the jurisdiction of the Pope; of course he has authority over that spiritual part of it; but this authority does not affect the civil rights of the individuals contracting.

"Does this obedience detract from what is due by a Catholic to the State under which he lives?—Not in the least; the powers are wholly distinct.

"Does it justify an objection that is made to Catholics, that their allegiance is divided?—Their allegiance in civil matters is completely undivided.

"Is the duty which the Catholic owes to the Pope, and the duty which he owes to the King, really and substantially distinct?—Wholly distinct!

"How far is the claim, that some Popes have set up to Temporal Authority, opposed to Scripture and Tradition?—As far as it may have been exercised as coming from a right granted to him by God, it appears to me to be contrary to Scripture and tradition; but as far as it may have been exercised in consequence of a right conferred on him by the different Christian powers, who looked up to him at one time as the great parent of Christendom, who appointed him as the arbitrator of their concerns, many of whom submitted their kingdoms to him, and laid them at his feet, consenting to receive them back from him as fiefs, the case is different. The power that he exercised under that authority of course passed away when those temporal princes who granted it chose to withdraw it. His spiritual power does not allow him to dethrone kings, or to absolve their subjects from the allegiance due to them; and any attempt of that kind I would consider contrary to Scripture and tradition.

"Does the Pope now dispose of temporal affairs within the kingdoms of any of the princes of the Continent?—Not that I am aware of; I am sure he does not.

"Do the Catholic clergy admit that all the bulls of the Pope are entitled to obedience?—They are entitled to a certain degree of reverence. If not contrary to our usages, or contrary to the law of God, of course they are entitled to obedience, as coming from a superior. We owe obedience to a parent, we owe obedience to the king, we owe it to the law; but if a parent, the king, or the law, were to order us to do anything that is wrong, we would deem it a duty to say, as the Apostles did on another occasion, 'We ought to obey God rather than men.'

"Are there circumstances under which the Catholic clergy would not obey a bull of the Pope?—Most certainly.

"What is the true meaning of the following words, in the creed of Pius IV.: 'I promise and swear true obedience to the Roman bishop, the successor of St. Peter?'—Canonical obedience, in the manner I have just described, within the sphere of his own authority.

"What do the principles of the Catholic religion teach, in respect to the performance of civil duties?—They teach that the performance of civil duties is a conscientious obligation which the law of God imposes on us.

"Is the divine law then quite clear, as to the allegiance due by subjects to their prince?—Quite clear.

"In what books are to be found the most authentic exposition of the Faith of the Catholic Church?—In that very creed that has been mentioned, the creed of Pius IV.; in the Catechism which was published by the direction of the Council of Trent, called 'The Roman Catechism,' or 'The Catechism of the Council of Trent;' 'An Exposition of the Catholic Faith, by the Bishop of Meaux, Bossuet;' 'Verron's Rule of Faith;' 'Holden's Analysis of Faith' and several others."

Such is the character and limitation of the Pope's authority, attested under oath, by bishops and other Catholic dignitaries before the British Parliament. The Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland had been bowed down to the earth, by penal laws and persecution, during three hundred years—with nothing between them and the enjoyment of all their rights, but the solemnity of an oath. If their conscience had permitted them to swear what they did not believe, they might have entered on their political rights at any time, and yet as martyrs to the sacredness of conscience they resisted.

I have now, sir, supplied the reverend gentleman, who presented

the remonstrance from the Methodist Episcopal Church, with all the information which the occasion permits on the subject of the Pope's authority. But there is a good deal more to which, if time allowed, I might address myself. He became very logical, and insisted on the fact, that the doctrines of the Catholic Church are always the same, immutable. He says that we boast of this; and we do so, most assuredly. From the hour when they were revealed and taught by divine authority until the present, from the rising to the setting of the sun, the Faith of the Catholic believer, and the doctrines of the Catholic Church, are everlastingly and universally the same. But then he concludes, that, as Catholics in some instances in former times persecuted, so, their religion being always the same, they are still bound to persecute, or else disavow the doctrine, as Protestants do. Now, sir, we do disavow and despise the doctrine of persecution in all its essence and forms. But does it follow that by this we disavow any doctrine of the Catholic Church? By no means. And this proves that persecution never was any portion of the Catholic faith; for if it had been, the denial of it would cut us off from her communion. The Church we believe, by the promise and superintendence of Christ, her invisible head and founder, to be infallible. She received the deposit of the doctrines revealed by our Redeemer and his Apostles; her office is to witness, teach, and preserve them. These alone constitute the religious creed and doctrines of the Catholic Church and her members. We believe in a Trinity, the Incarnation of Christ, the Redemption by his death, the Divine Institution of the Church. These and whatever the Church holds, as of Divine Revelation, are the doctrines of our Catholic unity. And the individual who is now addressing you, and the Catholic martyr who is at this moment perhaps bleeding for his faith in China—for the Church has her martyrs still—hold and believe identically the same doctrines. But as there is unity in faith, so there is, in the Church, freedom of opinion on matters which are not determined by any specific revelation. Hence we are republicans, or monarchists, according to individual preference, or the prevailing genius of the country we belong to. Hence, when the Catholic divines at Rheims were appending these notes to their edition of the New Testament, the Catholic bishops of Poland, with her twenty-two millions, were opening the doors of the Constitution to the fugitive Protestants of Germany, fleeing from the intolerance and persecution of their fellow Protestants. The one act is as much a Catholic doctrine as the other, because in both cases the agents acted, not by the authority of the Church, but in the exercise of that individual judgment for which their account stands to God.

But I must be brief. I cannot follow so many learned speakers through so much matter that is foreign to the subject; for I agree with the medical gentleman who said that neither the Catholic nor the Protestant religion was on trial here; it is not religious creeds that are to be tested by this Council. I have, however, given this explanation, and I trust it will be received, though it may have been

tedious, as having its apology in the remarks which called it forth. I only wish that the gentleman who made the observation had made it one hour and a half sooner; it would have saved all I have said on the subject.

But this speaker also [Doctor Reese], lectured me for attending certain meetings, as if it were a descent from my dignity to find myself in an assembly of freemen. I did not consider it as a descent. But really when I came here in the simple character of a citizen, I did not think I should be vested with my official robes for the purpose of being attacked. Individuals as respectable as he attended those meetings, and I consider it no disgrace to have been there or here; for even if this petition came not from Catholics, but from Methodists, or any other Protestant denomination, whose consciences were violated by this system, I should be found in their midst supporting their claim. Let me add, too, that I would rather be so found, than, for all the exchequer of the Public School Society, exchange places with gentlemen, and have conscience and right for my opponents. He also contended that this want of confidence in Catholics was the result of my appeals, forgetting that the state of things which is now brought under public notice has existed for years, by efforts to provide a safe education for our children, long before those meetings were called, and before I attended them. And besides, I conceive it is my bounden duty, if I saw principles inculcated which will sap the young minds of our children—and I have no doubt this Honorable Board will say it is my duty—to warn them and to bring them within the pale of that authority which they acknowledge. I wonder if Presbyterian gentlemen would see Catholic books circulated amongst their children and not warn their people against them? I wonder, if these books contained reading lessons about Calvin and the unhappy burning of Servetus, whether they would not warn their people. I say, if they believe in their religion, they would be in the discharge of their duty. And while on this subject, it occurs to me at this moment, that in the wide range of observation which has been taken, reference has been made to national education in Ireland. And we are told that after books had been agreed upon, the bishops sent the question to Rome, to be decided by the Pope. What question? Can they tell? for I am sure I cannot. To this day, I have never understood the exact nature of the reference to the Pope, but, sir, this is no extraordinary thing. Under the jealous eye of the British government, even in the darkest hour of her cruelty to Catholics, their intercourse with Rome was not interrupted. But while that collection and compilation of Scripture lessons was agreed on in the more Catholic parts of the country where the population is divided between Protestants and Catholic, what is the fact? Why, in another part, the North of Ireland, where the Presbyterians are more numerous, they had conscientious objections to this selection of Scripture, they asserted their objections, and the British government recognized them; and thus while these lessons by agreement were in general use, an exception was made in favor

of the Presbyterians, who had objections to the use of anything but the naked word of God; and I say, honor to those Presbyterians. The Catholics sent in no remonstrance. But if the rule applied to their case, by what authority will your honorable body determine that it shall not apply to ours? Oh! I perceive. The gentleman, whose remarks I am reviewing, reasoned on until he arrived at the conclusion that there were no conscientious grounds for our objecjection at all. True, we said we had; but he could not see what conscience had to do with a matter so plain. He said, here the community had built up a beautiful system; it was doing good; he asked shall we put it aside in deference to pretended scruples? Now, tell me when the despotism of intolerance ever said anything else than this? Why, the established church of England said, "we are doing good," "our doors are open to all," "the minister is at the desk, and the bread of life is distributed for the public good." What then? What business have these unhappy parents to find fault for conscience sake and squeamishness? Now, sir, objections can exist to the slightest shade of violation to our conscience, and therefore, I did not expect to hear this argument at this time of day. But the gentleman speaks of my addressing the public meetings to which he has alluded, as though my speaking there had been the cause instead of the consequence of the scruples of our people. Then it was I joined them to seek a remedy for our just complaint, but if in your wisdom this body shall think proper to deny, it we must bear it.

He contended again that it would be turning the public money to private uses. That seems to me to have been fully answered. He also contended that it would be the giving of the money of the State to support religion. That I have disputed; for if so I shall have no objection to join those gentlemen in their remonstrance. But at the same time it does appear strange to me that the gentleman, who pretends to have read the Scriptures with so much attention, should not have learned that principle—the most general, sir, and the most infallible of Christian principles for the guidance of our conduct—"DO UNTO OTHERS AS YE WOULD THAT OTHERS SHOULD DO UNTO YOU." That is the principle; and is it not strange that such opposition should be made to us when it is known that money raised by public tax goes to the support of literature under the supervision of the METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH? And why do not Catholics object to that? Because the tax does not belong to any particular sect; it is thrown into a common fund and applied to such uses as the legislature in its wisdom thinks proper. We, sir, however, ask for our own and nothing else. But if you say that we shall be taxed for a system which is so organized that we cannot participate in it without detriment to the religious rights of our children, then I say that injustice is done even to our civil rights; for taxation is the basis of even civil rights. And I was not a little struck in the course of the argument, that some gentlemen should refer with so much emphasis as to a circumstance novel and unparalleled even in social

life—that a certain class of gentlemen should petition for what? The privilege of being taxed! They deemed it a *privilege*, and that was wonderful! and merit was ascribed to them for it. Yes, sir, but did it go to the extent only of their own pockets? Or did it not reach the pockets equally of those who did not petition? If to themselves only, it was all fair, and proper, disinterested and patriotic: but great emphasis was laid on this class being most "intelligent" and "wealthy" and "respectable," nobility almost, as though a question of this kind was intended for a particular class. But let me tell you the honest man who occupies only a bed in a garret, is also a tax payer. Why give him a vote? Because he pays tax for the *space* he occupies. If he occupies a room and pays the tax, his rent is less—if the landlord pays, his rent is so much more. So, if he occupies a garret, or if he boards, it goes down to that, for the person who keeps the boarding-house pays the rent; if that tax is paid by the boarding-house keeper the rent is so much less than if the tax was paid by the landlord. If the boarding-house keeper pays the tax, he charges *more* for board. So that the boarder is a tax payer, and it is so understood in our broad and excellent system of representation. The exclusive merit of this tax, then, is not to be given to any particular class, no matter how wealthy; and I was surprised that so much emphasis should be laid on it. I did not suppose that the interests of the poor were to be sacrificed to the respectability of the rich. The poor pay too; and it is a beautiful and admirable thing to see what a dignity this confers on human nature—what an interest this excites in the poor. I recollect passing along a street some time since, and I observed a little house, almost a shed or hovel, some fourteen or sixteen feet square, which was too small to be divided into two compartments. It had but one window, and this had originally had four panes of glass, but one having been broken it was darkened. There had been some political party triumph; the boys in the streets had their drums out and there appeared to be a popular rejoicing, and there I saw three lights burning in the window of this poor habitation. I was amused to see that a man living in so poor a hovel, and unable to buy a fourth pane of glass, should find means to light the other three. But on further reflection I said to myself, "there is philosophy there." What other nation can exhibit such a spectacle? This poor man, who must toil till the day he goes to his grave, participates in a political triumph. His bread has to be earned by daily toil nevertheless; though the triumph perhaps will never benefit him, he exhibits a glorious spectacle to the world. He is a MAN—he feels it is recognized. It is a nation's homage offered to human nature. He is a MAN and a CITIZEN; and on reflection I was delighted at a spectacle so glorious as this.

But returning to the subject, they say all religion is left to voluntary contribution. Now is this true in the sense in which it is here applied? Are not chaplains appointed to public institutions which are supported by the public money? And have you not given it to

the Protestant Orphan Asylum, and the Half-orphan Asylum? Have you not given it to the Catholic Benevolent Society? And do you suppose the Wesleyan Catechism is taught there? Do you suppose the Catholic Catechism is taught in the Protestant Asylums? One gentleman argued that you had not the power to do this. But if you have done it, does not that prove that you had the power? If you had power to do that you have power equally to do this. I shall go further. I find in the Report of the Regents of the University, that the Genesee Wesleyan Seminary—Theological Seminary, as I understand—has last year received $1,395.56 of the public money. This is not exclusively literary, as I understand it—

Dr. BANGS. Altogether literary.

Bishop HUGHES. I was under the impression that it was Theological, and that religion was admitted. But those in this city furnish evidence that a religious profession does not disqualify.

I believe now, sir, I have gone through the substance at least, if not through every particular, of what has been said by the gentlemen who interpose their remonstrances and their arguments in opposition to our rightful claim. I will now read one authority, and I am the more willing because it is from the Public School Society themselves. It is from the memorial which they presented to the Legislature in the Session of 1823, in which they state, page 7, "It will not be denied"—recollect I do not quote this to show that our petition ought to be granted; but that, whatever opinion these gentlemen may *now* have of the unconstitutionality of granting this claim, they saw nothing unconstitutional in the practice then, and I know of nothing so far as the constitution is concerned, neither of the State, nor of the United States—I know of no enactment which should change their opinion:

"It will not be denied, in this enlightened age, that the education of the poor is enjoined by our holy religion, and is therefore one of the duties of a Christian Church. Nor is there any impropriety in committing the School Fund to the hands of a religious society, so long as they are confined, in the appropriation of it, to an object not necessarily connected or intermingled with the other concerns of the church, as for instance to the payment of teachers, because the State is sure in this case, that the benefits of the fund, in the way it designed to confer them, will be reaped by the poor. But the objection to the section sought to be repealed is, that the surplus moneys after the payment of teachers, is vested in the hands of the trustees of a religious society, and mingled with its other funds, to be appropriated to the erection of buildings under the control of the trustees, which buildings may, and in all probability will, be used for other purposes than school houses."

That is the statement of the Public School Society itself; and throughout this document—while the gentlemen here have been wielding against our petition the influence of respectable and wealthy classes—I find that before the acquisition of their monopoly, they advocated the claims of the poor who *cannot buy* education—sometimes scarcely bread. This is the class to whose welfare the eye of the enlightened, the patriotic, and the benevolent should be directed—this is the class that essentially requires education. Thus

they say, "The School Fund is designed for a civil purpose, for such is the *education of the poor*."

Again, they say that the New York Free School (that was their own Society) has "one single object, *the education of the poor*." Again, the Board of Trustees is annually chosen, etc., "*for the education of the poor*." And yet now I could point out thousands of our poor who are destitute of education, and who have no means to provide it. We do what we can, but we are too limited in means to raise, of ourselves, a sufficient fund; we have labored under great disadvantages; we have taught the catechism in our schools, because, while *we* supported them we had the right to do so; but if you put them on the footing of the common schools we shall be satisfied, and the State will secure the education of our children; you will secure them an education on the basis of morality, for they had better be brought up under the morality of our religion, though gentlemen object, than none at all. They say the objection to the present schools is that there they are made Protestants. No, sir, it is because they are made *Nothingarians*, for we cannot tell what they are. I have now concluded; and if I have been obliged to trespass long upon your patience, recollect, as some extenuation, that I had a great deal to reply to in the arguments of gentlemen which were urged to overthrow the principles of our petition, but had no bearing on the petition at all. We do not ask for the elevation of the Catholics over others, but for the protection to which all are entitled. The question is exceedingly plain and simple. If it has or can be shown that we are claiming this money for sectarian purposes, then I should advise you to withhold it. But if in honesty, and truth, and sincerity, it is a right belonging to us as citizens, to receive our *pro rata*, then we appeal to you with confidence.

From the sentiments expressed here on behalf of the Public School Society, you can judge of the chance that Catholic children have in those schools, to have their religious rights respected. It will be, as perhaps it has been, considered a great and good work to detach them from a religion which is supposed "to teach the lawfulness of murdering heretics." Infidelity itself will be considered preferable to Catholicism in their regard, for one reverend gentleman has told you that if there was no alternative, he would embrace the doctrines of Voltaire rather than the religion of a Cheverus or a Fenelon. If the Catholics have been obliged to keep their children from those schools in time past, you may imagine what effects these sentiments, this *animus* of the system is likely to have on their minds for the time to come. But if it is our religious right to have a conscience at all, do not take pains to pervert it, for we shall not be better citizens afterwards. Do not teach us to slight the admonitions of our conscience. Reverse our case and make it your own, and then you will be able to judge. Make it your own case, and suppose your children were in the case of those poor children for whom I plead; then suppose what your feelings would be if the blessings of education were provided bountifully by the

State, and you were unable to participate in those blessings, unless you were willing to submit that your conscience should be trenched upon.

Here the Right Rev. Prelate sat down after having spoken for nearly three hours and a half.

SPEECHES OF THE RT. REV. DR. HUGHES, IN CARROLL HALL.

BEING A REVIEW AND REFUTATION OF THE REMONSTRANCE OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SOCIETY, AND OF THE ARGUMENT OF HIRAM KETCHUM, ESQ., THEIR COUNSEL, ON THE COMMON SCHOOL QUESTION.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, *June* 16, 1841.

Public notice having been given in the daily papers of the city, that Bishop Hughes would commence a Review and Refutation of the argument which was made by Hiram Ketchum, Esq., before a Committee of the Legislature, at Albany, in opposition to the Bill and Report of the Secretary of State, on the subject of Common School education in the city of New York, a very large and respectable assemblage convened in Carroll Hall, on that evening, to hear the address of the Bishop. Among the gentlemen present, we noticed the Hon. Luther Bradish, Lieutenant-Governor, and several of the Senators of the State, who were then in attendance in the city of New York, as members of the Court for the Correction of Errors. At the hour specified in the notice, the meeting was organized, by the appointment of Thomas O'Connor, Esq., Chairman, and Bernard O'Connor, Esq., Secretary. Rt. Rev. Bishop Hughes then rose and spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—The subject of education is one which at this time agitates, more or less, every civilized nation. If we look across the ocean, we find it the subject of discussion in France, in Prussia, in Holland, in Belgium, in Ireland, and even in Austria. It is not surprising then that this subject which has but lately attracted the attention of governments and nations, should become one of deep and absorbing interest. But of all these nations there is, perhaps, not one which has placed education on that basis, on which it is destined successfully, in the end, to repose.

In countries in which the inhabitants profess the same religion, whatever that religion may be, the subject is deprived of many of its difficulties. But in nations in which there is a variety of religious creeds, it has hitherto been found one of the most perplexing of all questions, to devise a system of education which should meet the approbation of all. This subject has engaged the attention of our own government. In every State of the Union it has already been acted upon more or less fully, and in all these instances, whether we regard Europe or regard this country, we find that there is not a solitary instance in which religion, or religious instruction in a course of education, has been proscribed, with the exception of the city of New York. And

this proscription of religion in this city is not an act of public authority; there is no statute authorizing such an act—it has been the result rather of an erroneous construction put upon a statute, and which has been acquiesced in, rather than approved, for the last sixteen years. In the operation of that system, Catholics felt themselves virtually excluded from the benefits of education. Very shortly after that construction of the law was adopted, they felt themselves obliged to proceed in the best way that their poverty would allow for the education of their children; and whilst they have been taxed with the other citizens, up to the present hour they have derived no benefit from the system supported by that taxation, but on the contrary, after having contributed what the law required, have been obliged to throw themselves back on their own resources, and provide, as well as they might, for the means of educating their children.

We have, from time to time, complained of this state of things. It has frequently been brought before the notice of the public. A society—professedly the friend of education—having exercised supreme control over the whole question, we had no resource but to apply to that tribunal, which the law had authorized to use its discretion in distributing the money set apart for the purposes of education. We always insisted, in good faith, that the object—the benevolent object of this government was, the education of the rising generation, and we never conceived that the question of religion, or no religion, had entered into the minds of those philanthropic public men who first established this system for the diffusion of knowledge. We applied, as I have remarked, at different times, to the tribunal to which allusion has been already made, and did so even till a very recent period, because, before we could apply to the Legislature of the State, it was requisite to comply with the forms prescribed, and that we should be first rejected by the Common Council of this city, to whom the State Legislature had delegated the discretionary power to be exercised in the premises. That course was regarded necessary, and we adopted it. The result was as we anticipated—denial of our request—and then it was that we applied to the Legislature of the State—submitted to them the grievances under which we labored, in the full confidence that there we should find a remedy.

Both before the Common Council and the Senate of this State the means which have been taken to defeat the proper consideration of our claims have been such as we could not have anticipated in a country where the rights of conscience are recognized as supreme. The test has been put, not as to whether we were proper subjects for education, but whether we were Catholics! And in the course of the examination on which I am about to enter, I shall have occasion to show that, from the beginning to the end, the one object of the members of the Public School Society has been to convince the public that we were Catholics, and they, it would appear, calculate, as the consequence, that if we were Catholics, then we had no right to obtain redress, or hope for justice.

In the course of my remarks, I shall be obliged to refer to distinctions in religion, the introduction of which into the discussion of this question is ever to be much regretted; I shall have to speak of Catholics and of Protestants, and when I do so, let it be understood that I do not volunteer in that; but the course pursued by that Public School Society has imposed upon me the necessity to refer to these religious distinctions, and in doing so, I trust I shall be found to speak of those who differ from me in matters of religion with becoming respect. I am not a man of narrow feelings—I am attached sincerely and conscientiously to the faith which I profess, but I judge no man for professing another. In the whole of my intercourse with Protestants, my conduct has been such that they will be ready to acknowledge, in Philadelphia and elsewhere, that I am the last man to be

accused of bigotry. But I feel that I should be unworthy of that estimation—that the denomination to which I belong would be unworthy of sustaining that position which they are ambitious to occupy in the opinion of their fellow-citizens of other creeds, if they were to submit to the insult added to the injury inflicted on them by these men. I, for my own part, feel indignant at the recent attempt made to cast odium upon us and our cause, and it is because that turns entirely on the question of religion, that I shall be obliged to speak of Catholics and of Protestants, and to refer to those distinctions which should never have been introduced.

Before taking up the Report of the Secretary of State, I shall refer briefly to the conclusion of the discussion before the Common Council. There we had, as you will recollect, legal gentlemen, and reverend gentlemen, advocates of the Public School Society, who had studied the question in all its bearings—volunteers and associates, and colleagues, on the same side, and throughout that debate the ground taken by them was, that if our petition were granted, favors would be conferred on us as a religious denomination, tending to that, against which all the friends of liberty should guard—a union of Church and State. So long as that idea was honestly entertained by these gentlemen, I could respect their zeal in opposing us. But that idea has disappeared, and yet their opposition has become more inveterate than ever.

The very last sentence of the speech of Mr. Ketchum before the Common Council of the city of New York, was a declaration that this Society, so far from desiring a collision of this kind with us, were men of peace, to whom even the moral friction of the debate was quite a punishment; that for them it would be a relief, if our system of education were assimilated in its external aspect to that of the State. I will read his own words:

"Now, perhaps the gentleman may ask, if the system is to be changed, that we should resort to the same course as is pursued in the country, where the people elect their own Commissioners and Trustees. But if we do, the schools must be governed on the same principles as these, and the only difference will be in the managers. And if it is to come to that, I am sure these Trustees will be very willing, for it is to them a source of great vexation to be compelled to carry on this controversy for such a period.

"They are very unwilling to come here to meet their fellow-citizens in a somewhat hostile manner. They have nothing to gain, for the Society is no benefit to them, and they give days and weeks of their time, without recompense, to the discharge of the duties of their trust."

I shall not now praise that Society. I have more than once given my full assent to eulogiums on their zeal and assiduity; but Mr. Ketchum praises them and they praise themselves, and at this period of the controversy, they are entitled to no praise from the thousands and thousands of the poor neglected children of New York, whom their narrow and bigoted views have excluded from the benefits and blessings of education.

I shall now, before proceeding farther, take up the Report of the Secretary of State, and commence with that portion of it in which he gives a brief sketch of the origin of this Society:

"The Public School Society was originally incorporated in 1805, by chapter 108 of the laws of that session, which is entitled 'An act to incorporate the Society instituted in the city of New York, for the establishment of a free school for the education of poor children who do not belong to or are not provided for by any religious Society.' In 1808 its name was changed to 'The Free School Society of New York;' and its powers were extended 'to all children who are the proper subjects of a gratuitous education.' By chapter 25 of the Laws of 1826, its name was changed to 'The Public School Society of New York;' and the Trustees were authorized to provide for the education of all children in New York not otherwise provided for, 'whether such children be or be not the proper subjects of gratuitous education;' and to require from those attending the schools a moderate compensation; but no child to be refused admission on account of inability to pay."

"Thus, by the joint operation of the acts amending the charter of the Society, of the statutes in relation to the school moneys, and of the ordinance of the Common Council, designating the schools of the Society as the principal recipients of those moneys, the control of the public education of the city of New York, and the disbursement of nine-tenths of the public moneys raised and apportioned for schools, were vested in this corporation. It is a perpetual corporation, and there is no power reserved by the Legislature to repeal or modify its charter. It consists of members who have contributed to the funds of the Society; and, according to the provisions of the last act, the payment of ten dollars constitutes the contributor a member for life. The members annually choose fifty Trustees, who may add to their number fifty more."

He goes on to describe its different acts by which its name and other attributes were changed, until from being a Society to take charge of the children that were not provided for by any religious Society, they came to have the control of the whole system of education in New York. The Report informs us that the members of the Public School Society are so by virtue of a subscription of ten dollars; that they elect fifty Trustees; that these fifty Trustees have a right to appoint fifty others, and then the number is completed; that the City Council are members *ex-officio*, and this will, perhaps, go a great way in explaining the unwillingness of the Common Council to grant our petition.

The Society was so constituted, that when we went before the Common Council, we virtually went before a committee of the Society.

In this state of things the Governor of this State, with a patriotism and benevolence that entitle his name to the respect of every man that has regard for humane feeling and sound and liberal policy, declared for a system that would afford a good common education for every child. And though I have never before spoken in public the name of that distinguished officer of the State, I do now from my heart award to him my warmest thanks, and those of the community to which I belong, for the stand he has taken on this subject. An attempt has been made to victimize him because he favored Catholics—he dared to manifest a humane and liberal feeling towards foreigners. He survived that shock, however, and a recent excellent document from him, showing that he is not any longer a candidate for public favor, authorizes me to say in this place, that every man who loves his country and the interests of his race, no matter what may be his politics, will cordially render the tribute of esteem and praise due to Governor Seward.

[The chairman had, on taking his place, requested the meeting to refrain from interrupting the Right Rev. Speaker, or giving any demonstrations of applause, but here they could not restrain their feelings, and testified their concurrence in the sentiments of the Bishop in reference to Governor Seward, by a loud and enthusiastic burst of applause.]

Governor Seward knew too well, Bishop Hughes continued, the deep seated prejudices of a large portion of the community, not to feel that he had nothing to gain by being the advocate of justice to Catholics. But whatever may be that distinguished statesman's future history, whatever his situation, however much thwarted and opposed, and, perchance, for a moment partially defeated by those who call themselves the friends of education, it will be glory enough for him to have inscribed upon his monument, that whilst Governor of the State of New York, he wished to have every child of that noble State, endowed and adorned in mind and intellect, and morals, with the blessings of education. (Renewed cheers.)

When therefore we presented, as every oppressed portion of the community has a right to do, our grievances to the Honorable Legislature of the State, these gentlemen, who are represented by Mr. Ketchum, through a speech of nine mortal columns—as the humble almoners of the public charity—these men who are burthened with their load of official duty,

which they are willing, Mr. Ketchum says, to put off, pursue us thither with unabated hostility. We supposed that the Public School Society would acquiesce in the justice of the plan of the Secretary. No, these humble men, all zeal for the cause of education, enter the halls of legislation with a determined spirit of opposition to us, which is perhaps unparalleled, considering the circumstances under which they acted.

One of the most difficult points in treating with these gentlemen is, to ascertain in what particular situation, and under what particular circumstances, their responsibility may be discovered. They are, it is said, but agents, they are wealthy and powerful, have every advantage in opposing humble petitioners as we are, and with all these advantages they presented themselves there, not to dispute the justice of our claims, nor the correctness of the ground on which the Honorable Secretary placed the question before the Senate, but to appeal even in the minds of Senators, to whatever they might find there of prejudice against the Catholic religion, and the foreigner and the descendants of the foreigner.

One of the documents of which they made use, was published in the "Journal of Commerce." This question had been, in the Senate, made the special order of the day, for, I think, Friday, the 20th of May. In the "Journal of Commerce" of the previous day, there was published a most calumnious article, full of all those traditions against our religion, which the minds of some of these denominations inherit; and the Agent of the Public School Society, sent, as we should understand, to represent justice and truth between citizens of the same country, is found distributing this paper all over the desks of the senators! On that very day it was supposed that the vote on this very question would be taken, and the agent of the Public School Society is found supplying the senators—for I have a copy of the papers thus furnished, with the member's name written at the top, and the article referred to, marked with black lines, so that there could be no over looking it—with an article containing a mock excommunication, a burlesque invented by Sterne, and inserted in his Tristram Shandy, but quoted by the Public School Society, (for I hold it to be their act till they disclaim it,) as a part of our creed, and made the ground of a sneer at the Secretary: "These are precious principles to be preserved in the consciences of your petitioners!" Religious prejudice will have its reign in the world. But it is a low feeling, especially is it a low feeling in a country, in the fundamental principles of whose government and laws the great fathers of our liberties insisted that conscience and religion should be ever free, and be regarded as above all law. There was to be no toleration, for that implied the power not to tolerate; the word was therefore excluded from the language of American jurisprudence. And that being the case, it was painful to find an honorable body of men, as the members of the Public School Society are regarded to be, employing such a means of approaching the Senate of New York—that Senate, to which Justice, if she found not a resting place upon the globe, like the dove to the ark, might return, and expect every hand to be stretched out to receive her. (Loud applause.)

If they deny that they approached that Senate with that document—too vile and filthy to be read in this audience; but if any gentleman has the curiosity to see it, here (holding up a volume of Tristram Shandy) he may read it word for word—let them call their agent to account. We will not let them rob us of our reputation. We stand ambitious to be considered worthy of membership in the great American family—let them not, after depriving us of the benefit of our taxes, destroy our reputation.

I will now, after this introduction, take up the "Remonstrance" of the Society. It is impossible for me not to feel indignant, when I think how

these high-minded men have treated us, when I recollect that this same gentleman, who acted as their agent and distributed that calumnious paper, was once a candidate for office, and gladly received the signatures of Catholics. And this was the recompense he offered.

I know not by whom this "Remonstrance" was drawn up, I know not whether all the members of the Board of Trustees approved of it, but if they did, I trust there were no Catholics present.

In page 3 of this "Remonstrance," which is signed by the President, "Robert C. Cornell," we find the following declaration introductory to the subject:

"The Legislature therefore in 1813, when the first distribution was made, very naturally appropriated the amount apportioned to this city to these schools in the ratio of the number of children taught in each. This mode of distribution continued until 1824, when the subject was again brought before the legislature by the jealousies, disputes, and difficulties which had arisen among the recipients, and the conflicting parties presented themselves at Albany for the purpose of sustaining their respective claims."

Now in all the foregoing applications, in all the reports made by committees of the Common Council, you will find there has not been one in which the subject of religion was not referred to as the *ground* of the refusal of our claims; in which it was not assumed that the laws were opposed to giving education money, the Public School Fund or any portion of it, to any religious denomination. This principle, it has been pretended, and the disputes among the sects, led to the alteration of the law in 1824. But if we refer back to the memorial proceeding from this Society itself, we will find that no such thing existed at the time. We find, that Mr. Leonard Bleecker sent a memorial at that very period, 1824, in which he says:

"It will not be denied, in this enlightened age, that the education of the poor is enjoined by our holy religion, and is therefore, one of the duties of a Christian church. Nor is there any impropriety in committing the school fund to the hands of a religious society, so long as they are confined in the appropriation of it, to an object not necessarily connected, or intermingled with the other concerns of the church, as for instance to the payment of teachers, because the state is sure in this case, that the benefits of the fund, in the way it designed to confer them, will be reaped by the poor. But the objection to the section sought to be repealed is, that the surplus moneys, after the payment of teachers, is vested in the hands of the Trustees of a religious society, and mingled with its other funds, to be appropriated to the erection of buildings under the control of the trustees, which buildings may, and in all probability will, be used for other purposes than school houses."

Here was the ground taken, and yet we hear these gentlemen before the Common Council say it was on account of constitutional difficulties, and religious differences; whereas it was simply because the money had been used for an improper purpose.

In page 5 of this "Remonstrance," this Society takes the ground, in opposition to the view of its being a monopoly, and a close corporation, which it in fact is—that the same objection might be used against hospitals, asylums for the blind, the insane and the mute, dispensaries, and houses of refuge, and they institute a comparison between these institutions and the Public Schools.

Now, as to the fact, that the Public School Society is a close corporation, they themselves do not deny that all citizens are excluded except those who can afford to pay $10 for membership. They do not deny that, but justify it on the ground that inasmuch as there are corporations for the management of such institutions as I have named, the same reason exists for the constitution of a corporation for the direction of the Public Schools. And where then, pray, are the rights with which nature and nature's God have invested the parents of these children? Pray, are they, who are

held competent to decide on the gravest questions affecting the interests of the nation, unworthy to have a voice in the education of their own children? And must they resign that to a corporation responsible neither to them nor to the public in any formal way? And pray, are the people of New York lunatics, that they must have a corporation of keepers appointed over them? If the doctrine of this "memorial" be correct, they are to be so considered. But there is this difference, they pay taxes for education, and they have a right to a voice and a vote in the manner in which their money is to be expended. If the people are to be treated as lunatics, mutes, or inmates of the house of refuge, then the argument of the Public School Society is a good one. I think the comparison instituted in the "Remonstrance" utterly fails. I cannot dwell longer upon it.

I now come to a charge made against the petitioners:

"At one time it was declared 'the Public School system of the city of New York is entirely favorable to the sectarianism of Infidelity, and opposed only to that of positive Christianity,' that 'it leaves the will of the pupil to riot in the fierceness of unrestrained lusts,' and is 'calculated to make bad and dangerous citizens.'"

Now it is true, that we did view the Society as being opposed to religion. There can be no doubt of that. But if that be true, it is equally true that the evidence on which we built that conclusion was furnished by themselves. And how? In every report of their's, it appears that if any thing like a *religious* society presented itself, that character was enough to decide them in resisting its application. You will find this evidenced in their vindication and defence, both by Mr. Sedgwick and Mr. Ketchum. They contended that what *they* meant by religious instruction, was not religious instruction—and so it may be proper for me to enter a little into the examination of the meaning of these words.

When the Trustees make the religious character of a society the ground of denying them a portion of their funds, what is it that constitutes the objection? They do not decide against the infidel; for it seems if the applicants had divested themselves of a religious character—if men of no religious profession—of no belief in a God or a future state, had presented themselves, no objection would be made, and on their own premises the Trustees would be obliged to concede to their request. What then was the reason of the refusal, except the *religious* character of the applicants? And had we not fair ground here for inferring that they are opposed to religion? Examine their reports. Here is one: A Report of the Committee on Arts, Sciences, and Schools of the Board of Assistants, on appropriating a portion of the school money to *religious* societies for the support of schools. This is document No. 80, and at page 280 we read as follows:

"The amount of one hundred and seven thousand dollars and upwards, as heretofore stated, has been raised by annual tax in the city for purposes of a purely civil and secular character."

Well, if the education is to be purely "civil and secular," is religion mingled with it at all? And if religion is not to be mingled with it at all, then had we not a right to infer from their own document that they were opposed to religion, and brought up the children without any knowledge of their responsibility to God, or of a future life, or of any of those great principles of religion on which the *very security* of society depends? Were we not justified in the inference? They refused our application because we professed religion; and had we not a right to keep our children from the influence of a system of education that attempted to make a divorce between literature—that is, such literature as is suited for the infant mind—and religion; and to give instruction of a "*purely* civil and secular

character," for which we are told $107,000 had been expended? How, I ask, can Mr. Cornell stand up and deny our charge, when such indisputable evidence of its truth is presented by *their own documents?*

Did Mr. Cornell, when they defeated us, find fault with the committee of the Assistants' Board, because they charged the Society with excluding religion from education? No! No! Enough it was that religious societies should be defeated, and that they should continue to wield their complex monopoly. No matter that they were charged with having no religion. No matter at all that their education was then described as "purely civil and secular!" This document goes on—"The appropriation of any part of that sum to the support of schools *in which the religious tenets of any sect are taught to any extent.*"

Well, if you excluded the tenets of all sects, you excluded *all* religion, because there is no religion except what is included in the tenets of sects. I defy you to teach the first principles of religion without teaching the tenets of sectarianism! Then it was on the faith of their own documents that we charged on them the character which they had assumed, on the strength of which they had successfully opposed, one after another, all the denominations who reverence religion. The document proceeds:

—"would be a legal establishment of one denomination of religion over another, *would* conflict with all the principles and purposes of our free institutions, and *would* violate the very letter of that part of our constitution which so emphatically declares, that 'The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without *discrimination or preference*, shall for ever be allowed in this State to all mankind.' By granting a portion of the School Fund to one sect to the exclusion of others, a 'preference' is at once created, a 'discrimination' made, and the object of the great constitutional guarantee is defeated; taxes are imposed for the support of religion, and freedom of conscience if not directly trammelled and confined, is not left in the perfect and unshackled state which our systems of government were intended to establish and perpetuate. No difference can be perceived in principle between the taxing of the people of England for the support of a church establishment there, and the taxing of the people of New York for the support of schools in which the doctrines of religious denominations are taught."

And what are we to infer from this, except that they do not teach religion at all? But they have changed their tactics. For they have, be it remembered, two strings to their bow—one for those who have religion, and one for those who have not, and so we actually find that whilst before the Common Council of New York they are destitute of religion, and give a purely "civil and secular education," at Albany they can be in favor of religion!

But there is still further evidence on this point. In page 18 of the Report of the debate before the Common Council, we have the explanation of Mr. Ketchum, and it was one of the nicest managed points imaginable. Indeed, I could not but admire the sagacity of that gentleman and his associate, Mr. Sedgwick, in steering so adroitly between the teaching of religion and the not teaching of it, so that they taught it, but yet must not *call it* religion! We put the gentlemen between the horns of a dilemma—we said if you do not teach religion, then you are chargeable with making our common schools seminaries of infidelity—if you do teach it, then you do exactly what excludes *religious* societies from a right to participate in the fund! But these gentlemen, with great skill and critical acumen, and a little sophistry, were able to steer by a line, invisible to my mind, between the horns of the dilemma.

In describing the different kinds of instruction, Mr. Sedgwick says:

"But, beyond that, there is still another branch of instruction which is properly called *religious*, and it is because two phrases—'religious' and 'moral'—have been used occasionally without as accurate apprehension of their signification, that the docu-

ments of the trustees have been misconstrued. But when the term 'moral' education is used, it only means that education which instructs the children in those fundamental tenets of duty which are the basis of all religion."

That is to say you build the roof before you lay the foundation. For whence, I ask, will men get their knowledge of duty, if not based on a substratum of religion? But here morality so called is made the basis of religion. Well, let us apply this to the schools, and see whether any Christian parent would submit to have his children placed under such a system.

There is a child at one of these schools—they tell him not to lie, but children are inquisitive, and he asks, "Why should I not lie?" You must answer, because God abominates a lie—there you teach religion! You explain the reason why the child should not lie, that religion requires, and affords the reason of the performance of the duty—not that the duty is the basis of religion. It is not enough to tell the child you are to speak the truth, and when you know and fulfil your duty then you may learn that there is a God to whom you are responsible. Washington himself in his Farewell Address, cautioned the nation against the man who would attempt to teach morality without religion. (Cheers.) He says:

"Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it be simply asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligations DESERT the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us *with caution indulge the supposition*, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle."

Had we not then, I would ask very respectfully, a right, when every petition had been rejected on the ground that the petitioners had a religious belief to infer that religion formed no part of their system of education, and that the consequence which we charged upon them, and that Mr. Cornell repudiated with so much horror, inevitably and justly followed—namely, that the Public School Society was favorable to the sectarianism of infidelity?

I now go on to show what the Public School Society boast of having done in our regard. They had offered in reply to our objections to passages in their books, as, for instance, where it was stated that "John Huss was a zealous Reformer, but trusting to the *deceitful Catholics*, he was taken by them and burned at the stake"—to expunge such objectionable passages when they were pointed out. They said, "Bishop, we submit our books to you, and if you will have the goodness to point out any objectionable passages we will expunge them." Well, certainly there was something very plausible and apparently very liberal in this offer. But when the matter was pressed, it was found that all this was merely the expression of individuals—there was no *guarantee* that the books would be amended. Weeks and months might be spent in examining the books, and then the approbation of the Board was necessary in order to effect the alteration. Did they say that it should be given? Never.

I pass now to another point, for observe, I do not at all think myself called on to say one word in vindication of the able and eloquent and satisfactory report of the Secretary of State. (Cheers.) That is not necessary. The language of that document will be its own vindication, when the petty sophistries raised against it shall have been long forgotten; for, be assured, gentlemen, that whatever may be the temporary opposition to any public measure, from the moment that there is discovered to be inherent in it—of its essence—a principle of jus-

tice and equality, its ultimate triumph is certain, and all the opposition which it encounters will have no more effect on it, than that of the breeze which passes over the ocean, ruffling its surface, but destroying nothing of the mighty and majestic element which it seems to fret and disturb. (Cheers.)

I take up this, then, not to vindicate the report, but rather in reference to the insulting attempt, as I will call it, to deprive Catholics of the free exercise of their own consciences, and the respect and esteem of their fellow-citizens. In reasoning on the subject, observe the course that is taken by Mr. Cornell—he enters into a comparison between the schools of the Public School Society, and ours—ours supported in poverty, the humblest that may be, but still supported in a way sufficient to show our determination not to give up our rights, or relinquish the maintenance and defence of a sound and patriotic principle. But this gentleman compares these, our schools, with theirs on which *more than a million of the public money has been expended*, whilst we have been virtually shut out from all benefit from the public funds, not by any law of the State, but by a vicious interpretation of the law. He requires us to furnish as perfect a system as they do, with the expenditure of a million of dollars! He is reasoning with the Secretary, telling him in effect that we are troublesome and designing people, and he says:

"But having in view the stringency with which the same party insisted on the necessity of religion in juxtaposition with secular education, and the warmth with which they denounced the Public School system when they saw fit to charge it with excluding religion, and particularly when reference is had *to their avowed dogma, that there is no hope of salvation to those not of the Roman Catholic Church—which dogma is now taught in their schools.*"

I thank God, that the Catholics—the long-oppressed of three hundred years, during which the ear of the world was poisoned with calumnies against them—have now liberty of speech, and ability to exercise it, and I call Mr. Cornell to account for what he has here written, and to which he has affixed his name. He says: "When reference is had to their avowed dogma, that there is no hope of salvation to those not of the Roman Catholic Church—which dogma is now taught in their schools."

The Catholics avow every "dogma" of their religion; but the two statements employed by Mr. Cornell are both *false*. It never was and never can be a dogma of ours, that there is "No hope of salvation to those not of the Roman Catholic Church." Neither is that dogma taught in our schools. This false statement must be accounted for by Mr. Cornell's ignorance of our doctrine on the one hand, and on the other his disposition to injure us. I call upon him, I arraign him before the people of New York and the Senate, whose confidence he has attempted to abuse, to prove his statement, or else to retract it.

And here it may be proper for me to *explain* something of this matter, for I know that in the minds of Protestants almost universally there is that idea, and that in the theological language of the Catholic Church there is apparent ground for entertaining it. But at the same time I do know that that language, properly understood and fairly interpreted, does not imply the dogma imputed to us by Mr. Cornell.

It is very true that we believe that out of the true Church of Christ there is no salvation—first proposition.

It is true that we believe the Catholic Church to be the true Church of Christ—second proposition.

It is very true that notwithstanding these propositions, there is no dogma of our creed which teaches that a Protestant may not hope to be saved, or may not go to heaven. Now, how is this explained? In this way. When we speak of the Church we mean the Church as Christ, and his apostles did—in the sense, that the ordinary means for the salvation of mankind are the

doctrines and institutions which Jesus left on earth, which have all descended in the Church with our history and our name. This we believe, but we do not believe that God has deprived Himself, because He instituted these things, of the means of saving whom He will. We do not believe that on this account the power of the Almighty is abridged. Hence it is consistent with our dogmas to believe, that God, who is a *just* Judge, as well as a merciful Father, will not condemn any one for *involuntary* error. Their judgment will be individual; they were externally out of the Church, but was it by their own will or the accident of their birth and education in a false religion? Did they believe that religion to be true, in good faith, and in the simplicity of their hearts? Were they ready to receive the light and grace of truth as God might offer it to them? Then, in that case, though not belonging to the Catholic Church by *external profession*, they belonged to it by *their internal disposition*.

Consequently we are not authorised to deny hope of salvation to those not of the Catholic Church, unless so far as the errors in which they have been involved, have been voluntary and culpable on their part. And this is no new doctrine, as our opponents would have seen had they consulted the writings of the highest authorities in our Church. St. Thomas Aquinas—one of the greatest minds that ever contributed to enlighten the human race, as Protestants themselves acknowledge—writing in the 11th or 12th century, speaks of a man who is not even a Protestant but a Pagan—a man who has never heard of Christ or of Christianity, and he, supposing that man to be moral—sincere—acting according to the best lights God has given him—tells us, God would sooner send an angel to guide him to the way of salvation, than that *such* an one should perish. Such is the sentiment of St. Thomas Aquinas expressed in his works, and his works are approved of by our Church.—How then can Mr. Cornell or any other individual say that we enter into judgment respecting those who die out of the pale of the Church? I publicly call upon Mr. Cornell to retract or qualify his official statement.

Sentiments according with those I have quoted from St. Thomas Aquinas I have myself preached in the Cathedral of New York, and similar ones have been abundantly proclaimed by others, and amongst them I would mention a very distinguished French Bishop—then the Abbé Fressinous. In the third volume of his Conferences, he has one special sermon on the subject of Exclusive Salvation, and he shows that of all Christian denominations there is no one more abounding in charity on this point than the Catholic Church. The same explanations are to be found in the writings of Bossuet, St. Francis of Sales, and St. Augustine.* With these facts well known,

* Salvation out of the Church.—In concluding this simple and brief view of the Catholic doctrine, it may be well to state here what is to be correctly understood of that Catholic sentiment, "Out of the Church there is no salvation."

"We do not pretend to deny, (says Mr. Bergier,) that there are numbers of men born in heresy who by reason of their little light, are in *invincible* ignorance, and consequently excusable before God: these, in the opinion of all judicious Divines, ought not to be ranked with heretics." This is the very doctrine of St. Augustine, (Epis. 43, ad gloriam et alias. n. 1.) St. Paul tells us, in his Epistle to Titus, c. 3, 'A man that is a heretic, after the first and second admonition, avoid; knowing that he that is such a one, is subverted and sinneth, being condemned by his own judgment.' As to those who defend an opinion, either false or perverse, without obstinacy, and who have not invented it from a daring presumption, but received it from their parents after they were seduced and had fallen into error, if they diligently and industriously seek for the truth, and if they hold themselves ready to embrace it as soon as they shall have found it, such as these also are not to be classed with heretics." L. 1, de Bapt. contra Donat. c. 4, n. 5.

"Those who fall with heretics, without knowing it, believing it to be the Church of Jesus Christ, are in a different case from those who know that the Catholic Church is spread over the whole world."—L. 4, c. 1, n. 1.

"The Church of Jesus Christ may have through the power of her spouse, children,

how did those gentlemen venture to take advantage of their and our relative situations, and calumniate us when we had no opportunity of repelling the unfair attack?

Besides, Mr. Cornell says—"Which is now taught in their schools." I deny the truth of that statement, and demand his authority.

But now, would it, think you, be improper on my part, considering that Mr. Cornell is not present, to intimate some of the liberties which he has taken with us in our absence?

Throughout this document, he has labored to prove that we are Catholics, and not only that, but to show what our religion is, though I am rather at a loss to imagine where he studied Catholic theology, in which if he should persevere, I would suggest to him to consult better authorities than the "Journal of Commerce" and "Tristram Shandy." (Laughter and cheers.)

Now it never occurred to us to ask of what religion is Mr. Cornell and the Public School Society. The whole ground assumed by them is, that they are *not* a "religious society"—well what are they? Are they an irreligious society? Not at all. They are members of churches, and I have taken the pains to ascertain that Mr. Cornell is a member of Dr. Spring's Church, and if he lectures the Catholics, would it be very wrong in me to speak of the doctrines of *his* creed? Let us look at the Westminster Confession of Faith, the rule of Presbyterian dogmas, and see whether Mr. Cornell opens the gates of Heaven to all religious denominations. I quote from the Westminster Confession, as adopted and amended in the United States, and published by Towar and Hogan, Philadelphia. In page 111 it is said: "The visible church consists of all those throughout the world that PROFESS the true religion."

So to be a member of the visible church, you must "profess" the true faith—"together with their children"—happy children! (a laugh)—"and this is the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, the house and family of God, OUT OF WHICH THERE IS NO ORDINARY POSSIBILITY OF SALVATION."

Here is another statement of Mr. Cornell: "They are not merely the incidental remarks of the historian, or extracts from the Holy Scriptures, 'without note or comment,' to which such strong exception has been taken in relation to the Public Schools, but they are such as ever have, and in the opinion of your remonstrants, must ever tend, if sustained by *tax imposed upon the anathematized* portion of the community, to destroy public harmony; and such as would prove anything rather than a social 'benefit.'"

Now, by using the word "anathematized" he conveys the impression that all out of the pale of our Church are under our anathema. I demand the proof. I have studied our holy religion many a day, but never yet have I discovered any such anathema, and I defy Mr. Cornell to point it out.

Mr. Cornell goes on to say: "Your remonstrants had supposed that the fact of the Public School Society being composed of men professing every variety of religious faith, would *neutralize sectarian tendencies and secure it against abuse.*"

Now, there is something exceedingly specious in this, but it is indeed a very spurious position. They refuse our application on the ground that we are a religious society, and when we charge them with not being a religious society, they repudiate it as a stigma on their character. And what is their remedy? That they "will neutralize sectarian tendencies by the variety of the religions that they introduce." How is this? They are all members of churches—and that does them honor—but when-

and servants; if they grow not proud, they shall have part in His inheritance; but if they are proud, they shall remain without." Ibid. c. 16, n. 23.

ever they come within the magical circle of their official character, then, like negative and positive brought together in just proportions, they neutralize each other!! Is this really the position that these gentlemen assume? How are the Trustees chosen? In the most beautiful manner! One or two Catholics are taken—a Universalist—perchance, and so of other denominations, and then they say, "We are of all religions!" You will find that the mass of the Society belongs to one sect, of which little or nothing is said, and that an odd one is taken from each of the other sects, to sanctify their acts! There is a sufficient majority of one denomination. There is a tendency and aim which I am not unwilling to proclaim—a secret understanding—not so very secret either—to the effect that "as there is a large foreign population in New York, and mostly Catholic, our liberties would not be safe unless the interests of Catholics were *neutralized* in their education." We reject that idea with scorn, that Catholics have to learn the principles of liberty from them. At a period when Protestantism was as little dreamt of as steam navigation, Catholics were the schoolmasters of liberty to the nations of the world, in the principles of liberty. They were Catholics who wrung the great charter of English liberty from the hands of the tyrant. And was that their first effort in the cause of freedom? No. That was only the written recognition of their rights, which the encroachments of his predecessors had diminished, and having thus secured their rights, they maintained them down to the period of the Reformation, when their high and honorable notions of liberty were trampled in the dust, and were never restored till the Revolution, and when that so boasted event in the history of England took place, it only recognized the rights lost at the period of the Reformation, which Catholics for centuries before had known and enjoyed. Let them not say, then, that our religion is inimical to liberty—that is a reproach which we spurn—which we abominate and abhor! We have nothing to learn from them of human liberty. Their part is to imitate us, not ours to imitate them! (Loud applause.)

If that is the principle referred to, we understand it perfectly well, and it is of no use for those gentlemen to moot it for the purpose of showing that our claim should be denied. Was that indeed their object? Not at all. But their object was, with hands that should have been better employed, to rake up that wretched remnant of prejudice against us, and pander to the vitiated taste that could relish it.

We see, then, that so far as this "Remonstrance" is concerned, there is not one solitary proposition which should for one moment have arrested the minds of the Legislature. The bill proposed by the honorable Secretary of State contemplated no special favor. Much as I honor that distinguished individual, I would not esteem him, as I do, if he had in his bill proposed anything which should have raised us above our fellow-citizens of other denominations. But the bill only places us on an equality with others—with that we are satisfied—with nothing less will we ever be satisfied. (Loud cheers.)

But, hitherto, these gentlemen have assumed various shapes. They have viewed with self-complacency the beauty of their system, and as for their few schools—few in comparison with the number of destitute and unprovided children—I have nothing to say against them. I proposed to place our schools under their direction, so far as regarded their police and management. But I would not permit them to teach our children that Catholics were deceitful—that Galileo was put into the Inquisition and punished for the heresy that the earth revolved on its own axis around the sun. Galileo's crime was not teaching sound philosophy, but bad theology—wishing the Church to declare that his theory was in accordance with the Scriptures. For reasons like these I would not allow them to mislead our

children, but I was willing to allow the gentlemen the external management of our schools. They, however, would have *universal rule*, or none at all.

What has been their panacea for all complaints? To invite the City Council to visit the schools! And certainly, I presume, it would be impossible to visit their schools, without being satisfied with their *appearance*. But had I been able to have made my voice heard in the Senate of the State, when they made the proposition to visit their schools, I should have proposed something like an amendment. I would have prayed these senators, in the name of humanity and their country, and of all the benevolence that beats in the human breast, to visit—not the schools, but the lanes and alleys and obscure resorts of the poor neglected children of New York, and there see, not how much is done, but how much is left undone. These are the portions of the city that should be visited. It is utterly impossible, owing to their scattered condition, to learn the numbers of children in this city who are deprived by these gentlemen of the blessings of education. We, who mingle with the people, and have the opportunity of learning the dislike of this system—that they would no more trust their children to it, than to that tyrannical system of British misgovernment which their fathers knew so well, and from which they derived that sad legacy of ignorance and poverty. I refer to the laws which made education a crime in Ireland, and which have left the inhabitants of that country the degraded but unbroken people that they are to this day, after a persecution of three hundred years. (Cheers.)

It is for these poor, neglected, uneducated children, that I plead. Their parents will not send them to the Public School whilst constituted as at present, and I approve of their resolution. I trust they never will send their children to schools managed by men who can send to the Senate of this State a burlesque upon our creed, and represent it as a genuine exhibition of our faith and principles. Rather will we trust to the kind and merciful Providence of God, than voluntarily relinquish a principle by which we maintain the right implanted in the breast of every parent, and secured by the laws, to have a voice in the education of his child. It is these children that should be visited. Then would these Honorable Senators, whom I know to be above all those petty prejudices which have been appealed to, do justice, and apply a remedy so far as the law would authorize them.

I must now soon conclude my remarks for this evening. I will merely refer to the objection of the Society to the bill of Mr. Spencer—its tendency to introduce party politics. Everything is held in this country to be in the hands of the people; yet these gentlemen, after enjoying a monopoly for sixteen years, think it a great misfortune if the tax-payers should be allowed a voice at all in the selection of the teachers in the schools which they support, or any share whatever in their management.

The next objection to the bill is, its want of uniformity. Because they happen to have school-houses exactly one like the other, and have a uniform style of books, the large, and liberal, and statesmanlike plan of the Honorable Secretary should be given up, because, forsooth, these "humble almoners" pronounce it void of uniformity! "Humble almoners," who, after coiling their roots around the Common Council, and making them judges in the cause, go to Albany to defeat our claims. Well, they may call themselves "humble almoners" if they please, but they remind me very much of the beggar in Gil Blas, who, when he asked alms, always took good care to have his musket ready!

I have now gone briefly through this part of the subject, and I ask you whether we can have any confidence in men who can stoop to such artifices

as I have exposed? I call upon them to vindicate themselves from the dishonor of having circulated that document from Tristram Shandy. It was done by one of their colleagues and their official agent, who when charged with it, replied that he had done so under instructions? What instructions? Did they instruct him? If not, let them say so by a public act. Until they do so, we justly charge them with being the traducers of our reputation—I charge them on the ground that they are responsible for the act of their agent, and they should have known better. Gentlemen claiming to be exclusively the judges of what is a proper system of education—who hold that you are unworthy of having anything to do with the schools of New York—should have known that that document was from Tristram Shandy, written, I presume, for his amusement by Mr. Sterne—who, though numbered amongst the clergy of the Church of England, was believed to be an infidel—a man, who secretly scoffed at every thing sacred—and the working of whose rank imagination is too offensive for the eye of delicacy. Surely, then, these gentlemen should not have drawn weapons from such a source, for the purpose of destroying the reputation of any class of their fellow-citizens.

This is not the first occasion on which we have been misrepresented, and religious gentlemen, whose avowed purpose it is to preach the gospel of peace, have taken up the habit of abusing us, and have rung the changes on this topic, till in some instances some of their audiences—more liberal than they—have left the place disgusted. They remind me of a saying of this same Sterne, who when quizzing the credulity of the people of England—for he was a great wag—said that occasionally he was straitened for the price of a dinner, but he could always manage to make a good meal of *Cheshire cheese;* but it also happened, that oftentimes he was in a similar strait in his official capacity, and was called on to preach when he had not a word of a sermon prepared, and then he took "a fling at Popery." The people went away edified and delighted. For this reason he says, "I call *Popery* my Cheshire cheese!' (Loud laughter.) It seems to me that the occupants of half the pulpits of New York, are nearly in the same predicament, and would die of inanition, were it not that their stock of "Cheshire cheese" is still unexhausted. (Renewed laughter and applause.)

I think I can safely say, that in none of our churches will you hear such abuse. We never touch upon secular affairs—you will not even hear from our pulpits, harangues about abolition. We explain and defend our creed, and I trust, preach charity, and peace, and order. But it is not so with those who assail us as I have described, as I will have occasion to show, when treating of Mr. Ketchum's speech, which I intend to do on to-morrow evening.

The Bishop then concluded, after speaking nearly two hours, and a vote of thanks having been passed to the Chairman, the large and attentive meeting adjourned.

THURSDAY EVENING, JUNE 17TH.

The audience on this occasion was still more numerous than on the previous evening. Several distinguished senators, and influential gentlemen of other denominations, were present. The meeting was organized by the appointment of the same Chairman who presided at the former meeting—and at eight o'clock

The RIGHT REV. BISHOP HUGHES resumed his remarks as follows: The

question, Gentlemen, which has called us together, has had two stages of progress which must be kept distinct, in order to comprehend its present position. We have from time to time applied to the Common Council of this city for relief, which we knew they had the power to grant, and we had applied as it were in an isolated, and, if you please, in a somewhat sectarian character. The reason of this will be easily understood, when you reflect that we had no intention to disturb the system of education so generally approved by our fellow-citizens. Our object was not to destroy that which was good for *others*, if they thought so, but to find something that might be equally good for ourselves. Accordingly, we applied as Catholics, because it appeared that there were no other denominations whose consciences suffered under the operation of that system. . And we did suppose that these considerations would have had some weight with the Honorable Council. We might—as we are reproached with not having done—we might have interfered with the regulations of these schools—asked for a different order of books—required the erasure of such and such passages, and the insertion of others. They reproach us with not doing so. But if we had done so, it would, in the first place, have been pains thrown away, and in the second place, we might thereby have disobliged many of our fellow-citizens of other denominations. Without at all pressing the question upon them, farther than observing that even the reading of the Holy Scriptures according to the Protestant version, was looked upon by us as an invasion of our conscientious rights, they took it up as an objection against the reading of the Scriptures at all; as if the presence of a Bible within the walls of a school was a thing we could not bear. It is needless to say how wrong that inference was. But we did not at all wish to disturb the Protestant's approbation of *his* version of the sacred volume, nor the order that seemed so generally approved, and that was the reason of the mode of our application. In the course of my speech, therefore, you will understand, that we did not so apply for relief, because we wished to be apart, separate from the rest of the community—that it was not because we were exclusive or intolerant, as they have charged upon us; but because we supposed that they would not wish to have their children hear the Catholic version of the Bible read, and therefore they have *no right* to impose on our children the hearing of the Protestant version. If that be sectarianism, then we plead guilty to the charge; but without feeling and acting so, we could not have our consciences simple, and in their integrity upright towards God.

When, however, after having gone through the ceremony—for it was nothing else—of appearing before the Common Council, and having been heard and denied, as a matter of course, when we had gone through the ceremony required by the formulary of the law, then, indeed, we threw ourselves on our general rights as citizens, and appealed to that tribunal, to which we must always look with confidence for the redress of every grievance that presses on us in our social condition. Nevertheless our opponents followed us there, and fastened upon us the character, in which it had been the duty imposed on us by necessity to appear before the Common Council. We have had occasion already to point out some evidences of the use made of that in the "Remonstrance." You read with what recklessness of truth —I am sorry to say—it was charged in that document, that we were intolerant—that we taught there was no salvation out of the Catholic Church, and so forth. There are in that document of the Public School Society, many other passages requiring examination, but as the substance of them is contained in the speech of the learned gentleman who was their official organ before the Senate, I suppose that the refutation of the one, will be the refutation of both; and, therefore, I deem it unnecessary to refer further

to that memorial. They—that gentleman particularly—referred in the course of the debate, to a proposition for accommodation on the part of the Society previous to the last decision of the Public Council. They alleged that nothing could be fairer, but when we had examined that, we found that of not a solitary grievance of which we had complained did it take notice. Not the slightest notice. The whole proposal was that they should correct the books, so far as their guardianship of the rights of conscience—for they are conscience keepers for the different sects in this community!—would allow. They would accommodate us by striking out passages insulting and offensive to our minds, and injurious to our children. That was all the amount of the concessions. Then the second proposition was, that they would purchase from us—they can afford to do so—the only school-house which our humble means have enabled us to erect during the sixteen years of privation from the benefits of Common School Education. These were the only two features that distinguished that offer of accommodation. But Mr. Ketchum did not find it convenient to read the propositions that we submitted at the same time, and which, candor should have acknowledged, removed from us every imputation of being actuated by sectarian motives, or having in view the appropriation of the public money to the propagation of our religion.

I will now commence with reading but a small portion of that, sufficient, however, to show you that on this ground, so far as information was concerned, they had it; and if, with that in their possession, they conceal the truth, and suppressed it, on their heads be the responsibility that attaches to such conduct.

What is the great difficulty—the legal difficulty? That public money can not be applied to sectarian uses. Very well. We met that; we said here are propositions that cover our whole ground:

"That there shall be reserved to the Managers or Trustees of these schools respectively, the designation of the teachers to be appointed, who shall be subjected to the examination of a Committee of the Public School Society, shall be fully qualified for the duties of their appointment, and of unexceptionable moral character; or in the event of the Trustees or Managers failing to present individuals for these situations of that description, then, individuals having like qualifications of unexceptionable character, to be selected and appointed by the Public School Society, who shall be acceptable to the Managers or Trustees of the Schools to which they shall be appointed; but no person to be continued as a teacher in either of the schools referred to against the wishes of the Managers or Trustees thereof."

That was the first proposition, showing them that so far as the teachers were concerned, all we wanted were men in whom we could place confidence. The second proposition was:

"2d. That the school shall be open at all times to the inspection of any authorized agent or officer of the city or State government, with liberty to visit the same, and examine the books used therein, or the teachers, touching the course and system of instruction pursued in the schools, or in relation to any matter connected therewith."

So that there was no concealment there, they themselves should be the inspectors, and I will say it boldly, that if they had been actuated by that deep feeling of humanity for which they claim credit, they would have accepted that proposal to take our children under their care affording to them the same means of gaining future happiness as they did to others.

The document goes on:

"The undersigned are willing that, in the superintendence of their schools, every specified requirement of any and every law passed by the Legislature of the State, or the ordinances of the Common Council, to guard against abuse in the matter of common school education, shall be rigidly enforced and exacted by the competent public authorities.

"They believe that the benevolent object of every such law is to bring the means of education within the reach of the child of every poor man, without damaging their religion, whatever it may be, or the religious rights of any such child or parent.

"It is in consequence of what they consider the damaging of their religion and their religious rights, in the schools of the Public School Society, that they have been obliged to withdraw their children from them. The facts which they have already submitted, and which have been more than sustained by the sentiments uttered on behalf of the Society, in the late discussion, prove that they were not mistaken.

"As regards the organization of their schools, they are willing that they should be under the same police and regulations as those of the Public School Society. The same hours, the same order, the same exercises, even the same inspection.

"But the books to be used for exercises in learning to read or spell, in history, geography, and all such elementary knowledge, as could have a tendency to operate on their hearts and minds, in reference to their religion, must be, so far as Catholic children are concerned, and no farther, such as they shall judge proper to put in their hands. But none of their dogmas, nothing against the creed of any other denomination shall be introduced."

Reference is here made to the sentiments uttered by the advocates of the Public School Society in their opposition to our claim before the Common Council. Many of my present audience were perhaps there, and they can remember what an array of individuals otherwise distinguished by their character—what an array of bigotry and of prejudice, and we must say, of profound ignorance, was presented against us. One reverend gentleman came there and said, in reference to our objection to the *Protestant version* of the Bible, that one of our comments taught "the lawfulness of murdering heretics." Before the Common Council, I brought that gentleman to account, and I assure you, that considering his grey hairs, and the respect that is due to age and the sacred character of a minister of peace, I felt humbled at beholding the degraded position in which he found himself before I had done. He had however obtained a copy of an old version of the Scriptures, published by the Catholic refugees in the time of Queen Elizabeth, who wishing to prepare the way for an invasion by the Spanish, wrote a series of notes on the Scriptures which they thought would tend to effect that end. So soon, however, as these notes became known in England and Ireland, they were scouted with horror by all professing the Catholic name. A few copies of that version, however, remained, lost and forgotten; and an ignorant publisher in Cork, thinking to make a profitable speculation, obtained one of them, and not knowing, as was afterwards proved, the difference between it and the authorized version, he undertook to publish another edition of it. In the process of publication, however, the character of the work became known, and the Archbishop of Dublin forbade the publication. The publisher was ruined, and he commenced a suit for damages. The matter was referred to in Committees of the House of Commons, and of the House of Lords, and all the particulars of the case were, of course, thus given the greatest possible publicity. Well, the publisher being deprived of his anticipated sale in Ireland, where the Catholics would not purchase such a book, thought that by sending some to this country, people as ignorant as himself might purchase them, and thus the work might not prove a dead loss. In this way a copy fell into the hands of one of these gentlemen, and what do they do? Why about the same period that "Maria Monk" was published—and I know not, but from the same press—they emitted an edition of this Bible, in order to excite public odium against their Catholic fellow-citizens! It was then, with a copy of that in his hand, that that clergyman came forward to prove, by means of that forgery, that we taught the lawfulness of murdering heretics. Then, besides that, there was another gentleman, and he, in speaking on the subject of those very schools, and offering reasons why we should be denied the benefits of education, instituted a comparison—all the others had, with great *professions* of respect, and benevolent feelings for us, said "it was not because we were Catholics, that they opposed us," oh! no, they always qualified it—but he instituted a comparison between the religion of Fenelon and Voltaire, and with marvel-

lous candor, forgetting the preface, admitted that he opposed us because we were Catholics! This gentleman said, that if he had no alternative, he would sooner be of the religion of Voltaire, than that of Fenelon. These are the sentiments to which I allude, and to which reference is here made, when we say that such sentiments are only calculated to strengthen the conviction, that our Catholic children from the prejudices against their parentage and religion, had no chance of justice in those schools.

The committee to whom was referred an examination of the schools, make a report, and in that, after quoting the two propositions for accommodation, they take occasion to say:—"Your Committee deem it proper to remark, in vindication of the School Society, that they were only one of the numerous remonstrants against the prayer of the petitioners. Their views were represented at the late discussion before the Board only by their legal advisers, Messrs. Sedgwick and Ketchum. The other gentlemen who participated in the discussion represented other bodies, which are not in any manner connected with them. Sentiments were uttered by them which the School Society do not entertain, and for which they are not justly accountable."

So they say, but by whom? It would go abroad that this was a declaration from the whole body of the Public School Society. I do not believe that was the fact, and I have no reason to believe it. Because I do know that these gentlemen used, or at least admitted, this sentiment—this bad sentiment of their associates—for the purpose of defeating us, and they were perfectly satisfied with the victory, without at all disclaiming the dishonorable means they had employed to secure it. But as easily could the English efface the stigma that rests upon them from their employment of the Indian's tomahawk, during their warfare with America. And I ask them is there on their records, a disapproval of the declaration of Dr. Spring, or of Dr. Bond?—the one, that we would murder heretics, and the other, that the religion of Voltaire was to be preferred to that of Fenelon? Have they in any one official document disowned that? We challenge them to show, that the question of a disclaimer has ever been mooted? On the contrary, we have reason to believe, that they approved of these statements made by Drs. Spring and Bond, and that from their own document too, signed by the president and secretary, which goes nearly as far. And yet these are the men to whom we are required to give the management of the education of our children! They have hedged education around with an impenetrable wall, beyond which no applicant from our body can be admitted, except on terms that violate our civil and religious rights. A state of ignorance and degradation is the destiny assigned to those who will not submit to their Procrustean system, to the dimensions of which all must submit to be adapted.

The Society acknowledge that Messrs. Ketchum and Sedgwick are their official organs. Well, we find Mr. Sedgwick in the speech referred to on last evening, absolutely disclaiming the teaching of religion. He said it was a mistake to suppose that what was called religious instruction, meant anything more than simple morality, which he stated to be the basis of all religion. And do these gentlemen intend to reverse the order of the Almighty, and by giving this precedence to morality, to say that men must be good without a motive, and then they may learn religion? How then can they quarrel with us for saying, that they attempted, what Mr. Spencer says well, is impossible, to divorce religion from education? It was on that ground that they appeared before the Common Council and defeated our claims: for you saw yesterday and to-day, the crime charged upon us, the disqualifying circumstance, was, that we belonged to a religious society, and the public money was not to be appropriated in any way except in the promotion of "purely secular education." When we told them, that we supposed they were sincere in their declaration, and that by divorcing religion from education, thus leaving the

children without the necessary motive to virtue and morality, and wholly destitute of any principle to curb their rising passions, they seemed to exclaim, "Oh! what an impious set of men you suppose us to be, Atheists!" No not exactly, but I accuse you of being what yourselves assume. You defeat all applications made by applicants professing religion. You contend that religion must not be any part of state education. Well then how can you be dissatisfied if we call you anti-religious, according to the principles you have yourselves assumed?

The fact is, that in order to conciliate those whose minds are haunted by a certain spectre, of a union between Church and State, and in order to bring them to the support of the Society, they pretended to meet their views exactly, then again, on the other hand, attempted to satisfy the scruples of conscientious parents, by playing the several sects one against the other, and with so much adroitness, that the whole community came to the desired conclusion, that the interests of education and morality were perfectly safe in the hands of the Society, and could not be safe in the hands of any other.

In taking up the speech of Mr. Ketchum, I must premise that he has divided it into two parts, and that of the many columns by which it is supported, the first two or three are occupied with a detailed history of the legislation, so called, of the Common Council on this question. Now, I understand the part of this gentleman—who has perhaps as deep a knowledge of the mystery of political wire-drawing as any other gentleman of his profession in the State—I understand his introduction of this matter, entirely foreign to the subject. His object was to impress the minds of the Senators with the idea that in New York, the question had been decided—that Boards of Aldermen had been changed—the position of parties changed—applications had been made, from time to time, for sixteen years, and that after the gravest reflection, under all possible variety of circumstances, the answer uniformly was, that it would be a violation of something that he calls "a great principle"—which, however, he does not think proper to define—if our claims were admitted. He wished to convey the idea that if there had been any thing just, or proper, or true in our claims, it could not have escaped the notice of public officers in New York—the immediate representatives of the people, and that consequently, the Senators should approach the subject with minds already biased and prejudiced against us. The gentleman wished to lead the honorable legislators to say, "What! shall we on the examination of one hour—at this distance from the city of New York—undertake to reverse the judgment sustained by the uniform concurrence of the various Boards that have constituted the public Councils of that city for sixteen years!" There was great generalship in all that, on the part of the learned gentleman.

But I dispute the principle, *in toto*, which the gentleman assumes, and before that Honorable Senate, I would maintain that the gentleman has no foundation whatever, for his assumption; and that this question should be viewed by them as if approached for the first time.

And what is my reason for assuming this position? You will mark that the learned gentleman frequently styles the Common Council "the representatives of the people;" my argument in reply, then is, that so far as regards this School Question, they never were the "representatives of the people," for that question never was made one that could affect their election in the most remote degree. At least, so we thought. So far as we are concerned, we are right. True, whilst we were meeting to study this subject and bring it under public notice, these gentlemen of the Society were ever and anon charging us with political designs, and I recollect something of an amusing nature connected with that. It was my duty on the day succeeding the Debate before the Common Council, to proceed to Albany, for the pur-

pose of giving confirmation; I went—preached three times next day, Sunday —on Monday, a very stormy day, I drove to Troy, for the purpose of visiting the churches there, and on Tuesday, I returned to this city. Well, what was the story?—of course, I do not say got up by these gentlemen, nor by the Public School Society—but it was said, that I, having taken tea with the Aldermen, a bargain was struck between us, and I was to go to Albany, to get the Catholics to vote against the Governor, and then all would be right! (Laughter.) That was a specimen of the stories that were circulated; but while we were thus charged, they who brought the accusation were themselves not idle in that very department. The subject was introduced to their pulpits, and their congregations were lectured on it, and from that may be traced the attempt to defeat Governor Seward.

But we never made this a political question, and the Common Council never acted on it "as the representatives of the people," because it never was applied as a test; but if the question were put between the Secretary's plan and the Public School Society, the latter would soon break down any Board that would undertake to support them. We were denied, it is true, by the Common Council, but we never looked on them as acting in that matter as the representatives of the people. We regarded them as independent judges. And really there is little ground for surprise at their decisions in the premises.

Now I will suppose a case. Let us take that of a bank, for it is, perhaps, as good an illustration as I can furnish at the moment. A citizen has a controversy with the bank, and that controversy comes to a trial. The citizen complains that he is injured by the directors of the bank, he makes out his case, but in the end, he finds, contrary to all his just anticipations, and all his views of justice, that he is defeated, and judgment given against him. Well, he thinks this very hard. But he happens to learn that the judge, before whom the case was tried, and the jury who rendered the verdict, are all directors of the bank, and his wonder at the result of the trial ceases. Do you see the application? These gentlemen after having excluded all religious societies, made the word religion a kind of disqualification in a Christian community in the year 1824—after that, with the subtlety which proves that they are wise in their generation, they get an act passed, by which the Common Council are made *ex-officio* members of the Public School Society, and thus constituted them parties and judges in the cause. Let me not be misunderstood. I do not suppose for a moment, that any gentleman of that Common Council would, at any time, knowingly deviate from the path of justice and duty, on account of his official connection with that Society. But at the same time, I do know, that there is a powerful influence in association, against which the laws with great wisdom have guarded the judicial bench, when they declare that a judge should be of a single mind—elevated far above all selfish considerations—and whose interests could never be affected by the result of any official act which he might be called on to execute, or any sentence which it might be his duty to pronounce. Here, then, were aldermen of different parties, elected from time to time, and so made members—part and parcel—of this Society, and, I ask, would it have been a gracious thing in them, after having been so honored with a place in it, to become adverse to the interests of that body? Let us bear in mind, too, that there is with most people a regard for consequences, and no alderman could imagine he would greatly benefit his interests by opposing a corporation that has acquired nearly the whole control of all the public money appropriated for purposes of education in New York, and having its dependents spread from one end of the city to the other. I think it would require a strong and elevated mind, an unusual amount of moral courage, to enable any man, so situated, to oppose such a corporation.

I do not, then, admit the reasoning of Mr. Ketchum, for I deny his premises, that the Common Council ever were "the representatives of the people" on this subject.

I will now commence my review of this speech. I read it carefully from beginning to end, and I was myself impressed with the idea that it scarcely required an answer. I was quite convinced of that, so far as the honorable Senators were concerned, because I knew that to the minds of men accustomed to reasoning and to detect at a glance where the strength of a position rested, that speech must have appeared a thing altogether out of place. Nevertheless, it was hinted to me that the speech was not intended for Senators alone, and the readiness with which Mr. Ketchum could furnish the report went considerably to strengthen that opinion. It was said that though to me the speech might seem weak, yet to the generality of readers, particularly those unacquainted with the subject, it might seem very specious, and produce in their minds the very conclusions opposite to those which we would wish established. On that ground I have taken it up, and I must say that with regard to Mr. Ketchum himself, I have the kindest possible feeling; and if, in the course of my remarks, I should happen to speak in a manner seemingly disrespectful, I beg it may not be considered as having been so intended. Of the gentleman himself, I cannot say anything disrespectful—of his speech I hope I may be permitted to say whatever the evidence may authorize. I mention his name with perfect freedom, because his name is attached to the speech, and because principally he is the official organ of that Society, and what he says is already endorsed by them.

After his introduction, Mr. Ketchum says: "This probably may account very sensibly for the fact, that in the city of New York the portion of the school fund allotted to her, was to be distributed by these almoners of her charity whom her representatives thought proper to designate. Now, I ask, was there anything inconsistent with sound principles in this? Is there anything in it which violates the principle of the largest liberty, and the purest democracy, of which we hear something in this Report?"

Stop, Mr. Ketchum! I tell you there is not one word in that whole Report against such a state of things as that you represent to the minds of the Senators by making a wrong application. What is represented as contrary to the principles of our Constitution was the monopoly—the exclusive system that has succeeded the former—and Mr. Ketchum is kind enough to make an anterior reference to the period when all enjoyed the appropriation for the purposes of education. I stop him there, and say, that he makes a wrong application. He ought not to prejudice the minds of Senators or the community, by pretending that the Secretary's Report charges on *that state of things* any trenching on the enjoyment of the largest liberty.

Mr. Ketchum goes on: "In the city of New York, as I shall have occasion to show by and by—and more or less I suppose it is so in all the States of Christendom—there are voluntary associations—charitable associations—associations composed of men incorporated or otherwise, who are willing to proffer their services to feed the hungry; to clothe the naked; to visit the destitute, and to see to the application of funds set apart for their relief. Such men are always to be found in large cities; men of fortune, men of leisure, men of benevolence, who are willing to associate together for benevolent objects, and who are usually made the almoners of the charity of others."

Now, Mr. Ketchum, in the whole of this, is gliding imperceptibly to the point he wishes to reach. And what is that point? It is to fix on the minds of the Senators that as religious societies formerly took care of their poor, and

as other associations take care of other objects of benevolence, so they were to look upon the Public School Society as taking care of education. In endeavoring to effect this conclusion, his reasoning glides imperceptibly as on a colored surface which is black at one extremity and white at the other, but in which the various shades are so nicely mingled that you cannot ascertain the point where the change of color begins, so does the progress of his sophistry elude observation. "Charitable Associations." Now, I will examine Mr. Ketchum's philosophy here. I consider that there is here what may be called a rhetorical fiction. He personifies the city of New York and calls it "she"—then he takes her and places her one side, and places all the religious societies, and benevolent societies—the Public School Society amongst the rest, and that being done, he says, the city of New York made them her "almoners." But when we take these societies away where is "she"? what becomes of her? (laughter and cheers.) This is what I call a rhetorical fiction. Mr. Ketchum need not pretend to say that the city of New York made "almoners." They were self-created. When you take the religious societies, each having its charity school, and this society, which we must not call irreligious, although it has always defeated its opponents by saying that they profess religion—these constitute the people of New York, and they received the money set apart for that specific purpose, and in their sovereign power and wisdom they applied it as they thought proper. They managed it with perfect harmony, for I never heard of the occurrence of a dispute when each section of the community assumed the management of their own schools, and it was on account of a charge against one society of misappropriating the public money that the controversy arose.

Afterwards referring to the Legislature by which that state of things was changed to the present, he says:—"Hence, after many discussions in the Assembly chamber, discussions at which all the members were invited to attend —and almost all of them did attend—for we had generally a *quorum*, although it was before a committee night after night—the Committee of the Assembly at length made a report favorable to the prayer of the memorial; but suggesting in that very report whether even so much as was granted in the proposition referred to was not a violation of sound principle; whether, in fact, religious societies ought to participate in the enjoyment of the fund at all, because, by such participation, the Jew might be made to support the doctrine of the Christian, and *vice versa*, the Christian that of the Jew, the Catholic of the Protestant, the Protestant of the Catholic, and so on."

What a splendid discovery! The people hitherto living in perfect harmony, all enjoying that appropriation of public money—not, perhaps, expending it in the wisest manner, but at all events without disturbance or dispute. But all at once it is discovered that because they are religious societies, it would be a violation of sound prineiple to allow them the public money! And why? Because in that case the money paid by a Protestant might pass to the support of a Catholic school—or, if you please, to the school of a Jew—and that involved a violation of conscience. I confess, however, I cannot see that, nor do I think any reflecting man can see it. But what is the fact respecting the turn of the legislation in relation to the Public School Society, called, at that time, the "Free School Society?" Simply that because at that Bethel Baptist Church money had been improperly appropriated, occasion was taken not to punish the guilty party, if there was guilt, but those who had memorialized against the abuse of public money, and to disfranchise every man professing religion, because the members of one particular church had abused their trust! And it is suspected that all this was not done without the secret instrumentality of that very Free School Society itself, which then, as at the present day, professed to have *no religion at all.* So that in this very Legislature—though I know that another view of it is perfectly lawful—we see that the reasoning approved by Mr. Ketchum, would go to brand a stigma on the sacredness of re-

ligion—it would lead to the inference that because the adherents of one religious sect have abused their trust in the employment of the public money, therefore, all profession of religion should be an everlasting disqualification! But I pronounce such an inference unworthy the citizens of a land in whose Constitution Christianity is recognized. And I ask, where was the usual penetration of Mr. Ketchum when he employed such reasoning? By the laws of this State, church property is exempted from taxation, and I am surprised that gentlemen of such tender apprehensions can rest quietly at night, when they reflect that possibly Protestant money is going to make up the deficiency in the revenue of the State, caused by the exemption from taxation granted to Catholic churches! But I see no harm at all in the state of things by which money is thus transferred. All the churches are represented by all the people, and it matters not an iota, if churches are exempted, the tax is paid by the members in another form.

So with the Public School money. Although in the manipulation of the money, it might happen that the identical dollar paid by a Protestant might pass into the treasury of a Catholic School, the Catholic dollar would go back to replace it in the Protestant School, it would be in the end, all the same, for the question is not at all about the IDENTITY of the money. If the taxes could be kept separate, and the money paid by the Protestant go into the Protestant box, and the money paid by the Catholic go into the Catholic box, sure enough they would get their own money, but it would be all the same if no such care had been taken. Here I would refer to the case of chaplains in our prisons, etc., not one of whom is a Catholic, but who have often received the contributions of Catholics,—have they ever complained that that was a violation of the constitution? Certainly not, and that practical view of the matter should have taught the gentleman the futility of his reasoning—that if the money of the one sect went into the hands of another it was all the same—it was the money of the *people* received from them in one form, and returned to them in another, allowing them in its employment the noble and grand privilege—of which I trust they will not allow themselves to be deprived, no matter how they exercise it—of obeying the dictates of their own free consciences (cheers).

In the course of his speech the gentleman makes a grand display of all the sects that were set aside by the society. Then he asks the Senate "will this honorable body grant to Catholics what was denied to all these?" But there is a difference here, and what is it? *There is not on record an instance of a complaint on the part of any of these sects that their rights of conscience were invaded.* Episcopalians never made any such complaint—nor did Presbyterians—nor did Methodists—nor did any of the other sects,—but it happened that they had charity schools attached to their churches, and they thought giving such education as the state required, they were entitled to their share of state bounty. But very different was the case of the Catholics. And now suppose the circumstances of the case were reversed, and Catholics had the majority on which the society depends, and would employ the power conferred by it, in forcing on the whole community Catholic books—and Catholic versions of the Bible—and give the children lessons about the burning of Servetus, and the ignorance of a whole nation in supposing the machine for winnowing corn, to be an impious invention, and denouncing these employing it as guilty of a crime against God who supplies the zephyrs and the breeze—suppose that case, and that the aggrieved minority complained and applied for redress, I trust that on the face of the earth there would not be found a Common Council of Catholics who would refuse to listen to so just a prayer?

Mr. Ketchum says further when speaking of the action of the Common Council on this application, that it had been referred to a law committee, and

he quotes the decision of that committee. We, knowing the manner in which our former applications were disposed of, need not, of course be surprised at the manner in which this Report was expressed. To our last application made in the spring of 1830,—when I was absent from this country —to the Board of Assistant Aldermen, the usual negative was given; but then it is to be observed that that Board was surrounded by the advocates of the Society, and these things which we have stated, and which they have since acknowledged, were *denied* by them—and on that denial was grounded the refusal of our application. The advocates of the society denied that there were any passages in their books with which he could find fault—averred that they contain nothing disrespectful to our religion. But since then, they have been obliged to retract that, and to acknowledge repeatedly that in making these assertions they were not sustained by truth—that there were passages in those books reflecting upon our faith—that these passages had been taught to the children for years, and would have been retained till this very day, had it not been for our detection and exposure. But it was not at all surprising that under the influence of a society, stretching its gigantic branches over every quarter of the city, and hearing such assertions from its advocates, the Board should deny our claim.—But let us glance at the conclusion which Mr. Ketchum draws from such denial—he says:—"That conclusion was ratified by their constituents; and I believe that every one of the religious societies, or nearly so, excepting the Roman Catholics, acquiesced in that decision. But that society, year after year, has come before the Common Council and renewed their request for a separate portion of the school fund. With the best feelings for the applicants, in a spirit of kindness; with every disposition to do whatever could be done for them, year after year, and without respect to politics, whether the one party was in the ascendant, or the other party was in the ascendant, the Common Council have, with almost entire unanimity, disallowed that request; and I believe that never in either Board, since the division of that body into two Boards, has there been but one dissenting voice raised against the ratification of that decision. Now, if the committee please—who have complained? The Roman Catholics."

I repeat that I deny the philosophy of this reasoning. I deny that in any case that portion, at least, of the community that has petitioned for a reform of this system, ever looked to the Common Council as their representatives on this question. And another argument against Mr. Ketchum's position is that this public council were partizans in the case in which they were called to deliver judgment. And I think that it would be well for that Public School Society and the Common Council, if the latter by their election to office are to be engrafted into the former, that the duty of judging between them and the community were delegated to disinterested parties.

Mr. Ketchum goes on to say: "No disrespect was intended them. The Common Council, and every person engaged in the discussion of the question on behalf of the Common School Society, took great care to say, 'we do not reject you because you are Roman Catholics;' and as evidence of this truth, we give you the fact that we have rejected similar applications from powerful protestants—but we reject your request because we believe that a sound general principle will not allow us to grant it."

So there was always a precaution observed. Indeed I myself remarked that before the Common Council. They uniformly—with one exception—said that they did not oppose us because we were Catholics. But Dr. Spring with great magnanimity and candor neglected to take the hint, but declared that he was apprehensive of our faith gaining ground. He would oppose us and preserve the society as it was, even though the rights of the Catholics should be damaged; and that for his part he preferred the

religion of Voltaire to that of Fenelon! The sentiment was indeed a black one, and it was rendered blacker by the brightness of the candour with which it was uttered.

Here again Mr. Ketchum states what is incorrect. He says: "We have rejected similar applications from powerful Protestants."

I deny that. I refer him to the records of the Common Council, and I will venture to affirm that he will not find there one "similar application." And why? Simply because there was no ground for any such application. For although one denomination of Protestants may differ from another and may carry their attachments to their respective dogmas to great length, yet there is one common ground on which they all, so far as I know, without exception, meet. What is it? That the Bible alone, as understood by each individual, is their rule of faith. *They* could therefore unite on their public school question so far as the Bible was concerned. But then they require that Catholic children whose creed never admitted that principle should be taught that doctrine. They had not the same reason that we had to go before the Common Council. We felt that we might as well at once give up to them our children and allow them to educate them as they pleased, as send them to their schools. I deny then the statement "that similar applications were made."

He proceeds: "I say that the Corporation has been desirous, so far as that body possibly could, so far as they felt themselves at liberty, consistently with the maintenance of a sound general principle, to accommodate these parties. They have granted a privilege out of this fund to the Roman Catholic denomination, which has not been granted to any other. The Sisters of Charity, so called, under direction of the Roman Catholic Church, and connected with it, (I believe I am right—if not I should be happy to be corrected,) established a most benevolent institution in the city of New York, called the Orphan's Asylum—the Roman Catholic Orphan's Asylum. They took into this institution poor and destitute orphans. They fed and clothed them most meritoriously—and they thus relieved the city of New York of the maintenance of many who would otherwise, probably, have been a charge upon it. After long discussion, and with some hesitancy, yet overcome by the desire to oblige, and aware of the limitation arising from the very nature of that institution, the Corporation did permit the Catholic Orphan Asylum to receive money from this fund; and during the last year it received some $1,462 for the education of about one hundred and sixty-five children—in common with the institution for the blind, and the deaf and the dumb, and those other benevolent and Christian institutions which are altogether of a Catholic character in the most comprehensive acceptation of that term—as they are under no sectarian influence or government."

And pray what sort of an institution is the Protestant Orphan Asylum? Is religion not taught there? And yet Mr. Ketchum singles out the Catholic Orphan Asylum and speaks of the favor conferred on it, in order to show the liberality of the Common Council. We are, indeed, grateful to that body for having placed ours on the same footing with other institutions of a kindred character. But the Common Council have granted money to the Protestant Half-Orphan Asylum, and denied an application upon a similar grant to the Catholic. How can Mr. Ketchum assert that a "privilege" has been granted to us exclusively? In reference to our last application Mr. Ketchum proceeds:—

"The subject, I repeat, underwent a very full and free discussion; and, after that had terminated, the Board of Aldermen gravely considered and discussed the subject; and, at length, after some delay, came to the conclusion that they would go and visit the schools. Some of the members of the Board of Public Schools, feeling sensibly

alive on the subject, expressed to me an apprehension that this was a mere evasion, and they feared that the question had now become mingled with politics. But I said, wait, gentlemen; let them go and see your schools—it is a natural desire—they ought to go. It is a great and delicate question, and they ought to be acquainted with it in all its details. They went and visited the Public Schools, and the Roman Catholic Schools, and they incorporated the result of their deliberations in a report which I have before me, and from which I shall quote by and by. It is drawn up with great ability, and the decision was, with but one dissenting voice, that the prayer of the petition should be rejected; and it was rejected."

On this I remark in reference to what I have, I believe, already referred to, that there has been always a panacea for every evil—the appointment of a committee to visit the schools. Why this is one of the easiest things in the world? A little training—a little arrangement—a judicious wink to the teachers—will prepare every thing so that it will be very hard if a pleasing exhibition could not be got up in any one of those schools for one hour, on any day out of the three hundred and sixty-five in the year. But this has been the invariable remedy—no looking at the wounds which the system was from year to year, and from day to day, inflicting on less favored portions of the community—no visit to the back streets and miserable lanes of this city, in which so large a proportion of its future inhabitants are grovelling in exposure to vice and degradation. Nothing of that was thought of. But the schools enriched by the expenditure of more than a million of money were inspected, and the gratified and approving visitors returned to the Common Council to make their report that it was an excellent system, perfect in its details, and admirable in its working, and it was only the absurd bigotry and extreme ignorance of the Catholics that prevented them from reaping its benefits!

When he compares with all this, the state of our humble schools. Well, I will not pretend to say that the Catholic schools were in the best order. But here I remark that whilst at every stage and step of the progress of this question, I have been obliged to controvert false statements, I can challenge them to point to a single instance in which they could dispute the truth of any of our documents. And now I will give a passing notice to that visit to the Catholic schools. Hear this statement. This committee say:—

"We also visited three of the schools established by the petitioners, and we found them as represented, lamentably deficient in accommodations, and supplies of books and teachers; the rooms were excessively crowded, and poorly ventilated, the books much worn, as well as deficient in numbers, and the teachers not sufficiently numerous; yet, with all these disadvantages, though not able to compete successfully with the Public Schools, they exhibited a progress which was truly creditable; and with the same means at their disposal, they would doubtless soon be able, under suitable direction, greatly to improve their condition."

Such is their testimony.

And now shall I pass over this opportunity of making a comparison? When questioned before the Senate, the Society stated that *they* could not get the children to come, and here are our schools crowded to excess? I can show you in a room not much larger than the square of the distance between two of the columns supporting the gallery of this building in which we are now assembled, upwards of two hundred children crowded together! Yet the Public School Society are obliged to pay $1,000 a year of public money to visitors for the purpose of gathering children to their schools. For the fact came out in the course of the investigation that they paid that sum yearly to tract distributors for the purpose I have stated, whilst we in our poverty could not find room or books or teachers for the multitudes of children that thronged upon us, and whom this exclusive system consigns to degradation and ignorance and vice unless something be done for them by others! (Cheers.)

Such is the testimony of that very committee. And yet the decision to which they came is quoted by Mr. Ketchum as proof that "a great principle,"—of which no definition however is given from the beginning to the end of his speech,—prevented them from granting our petition. Well, I have called your attention already and would do so again to a point that shows as clear as noon-day that this denial was not benevolent towards us, nor in accordance with equal-handed justice. They had opposed us as a sect—as being Catholics. The Secretary of State, however—a man whose integrity of character—legal knowledge—and profound and statesmanlike views, have elevated him to the highest rank in the community,—placed the question on entirely different grounds. Mr. Ketchum in the last sentence of his speech before the Common Council declared that to the Public School Society the discharge of their duties were rather a burthen, which nothing but the extreme benevolence of their nature had prompted them to assume, and unless they were saved from this continued agitation they would throw it off. Well, Mr. Spencer excludes all those objectionable features and places the question on a broad basis, entirely removed from all sectarianism, and then where are those benevolent gentlemen who were burthened with their charge — these "humble almoners" of the public bounty? At Albany, ready for a new fight! Not for their schools, but to oppose the Secretary, for Mr. Spencer only wishes to make education like the air we breathe, the land we live in; like other departments of human industry and enterprise, free! He would not hold the balance so as to afford the least advantage to any party, but would make all equal, and secure to them the enjoyment of the rights established by the constitution of the country, and who opposed him? The Public School Society. Their interests were not invaded, but they could not admit the principle that we were to receive education consistently with the laws of the State? Why? You will find that in the course of Mr. Ketchum's speech, he says the Public School Society could not stand one day if education were made free! If the monopoly which they have wielded for sixteen years should be touched by the little finger of free trade they would perish. "They cannot live a day." And, gentlemen, if they cannot live one day on the principles of justice and freedom, then I say that half-a-day's existence is quite enough for their exclusive system.

We have seen that Mr. Ketchum has introduced the committee to the schools, and now he comes to the point. "Who, then, complain of the operations of this system? Our fellow-citizens, the Roman Catholics. Failing to get from the hands of a body thus constituted, the redress for the grievance which they complained of, they come here and ask it of you. I say *they* come here, because I will presently show you from their memorials, that none *but* they come here."

He has brought it round to that, and he thinks if that be established the same prejudices—the same means that were employed to defeat us in New York would be equally efficacious at Albany. He says: "Failing to accomplish their purpose through the Common Council of the City of New York, they come and ask it here. Failing in their application to a body of representatives, to whom they have applied year after year, and who represent a population in which is intermingled a greater mass of Roman Catholic voters than in any other district of the State of New York."

See the advantage he takes of our known forbearance, and their activity Because we, with honorable motives that should have been better appreciated, abstain from making this a political one. But they did make it such a question, and endeavored to deter all public men from rendering justice to the oppressed Catholics. Now I am no politician—I belong to no party—and I can also, perhaps, speak with the greater freedom, because we have highminded friends and opponents too, amongst both political

parties, and I can, perhaps, give a satisfactory answer to Mr. Ketchum's allusion to "voters." After the election of the Governor, the papers in the views of this society referred to it as a warning, and not only so, but individuals here wrote to the Governor in terms of reproach against the Catholics and the Irish for not having been more grateful to him. They taunted him with it. And how is that to be answered? I should be sorry that ever the Irish should be ungrateful, under any circumstances, or ever forget a friend; and especially at a time when the high and noble principles of justice and equality laid down by the fathers of this country seem to be passing into rapid oblivion, if a public man stands up for the *rights* of even the humblest portion of the community, he is entitled to the gratitude and esteem of every man who loves his country. Not that the Governor conferred on us any peculiar favor—I disclaim that—he never asked any thing for us but what we conceived our right. But still he was taunted with references to the ingratitude of the Irish, it was said "There is what you got by advocating the cause of the Irish." That shows whether we made our question a political one—and I am glad, in one sense, that the Irish did not vary from the principles in politics to which they had been in the habit of attaching themselves, because that demonstrates that whatever may be the opinion of calculating politicians respecting the Irish, that portion of the community have perhaps, after all an integrity of character and purity of principle which is not unfrequently found wanting amongst more elevated classes of both political parties. It was discovered then that the Irish would not abandon their principles through selfish motives. But now let me ask what was the case on the other side? Many of them turned directly round, abandoning all their old political associations and friends, in order to let Governor Seward know how much he had *dared* when he declared for justice and equal rights to all (cheers).

Such was the case, and our opponents cannot deny it. Mr. Ketchum then is unfortunate in his allusions. He ought not—if he had what I shall not now mention—if he had presence of mind, I will say, he ought not to have alluded to that matter at all, because it has brought up the proofs of what was done by his own clients, while our vindication is triumphantly effected. We have thus been enabled to refute all the charges urged against us from the pulpits and religious presses at the disposition of the Society, that we made a political question of it, and so forth. They did;—but we did not.

Gentlemen, I have dwelt longer on some topics than I intended, and have made less progress in my review of this speech than I anticipated. On to-morrow evening I will proceed with my remarks. [Loud and long-continued applause.]

[On Friday evening the Bishop attended according to his intimation at Carroll Hall, where, notwithstanding the extreme inclemency of the weather, a very considerable audience was assembled. It was, however, deemed expedient to adjourn the meeting till the following Monday.]

MONDAY EVENING, JUNE 21ST.

On Monday evening an immense number of persons assembled to hear the conclusion of the Right Rev. Prelate's Speech. The aisles and galleries of the large hall in which the audience congregated, were densely crowded, and in the body of the house it was impossible to obtain a seat for a considerable time before the meeting was organized. Amongst those present

we noticed the Lieutenant Governor of the State, and many distinguished Senators.

Shortly before 8 o'clock, THOMAS O'CONNOR, ESQ., was called to the chair amid the acclamations of the meeting, and after the minutes of the former meetings had been read by B. O'Connor, Esq., the Secretary, the Right Rev. BISHOP HUGHES rose and was received with deafening applause. On its subsidence he proceeded as follows:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—I have had occasion already to observe that the question which we are now discussing, has passed, or at least is now passing through the second stage of its progress. In the first stage we had to apply to the city authorities, and we were obliged by the circumstances of the case, and for reasons that I have already mentioned, to apply in a character which we did not desire, but which was forced upon us by circumstances, over which we had no control. The issue of that application is known. Then we laid our grievances before the Legislature of the State, and the Secretary of State to whom the question had been referred, placed it upon grounds, altogether different from those on which it had hitherto been considered. Consequently it was necessary for me in reviewing Mr. Ketchum's speech, to consider it under two heads. And hitherto my remarks on it have applied to the question under the circumstances in which it was, previous to its reference to the Legislature of the State. We have now however to consider it on the ground on which it has been placed, in the able, and eloquent, and liberal report of the Honorable Mr. Spencer. And I cannot avoid observing in the first place, that taking into account, the principles of equality and of justice that pervade that document, I did conceive that the Public School Society could not have found any objections againstit. For you will recollect that Mr. Spencer removes entirely the objections urged before the Common Council against the recognition of our claims. These objections were grounded on the principle that no sect or religious denomination had anything to do with the money appropriated for the purpose of education. The Secretary has completely obviated that objection. He has regarded the petitioners in their civil capacity. He has exhibited the broad and general grounds on which every public institution in this country is conducted, but we find these gentlemen, nevertheless, as zealous, and their advocates as eloquent against Mr. Secretary Spencer, as they had been against us. There can be no charge now that a recognition of our claims would favor sectarianism—a union of Church and State. All that has disappeared, and with it we had hoped would have disappeared the opposition to our claims.

I will now follow Mr. Ketchum in his arguments before the Senate. And first of all I would direct your attention to the number of times in which he repeats that the petitioners are Catholics. He twists and turns that in a variety of ways, in order to convince the Senators that though we applied in the character of citizens, that advantage was to be taken away from us, and we were to be clothed before that honorable body with our religious character by the hand of Mr. Ketchum! I should have less confidence in the stability of this government—less affection for its constituted authorities, if I thought that such a circumstance could militate against us in the minds of those gentlemen, who have been elevated by the suffrages of the people to the guardianship of equal rights. (Cheers.) I conceive, therefore, that Mr. Ketchum has mistaken the character of that assembly—that he has exerted himself in vain to fix on us the epithet of Roman Catholics, when we appeared in the character of citizens, and when our right to worship God according to the dictates of our conscience had been already

a priori recognized by the constitution of the country. And I ask, is there any crime in being a Roman Catholic? Is there any advantage to be gained in bringing that against us? Is there anything in the history of the country which could justify the hope of prejudicing the minds of senators by such an allusion! No. In the days when men stood side by side and shoulder to shoulder, and blood touched blood in the battle strife, and with their brave swords they won the freedom of their country, was it asked who is a Catholic or who is a Protestant? (Loud Cheers.) Had Mr. Ketchum forgotten the names and deeds of Kosciusko, of Pulaski, or La Fayette, and the Catholic Soldiers of Catholic France? Was there anything said against that religion by the fathers of our country when they laid the foundation of the liberties we now enjoy? Was there any such charge against Charles Carroll when he came and signed that glorious declaration, risking more than all the other signers together? No. Nor have we any cause to be ashamed of our religion, and God forbid we ever should! I throw back, then, that maneuvre of Mr. Ketchum, and I tell him this is not the country whose constitution makes apparent to the world, that to be a Roman Catholic involves a deprivation of the rights and privileges of citizenship.

Last year a petition was presented to the Senate, signed by Catholics alone—this year the petition had other signatures. True, the petitioners were generally Catholics, but others signed it too, and I hope and believe that they thought they asked but for justice. However, Mr. Ketchum, in order to accomplish his purpose, takes up the petition presented last year, and taunts the Secretary as if he were guilty of artifice in making it appear that the members of other religious denominations had joined in our petition. He says: "Probably, (continued Mr. Ketchum,) that circumstance was discovered by the Secretary's sagacity, between 1840 and 1841."

What does he mean by that allusion, except to remind the Secretary that it was by prejudicing the public mind, by misrepresentations, that certain partizans succeeded in diminishing the vote for his Excellency the Governor? If Mr. Ketchum does not intend that by this delicate hint, I should like to know what he does mean. He then affects to take up the objections: "One of the complaints is that the people are not represented in this Public School Society; that here is an agency used for a great public purpose which the people do not directly choose; and they complain of the Public School Society being a close corporation."

Certainly all these are grounds of complaint, and all these are so clearly set forth in the Report of the Secretary, that you have but to read that document to see that Mr. Ketchum cannot shake one solitary position of that honorable gentleman. Is not the Public School Society a close corporation? And is not Mr. Secretary Spencer's Report calculated to place it on the same basis on which all our free public institutions are founded? Is the Secretary not a Reformer, then, in reference to that Society? He does here precisely what Lord John Russell attempts to do in England, when he endeavors to break down the monopoly of the corn laws and to make bread cheap. Mr. Spencer wishes to break down the monopoly of education, and to make voting and education, the bread of knowledge, cheap. That is to say, that the same people who are supposed to be capable of choosing a Sheriff, or a Governor, or a President, without paying for the privilege, should also have the right of choosing the teachers of their children, without paying $10 for it. (Cheers.) Mr. Ketchum passes over that very lightly. That is a point not to be seriously dwelt upon, and he glides into the old charge prepared before the Common Council, and takes up the old objections, although not one of them was presented in the petition before the Senate. Keeping always before the mind of the Senators

that we are Catholics, he affects to take up these objections, and says: "Now, I wish to call the attention of the Committee to the fact now to be stated. There is no complaint in these memorials, nor will you hear any from any source, that the Public School Society does not furnish to all the children who attend their schools a good literary education."

Let me caution Mr. Ketchum not to be so fast, and I will give him my reasons. From the manner in which the examinations are conducted, it is the easiest thing in the world to have all ready prepared for the day of visitation; when the examiners present themselves, *pet classes* are arranged, and in them *pet pupils*, who will perform their part admirably well. It is easy to have all this array, and so it is to be regarded rather as an exhibition than an examination. But, if they desire their examinations to create universal confidence, let them have them as they are conducted in European Universities, where the pupils stand forward, and any person who chooses examines them, when not the choice and prepared pupils are taken, but the subjects of examination are selected indiscriminately from the classes. Let such a method be adopted here, and I will venture to say that Mr. Ketchum will not have anything to boast of over other schools. (Cheers.) I do not, however, blame the visitors for not finding fault with the external management of these schools. I think it excellent; and the best proof of the sincerity of that opinion was afforded in our willingness to adopt, and place the superintendence of our schools in the hands of these very gentlemen. But Mr. Ketchum goes on:

"The Roman Catholics complain, in the first place, that they cannot conscientiously send their children to the Public Schools, because we do not give religious instruction in a definite form, and of a decided and definite character. They complain, in the second place, that the school books in common use in the Society, contain passages reflecting upon the Roman Catholic Church. And they complain, in the third place, that we use the Bible without note or comment—that the school is opened in the morning by calling the children to order and reading a chapter in the Bible,—our common version. These are the three grounds on which they base their conscientious scruples."

Now it is a fact that we do not complain of any one of these things in our petition to the Senate. One of these complaints was expressed in the petition to the Common Council, and I have already explained the reasons of that presentation. But in the petition to the Senate, we said in general terms, that the conscientious scruples of a large portion of our fellow-citizens were violated by the system pursued in these schools. I will, however, take up these objections in order.

Mr. Ketchum says that we complain, in the first place, that we cannot send our children to the schools of the Public School Society "because religion is not there taught of a decided and definite character." Mr. Ketchum certainly has not stated that objection correctly, for I defy him to find such words in our petition. We complained in general against these schools, that by divorcing religion and literature, they endangered the best interests of children who were to grow up to be men, and who, to be useful members of the community, should have their minds imbued with correct principles, and could not be so without being made acquainted with some religious principles. But we never complained that they did not give "definite religious instruction." Far from it, and when Mr. Ketchum asserted that we did, I am sorry to say that he asserted what he must or might have known to be untrue. And how do I prove it? In our propositions to the Committee of the Common Council, when they had gone through with their ceremony of visiting the schools, and the Society had offered their propositions, the very last article of our proposal was in these words:—"*But nothing of their (i. e. Catholic) dogmas, nothing against the creed of any other religious denomination shall be introduced.*" Mr. Ketchum saw that, and I ask him, how could

he undertake to make an argument by substituting language entirely different from ours, and presenting it as our objection? How could he say that we found fault with the Public School Society for not teaching religion in a "definite form," when they always disclaimed the right to teach it at all, and considered it a crime for any denomination to ask for it? This is what I call substitution—invention—a course unworthy of Mr. Ketchum,—of his profession, and of that society of which he was the organ.

I am well aware that to a hasty reader Mr. Ketchum's speech will appear very logical indeed. But I have at the same time to observe, that while he reasons logically, by drawing correct inferences from his premises, he has taken care previously to change the premises, and instead of taking our principle as submitted by us, he gradually shifts it—preserving, however, enough to deceive a cursory reader—until he substitutes one entirely different, from which he reasons very logically, of course. Let us suppose Mr. Ketchum a professor of law in some university—for I have no doubt he could fill such a chair, and adorn it too, if he would—and imagine him addressing a class of students. He says, "Gentlemen, one of the most important things in our profession is to know how to conduct an argument, which you must always do with logical precision. And to effect this you are to follow this excellent rule:—if your facts sustain your conclusions, well; if not, you must find other facts that will!" (Laughter and loud cheers.) "The principle of this rule I call the principle of substitution, and an admirable principle it is, but you must be cautious how you use it, especially before a judge and jury. But if it is before a public, which reads fast —for there is a great deal to be read—you will find it work very well. Recollect then, gentlemen, this great principle— 'substitute ' in your reasoning!" (Lond laughter.)

In such a way we might imagine Mr. Ketchum addressing his students. And you will find that few reason illogically. Even the inmates of a Lunatic Asylum reason very logically. One of them perhaps, imagines himself a clock, he says, "stand off, don't shake me—I am obliged to keep time." That is logical reasoning. The only mistake is that he "substitutes" a clock for a living creature—and reasoning from this substitution he draws the conclusions admirably. So it is with Mr. Ketchum. (Laughter and cheers.)

We did not, I tell Mr. Ketchum, ask the Public School Society to teach religion in any definite form. We never complained of their not teaching it. We never did ask such an unreasonable thing from men who made it a crime for religious societies to have any thing to do with the public money.

He then states another objection:—"that the books used in the schools contain passages reflecting on the Catholic Church." That is true; and he says in the third place that we object that "the Protestant version of the Bible is used, that the schools are opened by calling the children to order, and reading a passage from that Bible." Not a word of that in our petition. That is "substitution" again—removing the objections presented by us, and substituting others, which might, as he supposed, lead to the denial of our claims on the ground that we object unreasonably.

Mr. Ketchum takes up the objection, and in order to show how unreasonable that was, he submits the proposition of the Public School Society—passing altogether over ours, which common justice required should have also been presented, as it would have discovered on our part a similar disposition, and have entirely undeceived the Senators as to any alleged claim to have religion taught in a definite form.

There was no official declaration guarding against the possibility that, next year, another Board might not alter all these books to a worse state than ever—and consequently their offer to expunge their books was altogether nugatory. Mr. Ketchum says, however, "This portion of the report, as

will be seen, has reference to these offensive passages. Now, every body will say, that it is a fair offer—we will strike them out. But, gentlemen of the committee, I submit whether here, in this country, we must not in matters of conflicting opinions, give and take." Well, I do not find the Public School Society, although very good at "*taking*," at all disposed to "*give*" any thing. (Laughter.)

"I have no doubt that I can find something in any public school book, of much length, and containing much variety of matter, reflecting upon the Methodists—upon the heated zeal, probably of John Wesley and his followers—reflecting upon the Episcopalians, the Baptists, and Presbyterians. Occasional sentences will find their way into public discourses, which, if viewed critically, and regarded in a captious spirit, rather reflect upon the doctrines of all those churches."

In this way he gets over these passages most insulting to us and our religion, which I pointed out to those gentlemen after their having inculcated them in the minds of the children for sixteen years past! We have to add, however, that in examining these books, we found no passages reflecting on those denominations.

Now I will call your attention to Mr. Ketchum's views respecting conscience and conscientious scruples. *We* supposed that when a man could not do a thing in conscience, the reason was that he thought by doing it he would offend God. This is what we supposed to be a conscientious difficulty; and therefore it was that we did not object—as he says, and as I shall have occasion to treat of presently—to the Protestants reading *their* version of the Bible; because believing it right, they could use it with a good conscience. But we Catholics did not approve of the version, many other denominations do not approve of it—the Baptists and Unitarians for instance,—and one objection was that Mr. Ketchum and the Public School Society would *force on us* the reading of that version against which we had conscientious objections. We believe that to yield to that, would damage the faith which we hold to be most pleasing to God. Suppose us to be in error, if you please; but certainly the Public School Society have no right to rule that we are. They are not infallible, and consequently should recognize our right of conscience, as we recognize theirs.

But Mr. Ketchum has battled bravely against these principles, and thinking it would be better for us to agree to offend God, and coincide with the Public School Society, wishes to beat down these scruples. And now would you have his idea of a conscientious scruple? He institutes a comparison in order to show how trifling such things are, and he says:—

"On the other hand, there are many passages from the speeches of Mr. Webster, which have found their way into school books; and a democrat may say, I cannot go Mr. Webster; my children shall not be taught to admire him. And thus, if we are captious, we can find conscientious scruples enough."

So that Mr. Webster's writings are placed, as it were, on a parallel with the word of God himself;—and a difficulty of which he is the subject is spoken of in the same way as if it were a difficulty in reference to God! And what is Mr. Ketchum's conclusion? That whilst he would trample on our conscientious scruples about the Deity, to bow with great deference to the scruples about Mr. Webster, and of this he goes on:—

"However, if it is *bona fide* a conscientious scruple, there is the end of it; we cannot reason with it. But, in the judgment of the Common Council, and as I think must be the case in the judgment of every man, the difficulty is got over by the proposition which has been made."

Well now just let him extend a little of that indulgence to us in the case in which our account to our Creator and eternal Judge is involved. But not so. He next says: "The next complaint is, that we do not give religious edu-

cation enough." Where did Mr. Ketchum find that? That is "substitution" again. He has not found that in any thing from us. He proceeds:

"The memorials, all of which are public—and the speeches and documents which have been employed, and which, if necessary, can be furnished to the committee—all go conclusively to demonstrate that, in the judgment of those who spoke for the Roman Catholic Church, we ought to teach religion in our public schools—not generally—not vaguely—not the general truths of religion; but that specific religious instruction must be given. Now, I hardly suppose that this deficiency can be made the subject of conscientious objection."

But that is a false issue. On none of these points has he stated our objection. We never objected, as far as Catholic children were concerned, that they did not teach religion. We complained of a system from which religion was (according to them) excluded BY LAW. But that on the contrary they did attempt, surreptitiously, to introduce such teaching, in a form that we did not recognize. What does he say then?

"The third and last complaint is, that our Catholic brethren can not consent to have this Bible read in the hearing of their children. Now, on every one of these points, the Trustees have been disposed to go as far as they possibly could in the way of accommodation; but they never yet consented to give up the use of the Bible to the extent to which it is used in the schools. I say the Trustees have never yet consented to this surrender. But if they can have good authority for doing it, they will do it. If this Legislature, by its own act, will direct that the Bible shall be excluded, I will guarantee that it shall be excluded."

Now perhaps, one of the rarest talents of an orator, is that which enables him to accommodate his discourse to the character of the audience whom he addresses. But like all rare talents, it should be exercised with discretion. That the learned gentleman possesses it, however, is proved by the fact, that the very declarations made by him before the Senate are contradicted by his statements before the Common Council, and *vice versa*. Before the Common Council, in the presence of a number of the clergy, he eloquently denounced the exclusion of the Bible from the schools. If a compromise depended on this, he must say "No compromise." Before the Senate, however, he is all obsequeousness, "Gentlemen, if you give us authority to exclude the Bible, I guarantee that it shall be so!"

I recollect the beautiful period with which the gentleman wound up his sentiment before the Common Council, I remember him saying that "it would be hard to part with that translated Bible—hard indeed, for it had been the consolation of many in death—the spring of hope in life—and wherever it had gone there was liberty and there was freedom, and where it had not gone there was darkness and there was despotism." But I must apologize for attempting to repeat, as I spoil the poetry of his eloquent language. At the time, however, I thought what a beautiful piece of declamation for a Bible Society Meeting; for, on such occasions, owing to the enthusiasm—the sincere enthusiasm—of the auditors, and the oftentimes artificial enthusiasm of the speakers, all history, philosophy, and common sense, occasionally, are rendered quite superfluous. The most beautiful phrases, resting on no basis but fancy, may be strung together, and will produce the deepest impression. But I doubt much when we come to examine the sober reality of the matter whether the poetical beauties of Mr. Ketchum's fiction will not be seen vanishing into thin air. I doubt much, indeed, whether the liberty, whose origin and progress history has recorded, will be found to have sprung from "that translated Bible," in any sense, and especially in the sense of Mr. Ketchum. I, of course, yield to no man in profound veneration for the book of God, but there is a point of exaggeration which does no credit, but injury to that Holy Book.

Let us look at these translations of the Bible. The first was Tyndall's, then Coverdale's, and then the Bishop's Bible. These remained till the time of James the First, and during all that time—a period of about a century—if

ever there was a period of degrading and slavish submission to tyrannical power in England, it was then beyond all comparison. At the close of this period a new translation was made and dedicated to the king. It was discovered that the "only rule of Faith and Practice" during all this time was full of errors and corruption. Every one knows that James was one of the poorest scions of the poor race from whom he was descended. Yet in their dedication, the translators appointed to amend the rule of faith by a new translation, call him the "Sun in his strength," and that from his many and extraordinary graces, he might be called the "WONDER OF THE WORLD!" Now, during the succeeding sixty or eighty years what were the doctrines of liberty in England? It was then that the schoolmen of Oxford and Cambridge taught from "that translated Bible" the dogma of "NON-RESISTANCE TO THE ROYAL AUTHORITY"—that "PASSIVE OBEDIENCE" was the duty of subjects—that no crime nor possible tyranny of the prince could authorize a subject to rebel. How could Mr. Ketchum forget all that?

Let us examine the facts of the case and ascertain how correct Mr. Ketchum was when he said that liberty had always followed the progress of that translated Bible. You will find that from the period of the Reformation down to the Revolution, England was sunk to the lowest degree of slavish submission to tyrannical authority. The spirit of old English freedom had disappeared at the Reformation, and it was only at the Revolution that, like a ship recovering its equilibrium after having been long capsized by the storm, that old spirit *righted itself* again. But do I speak poetry like Mr. Ketchum? let me appeal to facts (loud cheers.)

We find the fundamental principles of liberty as well understood by our Catholic ancestors, centuries before the Reformation, as they are at the present day. They well understood the principle, that all civil authority is derived from the people, and that those elected to exercise it, are responsible to those from whom they derive their power.

"By one of the laws of Edward the Confessor, confirmed by the Conqueror, the duties of the king are defined; and it is provided that, UNLESS he should properly discharge them, he should not even be allowed the name of king as a title of courtesy, and this on the authority of a pope. The coronation of Henry I. was based on as regular a contract as ever yet took place in market-overt. By the coronation oaths of the several monarchs between him and John a similar contract was implied. By Magna Charta, and its articles for keeping the peace between the king and the kingdom, this implied contract was reduced to writing, and 'signed, sealed, and delivered by the parties thereto.' In the reign of Henry III. Bracton, one of his judges, tells us, that since the king 'is God's minister and deputy, he can do nothing else on earth, but that only which he can do of right. . . . . Therefore, while he does justice he is the deputy of the Eternal King; but the minister of the devil when he turns to injustice. For he is called king from governing well, and not from reigning; because he is king while he reigns well, but a tyrant when he violently oppresses the people entrusted to him. . . . . Let the king, therefore, allow to the law what the law allows to him—dominion and power—for he is not a king with whom his will, and not the law, rules."—*Dublin Review.*

There was the language of a judge in the times before either the Reformation or James' translation of the Bible were dreamed of! I pass to another historical event—the crowning of John, on which occasion Hubert, the Archbishop of Canterbury, fearing that the monarch, from supposing that his royal blood alone entitled him to receive the kingly office, should throw the kingdom into confusion, reminded him that no one had such a right to succeed another in the government unless chosen by the people.

"That no one had a right by any precedent reason to succeed another in the sovereignty, unless he were unanimously chosen by the entire kingdom, and pre-elected according to the eminency of his morals, after the example of Saul, the first anointed king whom God had set over his people, though not a king's son, or sprung of a royal race, that thus he who excelled all in ability, should preside over all with power and authority. But if any of a deceased king's family excelled the rest of the nation, to his

election they should more readily assent. For these reasons they had chosen Count John, the brother of their deceased king, on account as well of his merits as of his royal blood. To this declaration John and the Assembly assented."

I wonder whether an Archbishop of Canterbury, now, with this translated Bible in his hand, would *dare* to utter such language in the presence of the monarch when he was about to officiate at a coronation! Let us now turn to what occurred after this translation of the Bible. At the execution of the Earl of Monmouth, there were a number of Protestant divines who exhorted him to die like a "good Christian," and the great point on which they insisted was that the subject was bound to obey the prince with "passive obedience." But the noble Earl, in whose breast there still burned something of the principles of the olden times of England, would not agree to that dogma, and then the divines under the influence of this translated Bible refused to pray for him. Their last words were, "Then, my lord, we can only recommend you to the mercy of God, but we cannot pray with that cheerfulness and encouragement as we should if you had made a particular acknowledgment."

The same doctrine was prevalent at the time of Tillotson, and he speaks of it not only as his own opinion, but as that of those for whom Mr. Ketchum claims the honor of being considered the apostles of English liberty! I quote from the *Dublin Review:*

"Among those who importuned the unfortunate Lord Russell to make a similar acknowledgment was Tillotston, who, by letter, told him that this doctrine of non-resistance 'was the declared doctrine of all Protestant Churches, though some particular persons had thought otherwise,' and expressed his concern 'that you do not leave the world in a delusion and false hope to the hinderance of your eternal happiness,' by doubting the saving article of faith. Within the same period, Bishop Sanderson delivered the doctrine in the following clear and explicit language. He declares that, 'to blaspheme the holy name of God, to sacrifice to idols,' &c., &c., 'to take up arms against a lawful sovereign, none of these, and sundry other things of the like nature, being all of them simple and *de toto genere*, unlawful, may be done on any color or pretence whatsoever, the express command of God only excepted, as in the case of Abraham sacrificing his son, not for the avoiding of scandal, not at the instance of any friend, or command of any power on earth—not for the maintenance of the lives and liberties of ourselves or others, nor for the defence of religion, nor for the preservation of the Church and State; no, nor yet, if that could be imagined possible, for the salvation of a soul, no—not for the redemption of the whole world.' This was considered a very orthodox effusion."—*Dublin Review.*

An article of faith that you dare not under any circumstances resist the kingly power.

Compare, then, the language of Protestant divines having this translated Bible before them, with that of Catholic divines at a former period, and see the ground which Mr. Ketchum has found in England for his poetical assertion. But, perhaps, if we turn our attention to the Protestant government of Europe, we may find his dream realized. Perhaps he may find his dream realized in Prussia? In that country there are two principal communions of Protestants, the Lutheran and the Calvinist. Now, the king calls his officers together, and tells them to draw up a liturgy: decrees that both *will*, and *shall*, and *must* believe or practice this liturgy? (Laughter and cheers.) Or he may go to Sweden, or to Norway, or Denmark, and the dark despotism of the North, perchance there he may find that liberty, of which he speaks, progressing with this translation. What kind of freedom, let me ask Mr. Ketchum, followed this "translated Bible" to Ireland —that everlasting monument to Catholic fidelity and Protestant shame! (Tremendous applause.)

But to come to this country—perhaps it was in New England among the Puritans, that Mr. Ketchum's dream was realized — ask the Quaker! (Laughter.) Perhaps it was in Virginia—ask the Presbyterian! Where was

it? Let me tell you. It was in Maryland, among the Catholics. *They* knew enough of the rights of conscience to raise the first standard of religious liberty that ever floated on the breeze in America. (Cheers.) You may be told that Roger Williams and his associates in Rhode Island declared equal rights. Not at all—he excluded Roman Catholics from exercising the elective franchise. But the Catholics did not exclude him. They may refer to Pennsylvania—the reference is equally unfortunate, for Penn wrote from England remonstrating with the Governor, Logan, I believe, for permitting the scandal of Catholic worship in Philadelphia.

Turn, now, look at the constellation of Catholic Republics, before Protestantism was dreamed of as a future contingency. Look at Venice, Genoa, Florence, and that little republic—not larger than a pin's head on the map—San Marino—which has preserved its independence for such a long course of centuries, lest the science of republicanism should be lost to the world! Look at Poland—when the Protestants were persecuting one another to the death in Germany, Poland opened her gates to the refugees and made them equal with her own subjects, and in the Diet of Poland, at which the law was passed, there were eight Catholic Bishops, and they must have sanctioned the law, for the liberalism veto gave each the power to prevent it. I challenge Mr. Ketchum to point out, in the whole history of the globe, *one* instance of similar liberality on the part of Protestants towards Catholics.

Now, what becomes of that beautiful declaration of Mr. Ketchum, that wherever that translation had gone liberty followed? I know, indeed, that in this country we all enjoy equal civil rights, but I know also that it was not Protestant liberality that secured them. They grew out of necessity, and in the declaration of them there is no difference made between one religion and another. Catholics contended as valiantly as any other, in the first ranks of the contest for liberty. And I fervently hope that it is too late in the day for any one to pretend that Catholics have been so blinded by their religion as to be unable to know what is liberty and what is not. (Cheers.)

Be it understood, then, that not one of the objections which Mr. Ketchum has put into our mouths respecting the Bible, was ever presented to the Senate by us.

Mr. Ketchum having thus disposed of our pretended objections, goes on to speak of the Secretary's Report.

"They will be satisfied with it, it will give them what they ask. Now, let us see how? There is no proposition contained in this report that religious societies, as such, shall participate in this fund—none."

Then, Sir, I ask what is your objection? In New York before the Common Council all your opposition was directed against "religious societies." Mr. Spencer has removed every ground for that, and I therefore ask what is your object? Your object is to preserve the Public School Society in the monopoly, not only of the funds contributed by the citizens for the support of education, but also of the children. He says:

"The trustees of districts shall indicate what religion shall be taught in those schools; that is to say, that you shall have small masses; that these small masses shall elect their trustees; and as the majority of the people in those small masses may direct, so shall be the character of the religious instruction imparted."

Mr. Spencer wishes to take from the Society that very feature which is objected to—that is to say, he wishes that religion shall neither be excluded nor enforced *by law*. And yet, Mr. Ketchum, by his old principle of substitution, makes out quite a different proposition from the Report, and infers that the Trustees shall have the power to prescribe what religion shall be taught. I do not see that in the Report at all. On the contrary,

the Secretary leaves parents at liberty to act on that subject as they see proper. Mr. Ketchum supposes a case to illustrate his view of the matter, which I must say does not do him much credit. He says:

"But when a school is formed in the sixth ward of the city of New York, in which ward (for the sake of the argument we will assume) the Roman Catholics have a majority in the district; they choose their trustees, and these trustees indicate that a specific form of religion, to wit, the Roman Catholic, shall be taught in that school—that mass shall be said there, and that the children shall cross themselves with holy water in the school, having the right to do so according to this report, the Catholics being in a majority there. Then, and not till then, can these Roman Catholics conscientiously send their children to school—that is to say, their objections to this system are to be overcome by having a school to which they conscientiously send their children; and that school must be one in which religion is to be taught according to their particular views."

That is drawing an inference without the facts, for we never said so, nor ever furnished him authority to say so, and although Mr. Ketchum has the authority of the Public School Society to *speak*, yet that does not enable him, when he states what is not the fact, to make it true. But I wish to know why he brought up that picture at all—why the sixth ward should have peculiar charms in his imagination, or why he should have introduced all that about the children crossing themselves with holy water? And pray is it for Mr. Ketchum to find fault with what he supposes to be religious error, and for which he is not at all accountable? He has not shown, nor has any man shown that such consequences would follow—it is impossible that the Trustees could act so ridiculously as to permit such a thing—it was incredible that they, being responsible to the officers appointed by the State, and under the eye of such vigilant gentlemen as Mr. Ketchum and the Public School Society, could permit Mass to be celebrated in the schools? Yet such is the picture presented by Mr. Ketchum, quite in accordance with his old course, and in order to excite popular prejudices, for which this speech seems to have been so studiously prepared. For he well knew that amongst a large portion of the Protestants there is a vast amount of traditional prejudice against Catholics, which has, from being repeated incessantly and seldom contradicted, become fixed, occupying the place of truth and knowledge. Their case reminds me of what is related of Baron Munchausen. It is said that when this celebrated traveler was old he had a kind of *consciousness* that there was some former period of his life when he knew that all his stories were untrue, but he had repeated them so often that now he actually believed them to be true! (Loud laughter and cheers.)

It is to such persons as are under the influence of these prejudices and bigotries that Mr. Ketchum addresses his speech, and if he utter the sentiments of the Public School Society, how, I ask, can we confide to their hands the training of the tender minds of our children.

But one of the most remarkable things in this speech is, that after having beaten off in succession the different religious denominations, because, as he said, they would teach religion — having, in fact, played one sect against the other—Mr. Ketchum turns round and affirms that the Society itself does teach religion. He says:

"No, sir. I affirm that the religion taught in the public schools is precisely that quantity of religion which we have a right to teach; it would be inconsistent with public sentiment to teach less; it would be illegal to teach more."

The "exact quantity!" Apothecary's weight! (Great laughter.) Nothing about the quality except that Mr. Ketchum having made it an objection that we wished religion in a definite form, he will give it in an *indefinite* form—a fine religion—but at all events there is to be the "legal quantity." Well, now let us see something about the quality of this religion, and I wish to consider

the subject seriously. And here let me refer to a beautiful sentiment expressed by the Secretary in his report—He says that religion and literature have be come so blended, that the separation of the one from the other is impossible. A more true or appropriate declaration could not proceed from the lips of any man wishing the welfare of his country and his kind! (Cheers.)

Now, whenever we made objections to that society for pretending that religious subjects were excluded by law, it was on these grounds. We said, we refer you to the experience of public men—to that of the most celebrated states men in Europe, even to the infidels of France—who have uniformly declared that society cannot exist except on the basis of religion. All of them, whether believing in religion or not, have admitted the necessity of having some kind of religion as the basis of the social edifice. But these gentlemen, in all their debates, have contended that the education to be given should be "purely civil and secular." That is their official language. And now for the first time Mr. Ketchum before the Senate, declares that the society does teach religion, and exactly the proper quantity! (Cheers.) Let me now call your attention to a passage in one of their reading books, in order that we may see a specimen of this religion. I will now make a few comments on the passage, but I do conceive that there are persons of all those denominations who recognize the doctrine of the Trinity, who could not be induced to have the minds of their children inoculated with such sentiments as it contains. Referring to our blessed Redeemer one of the school-books says:

"His answers to the many insidious questions that were put to him, showed uncommon quickness of conception, soundness of judgment and presence of mind; completely baffled all the artifices and malice of his enemies; and enabled him to elude all the snares that were laid for him."

Are these the ideas of the divine attributes of the Redeemer which the Christian portion of the community wish impressed on the minds of their children? That such have been the sentiments taught by the society for the last sixteen years, they cannot deny. And they may account for it as they please, but it has attracted the attention of many, that for the last sixteen years the progress of that young and daring blasphemy that trifles with all that is sacred has increased tenfold in this city. How do I account for it? In two ways—first, because a large portion of the young are debarred from the benefits of education, and, on the other hand, there is the attempt which has been made to divorce religion from literature. When such causes exist you need not be surprised to find that infidelity thickens its ranks and raises on every side its bold and impious front.

I have presented you with a specimen of the quality of that religion which Mr. Ketchum says is dealt out with exact and legal measure.

Mr. Ketchum contends that it is a religion of a decided character that we want. And pray what are we to understand by religion that is not decided? A religion which is vague—a general religion? What is the meaning of these terms? I desire to have a definition of them. If there is to be established by law a Public School Society-Religion, I should like to have its confession of faith, and be informed of the number of articles, and the nature of the doctrines contained in them. But it seems to me that Mr. Ketchum and this Public School Society resemble a body of men who are opposed to all physicians because they understand medicine, and who, although themselves opposed to all practice of medicine, are yet disposed to administer to the patients of the regular practitioners. And the comparison holds good—for, after all, children are born with a natural moral disease—want of knowledge, and evil propensities—and education and religion are the remedial agents to counteract these evil tendencies and remove the natural infirmity. Then we have the practitioners, as they may be termed, coming to see the patient, the whole community supplying the medicine-chest; and we have

these men surrounding this chest and exclaiming to the physicians, "Clear off! you are a Thomsonian, and you are a Broussaist, you are a Homœopathic, and you are a regular practitioner, and you wish to prescribe remedies of a decided and definite character, which is contrary to "a great principle." And having thus banished all the physicians they turn doctors themselves and mix up their drugs into what they call a "general medicine," of which they administer what they call the legal quantity. (Laughter and cheers.) But the gentlemen forget that neither the patient nor the medicine are theirs. Those who furnish the patient and supply the medicine-chest should have a voice in the selection of the doctors.

What do the gentlemen really intend? They object to religious societies, but after they had got them pushed out of the house, they begin to teach religion themselves! Mr. Ketchum acknowledges that. He and Mr. Sedgwick, his associate, however, do not appear to have studied theology in the same school. One says that religion is the basis of all morality, the other that morality is the basis of religion. And, after all, do men agree any more in their views of morality than religion? Certainly not. And yet you must give to the children—especially those of that class attending these schools, for it should be borne in mind that they, for the most part, do not enjoy the opportunity of parental or pastoral instruction—some supply of religious education. They are the offspring of parents, who unfortunately cannot supply that deficiency; and if they are brought up in this way with a kind of contempt for religion—or with the most vague idea of it, the most lamentable results must necessarily follow.

I now come to another point, the non-attendance of the children at the schools. Whilst our humble school-rooms are crowded to excess, the Society have been obliged to give $1,000 a year for recruiting for children. In Grand street they have erected a splendid building, almost sufficient to accommodate the Senate of the State, and besides all that, we find they are able to lavish public money in payment of agents to collect children. Mr. Seton, who has been a faithful agent of the Society, made that fact known, and stated that by this means 800 children were collected. And to whom was this money given? To tract distributors—a very good occupation theirs I have no doubt; but at the same time that was rather a singular appropriation by men so extremely scrupulous lest any portion of the public money should go to the support of any sect. But I suppose that was on the principle of what Mr. Ketchum calls "giving and taking"—that is you give a tract and take a child. (Laughter and cheers.)

Then we have quite an effort on the part of Mr. Ketchum to prove that the trustees discharge their onerous duties much better than officers elected by the people. I will quote his remarks on that point: "This Public School Society receives its daily sustenance from the representatives of the people—and the moment that sustenance is withdrawn, it dies,—it cannot carry on its operations for a day."

A most beautiful subversion of the actual order! For so far from the Common Council patronizing the Society, it is the Society that patronizes the Common Council—taking them into partnership the moment they are elected, and so far from being dependent on the Council, as was well remarked by a greater authority than I am on this subject, the Council were dependent on the Society. The schools belong to the Society, just as much as the Harlem Bridge does to the Company who built it. What remedy is there then? The Society, self-constituted, a close corporation, takes into partnership the Common Council, which then becomes part and parcel—bone of the bone, and flesh of the flesh—of the Society, and if any difference arises between the citizens and the Society, a committee of that very Society adjudicates in the cause! Thus we have found that the Common

Council, after having denied our claim, and even when about to retire and give place to their successors, followed us to Albany, and their last act—like that of the retreating Parthian who flung his dart behind him—was to lay their remonstrance on the table of the tribunal to which we had appealed.

Mr. Ketchum says: "Here are agents of the people—men who, having a desire to serve mankind, associate together; they offer to take the superintendence of particular works, they offer themselves to the public as agents to carry out certain benevolent purposes; and, instead of paying men for the labor, they volunteer to do it for you, 'without money and without price,' under your directions—to do it as your servants—and to give an account to you and an account to the Legislature. Voluntary public service is always more efficient than labor done by servants chosen in any other way."

So that because they serve gratuitously, they discharge their duties much better than if elected by the people! Well, let us improve upon the hint. Perhaps some of them may be kind enough to discharge the more important functions of the government for nothing! But if volunteers be more efficient than officers chosen by the votes of the people, let us abolish the farce of elections altogether. Not satisfied with this, Mr. Ketchum also would seem to contend, that the volunteers are not to be held responsible!

To establish his views on this point, Mr. Ketchum refers to charitable and benevolent institutions. But where is the justice of the comparison? The sick are incompetent to secure their own protection and recovery. The inmates of houses of refuge, on which Mr. Ketchum has a beautiful apostrophe, referring to his own share in the erection of that one established in this city, are likewise unable to take care of themselves. And here let me say, in all sincerity, to Mr. Ketchum, that if he and the Public School Society determine to perpetuate their system, if they continue to exclude religion from education, and at the same time to deprive four-fifths of the children, as now, of any education at all—then he had better stretch his lines, and lay the foundation of houses of refuge, as the appropriate supplement to the system. Neither does the comparison hold, as I have before shown, in reference to lunatic asylums, &c.

Then Mr. Ketchum goes on to illustrate further, and says: "But it is said, and said too in the report of the Secretary, that he proposes to retain these Public Schools. How retain them? One of the features of the proposed new law is, that all school moneys shall be paid to the teachers. Under such a law we cannot live a day—not a day."

What an acknowledgment is that! That a law which would make education free—giving equal rights to all—would be the death-warrant of the Public School Society. There is another point on which Mr. Ketchum does not now dwell so emphatically. He says, that there were a large number of tax-payers who, wonderful to relate, asked for the privilege of being taxed, asked for that privilege, for the purpose of supplying the Public School Society with money to carry out their benevolent purposes.

Mr. Ketchum seems to consider that at that time there was a kind of covenant made between the petitioners to be taxed, and the State authorities, that when they petitioned and were taxed, the authorities of the State bound themselves to keep up the system *in perpetuum*. But did these persons ask to be taxed, exclusively, out of their own pockets, or did they ask for a system of taxation which should reach ALL the tax-paying citizens of New York. There is a fallacy in Mr. Ketchum's argument here. He supposes that because these persons are large property holders, that they are

therefore, *par excellence*, the payers of taxes. He forgets that it is a fact well understood in the science of political economy, that the consumer is, after all, the tax-payer—that it is the tenants occupying the property of those rich men, and returning them their large rents, who are actually the tax-payers. And what peculiar merit, then, can Mr. Ketchum claim for these owners of property, and petitioners to have all the rest of the citizens taxed as well as themselves? But he insists that there was an agreement, a covenant entered into between them and the State authorities, and if you interfere with its provisions, you must release these tax-payers from their obligations as such. With all my heart—I have no objection! All we want is, that there should be no unjust interference—no exclusive system—no extraneous authority interposed between the tax-payer and the purpose for which the tax is collected. But the fact that others besides these petitioners are equally involved in the burthen, demolishes this argument of Mr. Ketchum.

In his conclusion, the learned gentleman insists, that unless the Society remain as it is, it cannot exist. And then he goes on further, for it would be impossible for him to close his speech without again reminding the Senate that we are Roman Catholics.

He says: "The people in New York understand the subject, and the Roman Catholics cannot say that they will not be heard as well there as here. Why not leave the matter to us, the people of the city of New York?"

Thus, Mr. Ketchum, after having first endeavored to impress the minds of the Senate that we had had all imaginable fair-play, that other denominations had made applications similar to ours, which is not the fact, that our petition had uniformly been denied in the several boards representing the people of New York; whereas he knew that on this question, the people of New York were never represented by the Common Council; he goes on to say, at last, "Why not leave the matter to us—the people of the city of New York?" I trust not, if a committee of the Public School Society, called the Common Council, are to be at once parties and judges, I hope that the question will not be referred back; although, for Mr. Ketchum's satisfaction, I may state, that if it were so referred, the Common Council would not, I will venture to say, now decide upon it by such a vote as they did before; when one man alone had the courage, whether he was right or wrong, to say nay, when all said yes! (Loud and long-continued cheering.)

In consequence of that vote, as they have since taken care to tell us, this gentleman lost his election, but, what is of infinitely more importance, he preserved his honor. (Renewed applause.) Were the matter now before the Common Council, they would see a thousand-and-one reasons for hesitation before deciding as before. For when public men see that any measure is likely to be popular, they can find abundant reasons for taking a favorable view of the question. I will refer Mr. Ketchum to a sign from which he may learn what he pleases. Since the Common Council, that denied our claims, went out of office, their successors have had the matter before them, and when in the Board of Assistants it was proposed to pass a resolution requesting the Legislature to defer the consideration of the question, the motion was negatived by a tie vote.

Still Mr. Ketchum will have the end of this speech something like the end of the last. Then he said this was a most distressing topic to the gentlemen of the Public School Society—that they were men of peace—that I do not controvert, but certainly I must say that in the course of this contest they appear to have exhibited a spirit contrary to their natures! —but so peaceful were they, Mr. Ketchum said, that if any longer annoyed they would throw up their office and retire! (Cheers and laughter.) But,

after all, they could send their agents to Albany to oppose us there—the one, Dr. Rockwell, to disseminate a burlesque on our faith from Tristram Shandy—the other, Mr. Ketchum, to plead as zealously, but I think not as successfully, as ever against the recognition of our claims.

Mr. Ketchum says: "Now the contest is renewed, and the trustees engage in it with extreme reluctance; they have no personal interests to advance, and they are very unwilling to be put in hostile array against any of their fellow-citizens."

Mr. Chairman, the lateness of the hour admonishes me that I have trespassed too much upon your patience; I have but one observation to make in conclusion. These gentlemen have spoken much and laid great emphasis on the importance of morality, but as I have already remarked, morality is not always judged of by the same criterion. Let me illustrate this. According to the morality which *my* religion teaches, if I rob a man, or injure him in his property, and desire to be reconciled to God, I must *first of all*, if it be in my power, make reparation to the man whom I have injured. Again, if I should unfortunately rob my neighbor of his good name—of his reputation—either by accident or through malice, before I can hope for reconciliation with an offended God, I must repair the injury and restore my neighbor's good name. If I belie him I must acknowledge the lie as publicly as it was uttered—*that* is Catholic morality.

Well, now, these gentlemen have belied us—they have put forward and circulated a document which existed only in the imagination of Sterne—a foul document—*and represented it as a part of our creed.* I do not say that they directly required this to be done; but their Agent did it, and he cannot deny it. I wonder now, then, if they will have such a sense of *morality* as will impel them to endeavor to repair the injury thus done to our reputation, by any official declaration that that is a spurious document? I wonder if the conscientious morality that presides over the "Journal of Commerce" will prompt its editors to such a course? If it do not, then it is a morality different from ours.

I apprehend that no such reparation will be offered for the injury we have sustained by the everlasting harangue of abuse and vituperation that has been poured out against us for these few years past. Have we not been assailed with a foul and infamous fiction in the pages of a work called "Maria Monk?" and have its Reverend authors ever stood forward to do us justice and acknowledge the untruth which, knowing it to be so, they published? Have they ever attempted to counteract that obscene poison which they disseminated, corrupting the morals of youth throughout every hamlet in the land? Whilst denouncing in their ecclesiastical assemblies the works of Byron and Bulwer, did they include in their denunciation the filthy and enormous lie, published under their auspices—the writings of "Maria Monk?" What idea, then, must we form of their morality and religion? And, here, it would be unjust to omit mentioning that many Protestants, not under the influence of blinded bigotry, have done us justice on this point. In particular I refer to the conduct of one distinguished Protestant writer, who cannot be accused of great partiality for us, but who exposed and refuted the authors and abettors of this filthy libel, to which I have referred. I know that it would be incorrect and unjust to say that thousands of others, sincere Protestants, but high-minded, honorable men, have not taken the same view of the subject. But I speak particularly of the morality of the authors and publishers of these abominable slanders, and I regret that the Public School Society, by their recent proceedings, should have allowed themselves to sink to a kindred degradation!

[The Right Rev. Prelate here resumed his seat, amid thunders of applause, which lasted several minutes.]

REVIEW OF MR. KETCHUM'S REJOINDER,

SO FAR AS HE HAS GONE, BY BISHOP HUGHES.

[Mr. Ketchum having attempted a reply, through the columns of one of the city papers, to Bishop Hughes' great speech in Carroll Hall, on the evenings of June 16th, 17th and 21st, 1841, the following review of Mr. Ketchum's "rejoinder" appeared in the *Freeman's Journal* of August 7th, 1841.]

I DO not deem it necessary to wait for the conclusion of the rejoinder, inasmuch as the *American* in which it is published, tells us that "every part is complete in itself." When Mr. Ketchum published his speech before a Committee of the Senate, I announced that I should review and refute it. The word refute is printed in capitals by Mr. Ketchum, I know not for what purpose. If I had any doubt as to the fulfillment of my promised refutation, the Rejoinder, so far, at least, has completely removed it. Indeed I am at loss to know what meaning the gentleman attaches to the word Rejoinder, but in my judgment, the truest title he could have given to his last production would have been, if he had called it, "A REPETITION OF WHAT I HAVE SAID BEFORE—PARTLY IN THE SAME WORDS, AND PARTLY IN OTHER WORDS."

He seems to find fault with me for having seen fit to review his speech in a Public Assembly; but I had explained the reason of this. It was to save me the time and trouble of writing it down. I knew his many fallacies could be most easily exposed; and yet I had but little leisure for the work of their exposition. In fact, it is only because he is the official organ of the Public School Society, that I would undertake it at all. Nor would this have been necessary of either of the legal gentlemen who met him at Albany, had been fortunate enough to have had his speech reported.

It seems, moreover, that the "laughter and cheers," introduced by the reporter, have given offence to Mr. Ketchum. Now, to this I have to reply that I requested the chairman of the meeting to forbid every manifestation of feeling. This he did in my own hearing, but it appears he was not strictly attended to in the matter, and the reporter, as custom is, put down the "cheers" and "laughter" as faithfully as anything that was said by me. I am not accountable for this, neither do I think that Mr. Ketchum should acquit his own speech of having contributed as much to produce laughter as any other cause. At all events, I thought it a very innocent way of giving vent to the exuberance of indignation, which the course of the

learned gentleman, and the society of which he is the official organ, was calculated to excite. They compel the people to pay taxes for the purposes of education, and then wish to compel them to receive such kind of education as it may please a CLOSE CORPORATION, having absolute and irresponsible power over the money, over the books, over the Teachers and over the children, to impart. For sixteen years has that portion of this people represented by the meeting at Carroll Hall, been deprived of the benefit of this taxation, and that by the efforts of this society, in the indulgence of its grasping ambition, and when they assemble in a peaceful and ordinary manner, to think and speak of their wrongs and to seek a remedy, Mr. Ketchum would grudge them even the privilege of laughing.

Mr. Ketchum commenced his Rejoinder, so called, with a history of his going to Albany, and of what occurred there. This requires no remark from me. He tells us that the matter was "discussed between himself and Messrs. McKeon and Hawkes in good temper, and with that courtesy which well-bred gentlemen of the Bar uniformly extend to each other."

This is always to be supposed among "well-bred gentlemen," whether they belong to the Bar or not. It is a matter of course, and hence my astonishment, when in the discussion before the Common Council, where I presented myself as a plain citizen, I found that one gentleman of the Bar, and only one, brought up my mitre and seemed incapable of making a speech until he had placed and replaced it several times. It is not for me to say whether this was courteous, and besides, not being of the legal profession, perhaps I had no right to expect that courtesy which Mr. Ketchum says the members "uniformly extend to each other," and further saith not.

I shall now proceed to notice whatever appears to wear even the semblance of argument in this rejoinder.

1. A large number of petitioners, deeply interested in the subject of education, and deeply suffering by the present system, appeal for relief to the Legislature of the State. They are there met by the Public School Society, and their petition is opposed by an official remonstrance, and by an official living organ. In my review of the remonstrance I proved that the Public School Society had attempted to mislead the judgment of the Senate by submitting in evidence *false statements*. I proved further that their legal advocate in his speech before a Committee of the Senate, had done the same. I did not say that either knew the statements to be false, but my speech established the fact of their being false in themselves and slanderous in their falsehood.

When Mr. Ketchum's Rejoinder was announced, I thought he would attempt a vindication of the society and of himself in reference to this unworthy course. I can see none, however, except that he says with great nonchalance that it was a "natural desire of the Trustees to preserve their schools," and that "to oppose the recommendations of the Secretary, was therefore their duty." He then asks, but how should this be done? I answer, it should be done

by truth and argument on the merits of the question. It should *not* be done by special pleading—*not* by pushing aside the true facts of the case and "substituting" others—*not* by charging extracts from Tristam Shandy on the Petitioners as dogmas of their religious faith—*not* by bearing false witness against their neighbors in any way, otherwise it will appear as if they hold the end to justify the means.

2d. Mr. Ketchum then goes over the old ground about excluding religious societies. This requires no answer, because it has been disposed of in the speech to which this professes to be a rejoinder. He says "the children in this State do not go to school to be instructed in religion." Certainly not. Then, I ask him why do the Public School Society impart religious instruction. For we have Mr. Ketchum's own authority for the fact that they do so impart it, except that they impart it in an "indefinite form," and in the "legal quantity." At one time they say it is to be left to the parents and the pastors, as if the Public Schools were required to be atheistical; at another they exercise the children in singing hymns, saying prayers and reading the Protestant version of the Scripture.

3. There is nothing so well shows the weakness of the cause advocated by Mr. Ketchum, as his directing his argument, such as it is, to the prejudices of Protestants. For this purpose "Roman Catholics" "Church Schools," "Roman Catholics" "Sectarian Schools," "Church Schools," figure through the first paragraph of his Rejoinder in great variety; and with endless repetition. I am not sorry to see this. It proves that he feels that he has no verdict to expect from REASON AND JUSTICE; and that, therefore, his reliance must be on his efforts to excite the religious hatred of one class of citizens against another. If those feelings grew out of any pretensions on our part, they would be excusable. But they do not; they cannot. We ask no privilege; taxed, like our fellow citizens of other creeds, for purposes of education, we have been deprived of all benefit. The schools supported in part by our money, have been conducted in a manner of which infidels did not complain, because the society professed to exclude religion, of which Protestants did not complain, because, contrary to their own professions, they did teach religion, and that altogether Protestant as to quality, and in what Mr. Ketchum calls the "legal quantity." In order to be "legal" the legislature must have acted upon the question. I would beg leave to ask Mr. Ketchum in what part of the Revised Statutes the quantity has been specified and enacted. At all events, to require of those who have the misfortune to be neither infidel nor Protestants, to send *their* children to schools thus constituted would be a violation of the rights of conscience. And does Mr. Ketchum think that *even* his Protestant countrymen will support him in such an attempt. Does he think that the votaries of bigotry are more numerous than the friends of the American Constitution, which secures the religious as well as the civil rights of every man, whether he be a Jew, or Christian, or a Universalist, or a Calvinist,

a Catholic or Protestant. But while he contends that the Public School Society teach the "legal quantity" of religion, he defends the same society on the ground that it leaves religion to the teaching of the parents of the children and their ministers. Which of these propositions shall we believe? The one contradicts the other, and the legal gentleman in contempt of all logic maintains both. His harping on church schools, then, is a poor subterfuge; in the only sense in which it could be of service to his argument, the charge that we wish to have "Church Schools," "Sectarian Schools," "Catholic Schools," is utterly false. We say give us such schools as we can frequent without violation to our conscience, or if you will not, give us the quota of taxes which you collect from us, and apply it yourselves for the purposes of educating the children whom your system drives from the Public Schools. The evidence that our demand extends thus far and no further was before Mr. Ketchum. He has our written and official testimony on the subject before him, and with that testimony, his insinuation that we want the benefit of education money *for* "*Catholic Schools*," *as such*, is more than "substitution," it is a sheer gratuitous invention against evidence of the contrary.

These may seem strong expressions. But if the official organ of the Public School Society, either impelled by his own prejudices or with a view of acting on the prejudices of others, allows himself to employ unfounded statements as the basis of his reasonings to defeat our just claims, then it becomes me to contradict them in language which cannot be misunderstood. Whenever he ventures to make a statement which is incorrect and injurious, I must be allowed the privilege of contradicting it with proper emphasis.

4. In my speech I disputed Mr. Ketchum's right to set forth the decision of the Common Council, in the city of New York, on the School Question, as representing the will of their constituents. I gave my reasons, 1st, because their connection with the Public School Society never, to my knowledge, was made a consideration at the ballot-box; 2d, because in their decisions they were invariably acted upon by the influences which naturally belong to this society; 3d, because, as we shall prove by and by from Mr. Ketchum himself, they were led to decide, in some instances, on the authority of *false statements.* 4th, because it required an uncommon share of moral courage to withstand all those influences. Now Mr. Ketchum, in his Rejoinder, passes silently over all these, and represents me as saying that the decisions of the Board of Aldermen were not to be regarded as important, inasmuch as the members had a direct *personal interest* in sustaining the Public School Society. I said no such thing. I said, and for the reasons already given, that as things have been managed they could not expect to promote their interest by opposing that society. He goes on to tell us that it was intended that these officers of the city should "spy," if they thought proper, into the most *secret actions* of the Board and of the Society. But they never, he adds, availed themselves of the privilege. If then,

as he elsewhere says, they are to be regarded as the representatives of the people, in this connection they were sadly indifferent to the trust confided to them by their constituents.

5. But the recorder, he tells us, is, *ex-officio*, a member of the Manhattan Bank, and it is asked whether on that account it is improper for him to sit in judgment on the concerns of the bank? If he is the *exclusive* judge to decide in cases affecting the bank, and if he is made a director through the *contrivance* of the Board of Directors, then the cases would be parallel, and then the party having a suit with the bank would and should think it highly improper that any director of the bank should be the judge on the case. I believe, farther, that the people would not tolerate such a case, and in constitutional law Mr. Ketchum himself will be puzzled to find a precedent. He tells us farther, that the Aldermen are members of the Public School Society, not in their private, but in their "official capacity." That is, as soon as they acquire the power to distribute the school money, and to drive off some oppressed portion of the community, they are taken into membership by the society; and as soon as they are unfortunate enough to lose that power, then the society cuts the connection—the partnership is dissolved! Really this is a singular circumstance for Mr. Ketchum to bring forward. He has just stated that these public officers, "never, in a single instance," examined into the affairs of the society, and now he goes on to tell us that "if they act, it is as a committee on the part of the people," etc. No, most assuredly, the people never elected them for that purpose. It is the work of the society, without consulting the people, or rather in disregard of them.

6. In my review of Mr. Ketchum's speech, I stated in substance that there was no violation of a sound principle, in allowing the different denominations to receive each a *pro rata* portion of the school fund. The reason is, that the people whose contributions make up that fund are no other than the different religious denominations. I proved this by the exemption of churches from taxation. Now Mr. Ketchum does not dispute the facts. But he turns aside from the question of constitutional principle, and enters into a calculation which is surely too small for a great mind like his.

He says that one denomination might be more prolific in children and less in taxes than another. He would infer, that unless the per centum of taxes and the per centum of children be equal, and unless the per centum of both be equal in one denomination to what it is in another, there will be a violation of his "great principle." But he seems to forget that the *pro rata* principle makes even this argument which, at best, is only fit for a microscope, good for nothing. Besides, Mr. Ketchum seems to hold that the owner of property and not the occupant is the tax payer. I believe the doctrines laid down in standard works on Political Economy will support me in maintaining the contrary proposition. It is the *occupant*, the consumer, whether he be the *owner* in fee, or merely the tenant, who pays the taxes in reality, although in the forms and technicalities of law it

would seem to be the owner alone. In this case, also, his reasoning is deceptive and unfounded.

7. Mr. Ketchum reverses the circumstances of the case. He lays the scene of illustration in Ireland—he invests the Green Isle with all the attributes of freedom and equality which belong to this country; *this* is the land of oppression from which the Protestants fly away, to seek a refuge in the Irish Republic. There are schools established there in which the Catholic version of the Scripures is used—books containing passages against Luther, Calvin, Knox, etc., are in the hands of the children. These "Protestant strangers" remonstrate. They are told that the offensive passages will be stricken out; but as to the Catholic version of the Scriptures, they *must* submit to have it imposed on their children, otherwise they are told, with polite circumlocution, to go about their business. Mr. Ketchum *justifies* the supposed Catholic Republic of Ireland in holding this language to his Protestant countrymen. I do not. I would hold them to be cunning hypocritical tyrants over conscience, if they acted in the manner which Mr. Ketchum approves and justifies.

And why? First, Because they had boasted that the stranger had but to touch their soil, and that from that moment his conscience should be free, and when, trusting to this, he lands on their shore, they meet him with a cunningly devised system to entangle his conscience and violate their chartered pledge. Second, Because they tax those "Protestant strangers" for the support of a system, and give them *no return* for their money. Third, Because in doing all this they have the hypocrisy to pretend that they have the kindest feelings for those "Protestant strangers," and have no wish but to educate their children. Mr. Ketchum may justify them, but I should be ashamed of their hypocritical duplicity. They would bring a disgrace by it both on their religion and on their country.

But, after all, we do not admit that the Public School Society is yet possessed of national power such as Mr. Ketchum supposes in the Irish Republic. Neither do we admit that a decision of the Common Council in favor of that society is equal to an act of sovereign legislation, nor yet that Catholics are necessarily strangers, nor yet that this is a Protestant Republic. In all these points his reversion of circumstances fails; although if his reversed picture could have any value, it would be from these sly touches of false coloring, which being false, I beg leave most respectfully to rub out. That the great majority of the inhabitants of this country are *not* Catholic, I admit; but that it is a Protestant country, or a Catholic country, or a Jewish country, or a Christian country in a sense that would give any sect or combinaton of sects the right to oppress any other sect, I utterly deny. How then can Mr. Ketchum call it a Protestant country? England is a Protestant country, because it has a Protestant Church establishment. Does the gentleman mean to insinuate the same of this country? Again, in his picture, the Catholics are strangers and foreigners. Many of them are, but

there is no denomination, perhaps, which does not include foreigners, but let me tell Mr. Ketchum that the whole population of the United States is derived from foreign origin. The country, too, was discovered by Catholics; they have taken their places among its earliest settlements; they have borne their part in its history, contributed to its improvement, stood by its defence, fought and bled for its independence. With what propriety, therefore, can Mr. Ketchum assume that Catholics, as such, are strangers and foreigners, more than any other denomination? Among the neglected children whom he labors to deprive of education, except on terms such as it would become only the high Protestant tories of England, or Ireland rather, to urge—there are those, I have no doubt, who can trace as long a line of American ancestors as the gentleman himself. It is too much the habit of Mr. Ketchum, and of the school to which he belongs, to regard Catholics and foreigners as synonymous.

8. The next division of the Rejoinder is a labored effort to create a conclusion favorable to the Public School Society from a crowded and rather confused assemblage of facts, not real, but "substituted" according to a great "principle." From what he says it may be inferred, that if we were *merely* citizens, he would recognize our claim to justice. Men of ordinary vision would see merely "Petitioners" in those who sign or present or advocate a "Petition." But Mr. Ketchum can see a little farther into the mill-stone. His deeper penetration enables him to discover only "Roman Catholics," "Trustees," and "mitred gentlemen." These attributes or accidents would seem, in his estimation, to extinguish our rights as citizens. We deny his conclusion. If his appeal be to the law, we challenge him to show any act abridging us of our rights on such grounds. If his appeal be, as it is, not to the law of the land, but to sectarian Protestant prejudices, we thank him for so well showing forth the *spirit* of the Society which he represents, whilst we taunt him at the same time for such apostacy from the better spirit of the American Constitution. At all events, in this connection we find "Roman Catholics," "Church Schools," "Catholic Trustees," repeated in almost every line.

One word on what Mr. Ketchum calls "Church Schools." When our children were required to sacrifice their religious rights at the doors of the Public Schools, a condition *sine qua non* of their admission, we tried to provide education for them at home. Teachers were engaged, and they were instructed in the rudiments of education, either in a building erected for the purpose, or more generally in the basement stories of the churches. This was enough for Mr. Ketchum. He props up nearly a column of his Rejoinder with repetitions of the words "Church Schools." Indeed, this, with the other denominational epithets which he clusters and harps on, may be regarded as the single string of his eloquence. But Paganini himself could not extract a greater variety of sounds from it.

Now let us see the difference between the Public Schools and

ours on this ground. We have Mr. Ketchum's own authority for the fact that they do teach religion in the Public Schools, but in "the legal quantity," whilst in ours it was taught according to a constitutional measurement. Where is the difference? The only difference is, that *theirs* was taught at the expense of the public funds, to which we are contributors, whilst ours was taught at the expense of our private purse.

9. He begins his next paragraph in this wise. "Let us suppose that the Bishop receives the funds." . . He knows very well that the Bishop does not want to receive the funds. But in truth, "supposition" is the safest region for him to dwell in—for when he supposes, there is much less risk of his being refuted, than when he asserts. There he may give eight hundred or a thousand dollars a year to "priests," "brothers" and "sisters" of charity, just as his fancy directs. But even if such a thing were to happen, it would not be a greater violation of public right, than for the Public School Society to give a thousand dollars a year of public money, to tract distributors, for gathering children into their schools—which is not a "supposition," but a *fact.*

He tells us that "the policy of the law is, that as we have one Country and one CONSTITUTION, so we ought to be ONE PEOPLE. *Union*, and not SEPARATION, is the AMERICAN MOTTO." Granted. But is the policy of the Public School Society the platform on which all this is to be accomplished? Is it UNION consistent with freedom; or union that violates liberty, that the law has in view? Is it the policy of the law to deprive the citizen of his rights, if he cannot "unite" with that society in the semi-infidel, semi-protestant principles, by which their schools are governed? If this be the kind of UNION that is sought (and no other would be of any use for the object of the gentleman's argument) a more certain way of destroying UNION and producing SEPARATION could not well be devised.

10. Mr. Ketchum said before the Committee of the Senate, that one of the grounds of objection to the Public School Society, on our part, was "because they (the Public School Society) did not give religious instruction in *a definite form*, and of a DECIDED and DEFINITE *character*." This statement he made to Senators, and reasoned from, as if it were a fact. And yet, as I proved in my review, it was no fact at all, but a "substitution" of his own, instead of the fact. Men who allege that the various creeds, represented in their Board, "neutralize" each other, are about the last from whom we should expect, or whom we should permit to give, "religious instruction in a *definite form*, and of a *decided* and *definite* character." This was a legitimate subject for a "Rejoinder;" but the gentleman meets it so submissively that I forbear to press it. He says his statement was founded on a "distinction upon which candid men will set little value." Little or much, I give him the benefit of it, so long as he *falls back* from the statement which he advanced before the Committee of the Senate of Albany.

11. But I should have supposed that Mr. Ketchum would have been more cautious in his statements, from his having been mistaken in regard to the one just pointed out. His next position, however, is as follows. He says: "thus far, if I have been able to excuse my own intentions, it has been shown, in opposition to the arguments of Bishop Hughes, that Church Schools are not Common Schools; that money raised by taxes imposed on the people cannot be used to advance the doctrines of any religious denomination; and that religious societies, as such, cannot participate in the school fund." Now I assure the gentleman that if these were his intentions, he has not been able to execute them.

The three propositions which he has stated are *truisms* which I hold as well as he does—and in opposition to which I am not conscious of having ever framed an argument. We have ever declared against the misrepresentations which the gentleman and his colleagues multiplied around us, that "we would scorn to advance our religion at the expense of any money but our own." I never used any argument inconsistent with that declaration. We proposed to place our schools under the management of the Public School Society, and that the books to be used should contain nothing of our dogmas, nothing against the creed or character of other denominations. And as to participating in the school fund, it is *as citizens* we would be considered, if Mr. Ketchum would allow us. But the merit of his ingenuity consists in elevating, or depressing us, just as you may please to call it, into a religious society, and then battling us "as such," to use his own favorite phrase.

12. Mr. Ketchum next makes his comments on the Secretary's report, and passes on to an exhibition of the consequences that must follow, in the expulsion and expurgation of school books, if the recommendations of the Secretary or the claim of the petitioners be granted. He contends that the Bible and a great many English classical works must be banished from the schools, before the petitioners, "the Roman Catholics," will be satisfied. According to him, the district system will bring them no relief which they may not find in the public schools.

Then follows an episode on the mutilation of an eloquent burst of the Earl of Chatham, the hiatus being supplied by melancholy black lines. When I first saw these lines, knowing that in Germany music is a part of common school education, I thought Mr. Ketchum was about to introduce the system here, and that these lines exhibited the *stave* already prepared, on which it would be so easy to write the notes, and mark off the bars. But on closer inspection, I found it was only the mourning dress, for the absence of a passage from the noble Earl's speech, about the "tyranny of Rome," "Popish cruelties," and "inquisitorial practices." The editor of the *American*, too, in a special article, mourns with Mr. Ketchum over the grave of these eloquent phrases, of which the black lines may stand as the silent epitaph; and the good editor seems to say to his readers, "ye who have tears to weep, prepare to shed them now." This is all

fair. But when he arraigns us for the cruelty that has been exercised on these eloquent passages, we must be allowed the ordinary privilege of pleading, and we say "not guilty."

The learned gentleman himself, and his colleagues of the Public School Society, are our witnesses, that we never asked them to mutilate books on our account. This havoc in English literature is entirely the gratuitous work of the society itself; and when the *American* makes "Romish priests" the object of its courtly reprimand, for this cause, it reminds one strongly of the situation of Gil Blas, who was sure to get a flogging whenever his young master missed the lesson.

But when I found that Mr. Ketchum has exhibited these black lines, not for the purpose of having music set on them, but to show what luxuries of literature have been sacrificed to the conscientious scruples of his Roman Catholic fellow-citizens, as he sometimes calls us, I thought of the terrible retributions with which patient Truth often vindicates her own righteousness. Can this be the same Mr. Ketchum who, in the spring of 1840, averred before the Committee of the Board of Assistants, that there was nothing in the books of the Public School Society which reflected injuriously on the religion of Catholics? This averment could not but have its effect on their decision. That decision has been quoted, among others, before the Committee of the Senate, as evidence of what was always the judgment of the public authorities of New York. And now, in July, 1841, we have this same gentleman supplying the evidence in black and white, with his own pen, that the statement made by him and his colleagues in 1840 was not true, and therefore was calculated to mislead the honest judgment of the Committee and of the public, who naturally believed it. But so it is.

13. Mr. Ketchum next turns to the bill introduced in the Senate, and to his great amazement he discovers that it would remove the grievances of which the petitioners complained! Why, certainly. What would be the use of a bankrupt law, if it did not bring relief to the bankrupts? He finds that the present system ought to be preferred. And his reasoning on that point is curious. The rich as well as the poor, in the present system, can have their children educated at the public expense. But in the proposed system, if there should not be enough for both, the poor children who *cannot* pay, are to be educated without expense, and if any are to be required to pay, it will be those who have the means to do so. The education of the poor is one of the noblest works of philanthropy; one of the wisest measures of policy on the part especially of all free governments. To make war on that principle, as Mr. Ketchum does, is not in harmony with the spirit of the age—neither is it in harmony with the indignation which he manifests at the idea of having the "names of the children of poverty put on the public records." This phrase, with the help of capital letters, Mr. Ketchum may regard as a grand popular hit. But does he forget that, in the present system, according to himself, the Public School Society are

"ALMONERS?" and if so, he has already decided that both rich and poor, who receive education in their schools, are "paupers." He has placed all who receive the bounty of these "Almoners" on a level with the inmates of the Alms-house and Lunatic Asylum—from which comparisons he has remorselessly borrowed arguments for the guidance of honorable Senators. And this is the same gentleman who is, or affects to be, indignant at the idea of a prospect which secures the advantages of education to the poor man's children on his declaring (no disgrace, assuredly) that he is unable *to pay* for it. He asks whether the author of this project "can have an American heart!" If an American heart means a large, liberal, republican heart, that loves justice and equality, then his heart is evidently far more "American" than that of his assailant.

"But," says Mr. Ketchum, "will not the Roman Catholics greatly gain by this mode of distributing the funds?" No. The community will gain by it—the State will gain by it. The thousands and thousands of poor children, now outcasts from education, will be brought within her temple, and qualified to benefit their country in after life, instead of being left in ignorance, a prey to vice, and a scourge to society. Their being Catholics or Calvinists is a matter of chance or choice, with which a right-minded American Legislator can have nothing to do.

14. The third section of the Rejoinder, published in the *American* of 24th July, is so much weaker than even the weakest portions of his previous chapters, that it scarcely needs a reply. Indeed, if I had, at any time, thought that Mr. Ketchum had looked beyond the considerations which usually operate on the mind of an advocate *professionally* engaged — if I had thought that, at any time, he regarded this question on high public grounds, apart from very strong religious prejudices which manifestly operate on his feelings, I should have respected his opposition; and, considering the symptoms of misgiving exhibited in his last section of the Rejoinder, flattered myself with the hope that in the progress of the discussion, new views and better light were breaking on his mind. But the ground of that hope is destroyed by the course which he has pursued from the commencement. Does he argue the question on its *merits*, as a public man should? Does he appeal to truth and justice? or rather, does he not appeal to religious prejudice, and to what, under the clouded light of that prejudice, he considers "expediency?" Now I can tell him that this *mode* is not calculated to procure any advantage to the State, or the community, or his own reputation. States and communities, as well as individuals, should remember that "honesty is the best policy," and he who recommends any other policy will never be ranked among either the benefactors or ornaments of mankind.

15. Mr. Ketchum here introduces a retrospective synopsis of his labors, at the termination of which he closes the circle of his arguments for the last eighteen months, by telling us that "we are at the very point from which we started, and the question is now as it

was then: Shall the School Fund be applied to religious or sectarian purposes?" No, sir; not in the sense in which you unfairly employ these terms. You know that this is not the question. But the true question is: Shall the Legislature of the State abandon to ignorance the children of this metropolis, who cannot consent to be given over to the *irresponsible* training, sectarian or anti-sectarian, just as you may please to call it, of the Public School Society?

16. He next takes an extract from the *Catholic Expositor* to show "farther," that the object of the Roman Catholics is to "establish such schools for the advancement of their doctrines." The value of this argument depends on whether it is set forth in the extract, that public money is sought for that purpose. It is not so asserted, but Mr. Ketchum disingenuously conveys that idea to the mind of his reader; he says, "But not at the expense of the State, my friends." Who said it was to be at the expense of the State? No one. Yet the learned gentleman *suggests* and *insinuates* this. The insinuation, however, is utterly false. Again, he says the sentiments of the extract are "admirable when said to excite voluntary contributions—but quite the contrary when said to get hold of the School Fund." But it is not said. Mr. Ketchum insinuates it for effect. The observations were made to show the havoc which ignorance and vice had produced among Catholic children, under the present system. I think the gentleman does himself great injustice in continuing to advocate a cause which *requires* of him to have recourse to such expedients for its support. We want a system of education in which the managers shall not claim or exercise the dangerous power of perverting or destroying the religious sentiment which they do not happen to approve. You have no right to require that *Catholic* children shall learn your *Protestant* prayers, Protestant hymns, and Protestant Scriptures. Now Mr. Ketchum maintains all this, the Society practice all this; and yet he and they contend most absurdly that there is nothing sectarian in all this! If all were Protestants there would not be. But this is not the case. But how does Mr. Ketchum justify this? By the will of the "MAJORITY." The same argument by which "Church and State" establishments are defended all over the world! He says that the object of the Legislature in establishing Common Schools was to bring the children of the community together so as to blend and harmonize the advocates of different religions, and political opinions, into one great national family. He then refers to New England as a happy illustration. New England has indeed much to be proud of—but within her limits stands her monument of shame as well as glory. From the base of her proud pillar on Bunker Hill, can be seen the black ruins, the burned convent. This does not say much for the effect of her Common Schools. So far, at least, I think the gentleman will agree that New England is *not* a fit model for the imitation of New York.

17. He next introduces the discontent of a minority of the Legislature at a decision of the majority on the School Question, as a par-

allel to the case of the petitioners. He is at fault in the comparison. The reason is that a minority, according to his text, are actuated by a *caprice*. They say, "We do not approve of one or all these books." But let him suppose the majority were to say, "Be it enacted that the books of Common Schools shall contain lessons laudatory of Catholic ages of Christianity, laudatory of men and principles of that creed; and further, that the Catholic Scriptures shall be publicly read;" would, or could not, the minority have a right to say: "We disapprove of these books?" Yet, according to Mr. Ketchum, *they should have to submit.* I differ with him again—I tell him boldly—and he will not deny it to support his sophistry—that there are things which the majority have a *right* to decide, and to which the minority are *bound* to submit; but there are *other* things in which it would be tyrannical for any majority to decide, and this is one of them—the relation between a man's conscience and his God. Mr. Ketchum employs arguments which are better suited to the defence of Church establishments in Spain, Italy or England, than to the republican doctrines of this hemisphere. He gives another illustration, which is equally fallacious. The Society of Friends do not allow their poor to go to the Alms-house, and yet the majority has decided that this shall not exempt them from paying taxes to support that institution. The gentleman contends that they would have, on this account, the same right to claim back their portion of those taxes, for the support of their poor, that the petitioners have to claim their share of the School Fund. Now, if the same reasons existed, in the one case as in the other, they would. Suppose, for instance, that in the Alms-house the managers should require of all the inmates to conform to what they might call the "legal quantity" of religion; and on the refusal to do so, turned the recusant out to die in the streets—then the case would be parallel between them and the Public School Society, and the indignant community would soon hurl such managers into private life. But the Public School Society under its close-corporation privileges can play the part, in reference to the minds of the children, and yet bid defiance to the community whose money they expend as to them seemeth good.

18. Such are the foundations of Mr. Ketchum's arguments, and when building on these, he comes to speak of what "he has *shown conclusively*, he thinks." It is ludicrous. He next tells us there are hundreds of Catholic children attending these schools. I do not believe it—and Mr. Ketchum does not profess to speak from his own knowledge. But if there are, it is against their conscience. Do Protestants approve of this? I believe the better portion of them would blush to have it supposed that their religion would sanction such refined *coercion of conscience*, or required it.

He next adduces my testimony in favor of the *system* of Public Schools. This would have been to other minds an evidence of my candor and sincerity.

He then takes a passage of my speech out of its connection about examinations in the schools, with a view, I suppose, to show me as

inconsistent, and as finding fault with what I had first praised. I was reviewing that part of his speech in which he had taken it for granted, that, for giving a good education, there were no schools in the world to be compared, or at least to excel, those of this society. What was the proof? The examinations — visiting the schools. This was the panacea. Whenever there was a doubt, his remedy had always been to say to Aldermen and Senators, "Gentlemen, come and visit our schools." I did not deny the excellence of the schools, but I denied that this proof (and he never gave any other) was sufficient evidence. Why? Because "pet classes," "pet pupils," a "little training," a "judicious wink of the teachers," etc., can prepare enough for a satisfactory examination, even in an indifferent school. Now it happens that this was a true picture to a greater extent than I had supposed. The helpless dependency of the teachers on the will of the trustees, without power of redress, or any right of appeal, qualifies them for the fullest subserviency to the wishes of their *absolute* employers. Their *bread* depends perhaps on their ability to get up a good examination (*i. e.* an exhibition of acquirements) whenever an important occasion makes it necessary. This is no reproach, it is human nature. But just admire the ingenuity of Mr. Ketchum! He extracts from this charge as if I accuse the "trustees" of being the authors, instigators, or accomplices in this proceeding, and calls it "slander." It is his own invention; he may call it what he pleases. Again, I said the "external management of the schools was excellent." Mr. Ketchum represents me as saying in effect the "management *outside* of the school house!" No, no! By "external," as opposed to "internal," I meant what relates to the body as distinguished from what relates to the mind: hours of attendance, decorum of behavior, respect to the teachers, puntuality, order and discipline of the schools, etc. All this was external management which I thought excellent. Internal management in education would relate to the character of the ideas to be fixed in the young minds of the pupils.

For instance, we have seen, among other things, the public money employed to teach the children "that the Catholics are deceitful." This I could not call excellent—it was abominable; but it was something internal, *i. e.* impressing itself upon the minds of the children. I trust that this explanation will show Mr. Ketchum that when education is divided into internal and external the latter does not mean "outside of the schools," but simply outside of mind and heart of the pupil.

19. He says, "The Bishop knows how to describe the process of blinding the eyes of the visitors very well." I thank him for the compliment. But I have been reviewing for some time his speeches *on the School Question*, and they are such admirable specimens of the "blinding process," that I have but little merit in being able to describe it now. Religious prejudices, unfair and unfounded statements, false reasoning, sophistry and special pleading have all been put in requisition to make up a false issue, and this for no higher

end than to secure one or other of two results, viz.: to wound the consciences of Catholic children by making them attend public schools constructed entirely on Protestant principles, or else consign those children to ignorance by denying all other means of education.

How much more worthy of Mr. Ketchum's professional rank, if he were found pleading for those he opposes, if he were found shedding the light of a superior mind, and the glow of a warmer and larger heart into the dark and chill region of anti-Catholic bigotry and prejudices, instead of ministering new elements to increase their density and murkiness. Why does he not leave the propagation of religious hatred to the pulpit, if they *must* be perpetuated, and preserve at least the legal profession untainted by their foul, contaminating breath? Why does he not forewarn the community that they must expect less virtue hereafter from the children whom he now labors to cut off from the hope of education, than from their equals in age, who may look forward to a more fortunate and partial future? Why does he not tell the Legislature and the Judge that the punishment of crime should be according to a mitigated standard for those against whom he shuts the door of knowledge unless they sacrifice *that* for which great men in all ages sacrificed everything besides—conscience? *They*, surely, are not to be judged by laws made for an *educated* community.

I have now replied to Mr. Ketchum's rejoinder so far as published; neither have I any idea that in what is yet to come he can produce other or better arguments than those he has already given.

Meeting in Washington Hall, February 11th, 1841.

The largest meeting which has ever been convened in this city on the subject of the Public School System of Education was held at Washington Hall, on Thursday evening, February 11, pursuant to requisition. The spacious Hall—the largest in the city—was filled to overflowing. The greatest enthusiasm prevailed, several interesting and eloquent speeches were delivered, and measures were adopted for bringing the question immediately before the Legislature. A central executive committee was appointed to prepare a memorial to be presented to that body; and meetings in the several wards and the appointment of a committee in each one were recommended. This meeting was called in consequence of the Board of Aldermen having reported adversely to the Petition of the Catholics for a portion of the School Fund. The meeting was organized by appointing Thomas O'Connor, president; Francis Cooper and Gregory Dillon, vice-presidents; and B. O'Connor and Edward Shortill, secretaries. Thomas O'Connor, Esq., on taking the chair, remarked, that it was not for the promotion of party or sectarian views that they were assembled, but simply to express their determination to persevere in maintaining their just rights. The Catholics of New York had been unjustly attacked, and they merely claimed the exercise of the right to defend themselves. The Very Rev. Dr. Power then rose and said that in the absence of Bishop Hughes, whose presence was momentarily expected, he would briefly address the meeting. When he had concluded, Bishop Hughes rose, and was received with loud cheering, on the subsidence of which he spoke as follows: My friends, take care of your cheering, for if the advocate of the school society be passing by, he will say this is a meeting of Whigs or Democrats. He, you know, is not obliged to reason like other men, and if he should pass by and reason so, the fault will be yours for cheering, and not his for foolish reasoning. [Laughter and cheers.]

My friends, it is not necessary to go over the ground with which you all are familiar, and I will not, therefore, enter into the detail of our past proceedings in this matter. We come here denied of our rights, but not conquered; and we tell these honorable gentlemen of the public council that we asked of them only our rights. We presented a case that required the attention of the body to whom are entrusted the rights of the citizens of this great city. We said, here are our grievances—here are our complaints—if we are right, redress our grievances; if we are wrong, point out our error. They did not point out the error, because they could not find one; and they did not redress the grievances, although it was in their power. [Cheers.] They certainly received us with great politeness; and for myself, I must say, that I am indebted to them for their personal courtesy. Nevertheless, I was not so dark-sighted as not to perceive from the very beginning that the end was a foregone one; because they called up all the spirits of the "vasty

deep"—the "black, blue and the grey"—to oppose us. "If any one has anything to say against these men, let them speak!" was their invitation, and they were not disappointed. We stated, in the most respectful language, our claims to their interference; we stated propositions which we were prepared to prove, and we can say, now that it is all over, neither the honorable the Common Council, nor the advocates of the School Society, nor the reverend advocates of the bigotry of one sect, and the ignorance of another, dared to call in question the truth of a single proposition of ours. [Loud cheers.] It is true that the aldermen of this city have, in the exercise of the power vested in them, denied us our rights, but we are triumphant over them, for logic and truth are with us. [Cheers.] Was there a single inquiry respecting the truth of our alleged grievances, or any attempt to redress them? But the Rev. Dr. Spring, and the Rev. Dr. Bond, and the Rev. Dr. Bangs and company [great laughter], came with an old volume of antiquated theology, and exclaimed, "What monstrous people these Papists are!" The Common Council heard them; and instead of examining the facts in which the rights of their constituents are involved, entered on the consideration of abstract theological reasoning. We were required to answer Dr. Spring; but no, a reply was not called for in that case, for when a minister gives utterance to a dark-souled sentiment, unworthy of a Christian, then he deserves no answer. [Cheers.] Eight or nine hours were wasted in the discussion of a theological tenet, but not one half hour was given to the only question which the Common Council should have permitted to come before them—namely, are the rights of this portion of the citizens violated or not? If so, are there in our hands, as the public guardians of liberty, the means to apply a remedy? Just and impartial judges would so have stated the question, and have discarded all theological discussions. [Cheers.]

But the discussion could not last always; and when the stock of bigotry was exhausted, we were permitted to retire, and a committee of three were appointed—for what purpose? To inquire whether the facts of our documents were true? No. In reality, from the wording of the resolution appointing the committee, it seemed as if its members had been appointed to find out all they could in favor of the Public School Society; and, accordingly, they do make an appeal—but what I must call a most weak and pitiful appeal in favor of that Society, but not one word of reference to the facts that we had submitted, or the grievances of which we had complained. [Cheers.] The ultimate decision of that Board reminded me of a story I once heard of the times when, in Ireland, law and justice were set at open defiance, and every petty tyrant had the right to trample on his neighbor, provided he himself were the minion of the government. A poor man was taken up by one of these petty despots, and cast into prison, where he remained for a considerable time, ignorant of his crime and his destiny, not knowing whether he was to be sent to the gallows or the convict-

ship. But after a month or so of suspense, the little tyrant came, and marching his prisoner to the door, gave him a push and kicked him out, when the poor man, finding himself abroad and at liberty once more, turned round and very emphatically said, "Thank your honor!" [Laughter.] The aldermen have treated you somewhat similarly, and I hope you will all say with becoming gratitude, now that you are out of their hands, "Thank your honors!" [Loud laughter and cheers.]

My friends, fortunately all our Methodistical friends are not like Dr. Bond, and all the Presbyterians are not like Dr. Spring. [Cheers.] There is a general sentiment of natural rectitude and justice, by which a man is led to "do to his neighbor as he wishes his neighbor to do unto him," and that sentiment is gaining ground, and by it we are gaining friends. [Cheers.] And we have an appeal to a higher power than the Common Council—to the Legislature of the State. [Cheers.] And I trust it will be found that the petty array of bigotry, which influenced the Common Council, cannot overawe the Legislature. [Loud cheers.] It should be borne in mind that the aldermen are not competent judges in this matter, inasmuch as they are *ex-officio* trustees or members of the Public School Society. They are like the Siamese twins, united together [laughter], and jointly they form a monopoly which threatens to mould and subjugate the minds of our children to their peculiar notions. And the grievances of this case do nor afflict us alone—they fall equally upon other religious denominations—and while it is the Catholics to-day, it may be Universalists, or the Jews, or the Baptists, or the Unitarians, to-morrow, who may suffer. Nay, indeed, they already suffer. The translation of the Bible authorized by King James I. of England, and used in the public schools, is not approved of by the Baptists, or at least a portion of them, neither is it by the Unitarians; and as for us, we have an old translation made long before King James was heard of. [Cheers.] Yet our opponents insist that their favorite version alone shall be used. Our children, too, are taught the prayers of the Protestant Church, and we have heard of the children of these schools singing Protestant hymns most piously, although the Committee of the Board of Aldermen say nothing of it in their Report, as they should have done. Do they then suppose that we will. without a murmur, contribute to the support of such a system? [Cheers.] No. If we wrong them, let them publish their confession of faith—let them tell us the exact measure of the Public School religion of the State of New York, and we may tell them how far we can conform to it. Our opponents profess to be the friends of general tolerance and general good will; yet they foment and engender an active intolerance that scarcely finds a parallel in the unjust government of countries notorious for acts of intolerance. [Cheers.]

What, then, remains for us to do? We must not fold our arms and rest. We must take measures; and for myself my part is nearly

accomplished, inasmuch as my great object was to rouse attention to this subject amongst the people for whose religion I am to a certain extent responsible, that no admixture of error shall be introduced into it with my consent and approbation. [Loud cheers.] I have therefore pointed out the character of these public schools, and showed that Catholics could not support them without violating their consciences. And so far I have done my duty. As to the civil means in your power to obtain redress, it is not exactly my place to point them out. Thank God, we live in a country the constitution of whose government provides for the enjoyment of equal rights by all ranks and denominations of citizens. [Loud cheers.] There is one thing with which our opponents cannot charge us—that is, political feeling in this matter; and I can defy Mr. Ketchum, with all his acuteness, to point to a single act of ours that had connection with party politics. [Cheers.]

Ours is a case of a deeper and more important character than any connected with transient party politics. And I trust that no such defeat as we have experienced—the defeat of justice by authority—shall make you give up your principles. Spread it abroad that you ask no favor—no pre-eminence—no boon from their honors of the Common Council, but that you have rights and these rights you claim. Let them reserve their favors for those who want them. [Loud cheers.] This is the ground on which the question will meet with respect, both from your brethren in faith, and your fellow-citizens at large. This is a question of right; and though a whole Board should be found to bend the knee to the Baal of bigotry, men will be found who can stand unawed in its presence, and do right. [Loud cheers.]

Bishop H. here entered into some details respecting the future plan of procedure which the meeting should adopt, and suggested the appointment of committees, as was afterwards carried into effect. He then concluded: I have said all that is important for me to state, and I have no disposition to review the ground over which we have travelled. I may, however, congratulate you on something gained. The false ground was assumed by every one of our opponents before the Common Council, that we wanted a portion of the public funds for the purpose of promoting the Catholic faith. We have said repeatedly and explicitly that we had no such aim—that our schools would be sacred to secular education. But notwithstanding our solemn assertions to the contrary, their Reverences took it into their heads that such were our objects, and on that false position they argued, and on that alone. The gentlemen, too, on the opposite side, asserted that their books were free from sectarianism: this assertion was incorporated in the proceedings and the report of the Board of Assistant Aldermen on this subject last spring, but they are now found drawing black lines over their books. [Laughter and cheers.] That is something. That is a great deal. That is a great move. [Cheers.] Because, should they relieve the minds of Protestant youth from the influence of the bigotry their books had

previously disseminated, that is a great deal. They have also promised to purify their libraries; that is something more. And though they argue on the false ground that we are influenced by sectarian motives, yet the honorable men of the city who are not blinded by the narrow and bigoted views which appear to predominate in the Common Council see that we only want a *bona fide* education for our children; that when we call for bread, we do not want to have a stone or a serpent given us in its place. [Cheers.] In conclusion I will remark, that, although the *fiat* of the Board, with one honorable exception [cheers], has gone against us, yet they have not made a single proposition false that was true, nor a single proposition true that was false—justice and right are still ours! [Continued cheering.]

Meeting in "Carroll Hall," March 30th, 1841.

On Tuesday evening, March 30th, a meeting of the Catholics of this city was held in the large building corner of Duane street and City Hall Place, for the purpose of receiving the report of the committee appointed to convey the petition of the Catholics of New York, on the subject of the Common School Fund, to the Legislature of the State. Thomas O'Connor, Esq., was unanimously called to the chair. The chairman then informed the meeting that the petition had been presented to the Legislature, after having received seven thousand signatures, several of which were those of liberal Protestant gentlemen. Their friend, Mr. Joseph O'Connor, who had carried the petition to Albany, was exceedingly well received there by members of both houses of the Legislature. The principle of placing the Common School Fund under the control of any one corporate body had been strongly disapproved. That they had gained much in public opinion, he (the Chairman) had no doubt, whether they would gain all he did not know, but he knew the Catholics had done something towards the attainment of their object, and he fervently trusted that they would ultimately succeed. [Cheers.]

The Right Rev. Bishop Hughes then rose, and was received with enthusiastic applause. On its subsidence, he spoke as follows: The difficulty, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, of seeing at the same time, the different members of the committee appointed to carry the resolutions of the last meeting into effect, prompted me without any other authority to direct the call for this public meeting. I had no special object in view, at least no prospective one. But at the same I did not wish that an object of so much importance should, for any great length of time, lie buried from the view and the attention of those who are so deeply interested in it. [Cheers.] I say had no prospective object, for I do not see that there is anything specific to be proposed in relation to it to-night. We have got into that position in which we must wait. Our bark, after having been a little buffetted by the storm, some of its sail tattered, but all the rigging

sound, is now resting in calm water, and if this meeting had any object, it was simply to refit, and to watch the signs of the weather. [Loud cheers.]

The gentlemen who had been charged with preparing the petition, have reported briefly the action which has been had upon it. I believe that if there had been any means proposed to extend the petition more widely for signatures, instead of seven there would have been seven and twenty thousand names appended to it. But it happens unfortunately for us that there are amongst us very few who have at the same time leisure to dispose of, and the disposition to consecrate it to that purpose. Consequently, the Committee were obliged, by exertions on their own part, to circulate that petition in the best manner they could. It was to me matter of regret, that the petition had not been presented long before, but, certainly, the Committee did all that depended on them to do to have it early presented, and having done so, I am glad and happy to hear, that it has been well received, and received precisely in the manner which we should have reason to anticipate from that body delegated by the people of the State of New York to be the guardians and protectors by law, of the common rights of all. [Cheers.] It will indeed be consoling to us—it will be an assurance against future contingencies —it will inspire confidence, if it be found, as we trust it will, that in that body, those considerations which happily belong not to any secular tribunal in this country, those considerations of creeds, of which such a dastardly use was made before the Common Council, will have no weight. These are the men who understand the constitution of the country, who frame laws according to the principles of that constitution—men who when they see by any change, or by any combination of circumstances that the spirit of that constitution is violated, are appointed *ex-officio* to stand forth as the guardians of the great principles of the charter of American liberty. [Loud cheers.] I trust that public virtue is not so much on the wane, that men filling the high and honorable place which they do, will deem it expedient to lean to the side of wrong, when they know what is right. And it is from these considerations that a meeting of this kind brings rather pleasing reflections. But supposing the case were not so encouraging, and let me caution you not to be too sanguine, for if the serpent found his way into the bowers of Eden, who shall say that he shall not find his way into the halls of legislation? true, we have no such fear, but still let me say that in the end we ourselves must stand by our own rights, if we expect that others will aid us in preserving and maintaining them. [Cheers.]

Our question was a very plain and simple one originally, and all the sophistry, and all the bigotry, and all the quotations from antiquated works of theology, did not change its aspect. We are all members of the great family of this community, and have the same right to follow the dictates of our conscience as we grant to our neighbors, and which they should grant to us. A community of

feeling is created by the common wants of all, but our opponents, instead of a benefit, would turn this into an injury. They claim the exclusive right of appropriating as they please, that which results from the contributions of every man—Catholic, Methodist, Protestant, Presbyterian, and all. That when it is amassed, it shall be dealt out in mental nutriment, just such as they prescribe, whether palatable to us or not. We tell them of the injustice of this—that the education which might be proper and perfectly lawful for Protestant children, might be very injurious for Catholic children—that if they are pleased with the system to keep it, and that then, in the exercise of an authority vested in the corporation of this city, schools complying with the requirements of the law, doing those things for which this money was contributed, but freed from these noxious principles, shall be designated, and that a portion not of their money, but the portion that may justly be supposed to belong to us, shall be set apart for the support of these schools. We make no claim but such as any other denomination might with equal justice and propriety prefer. We want our children, whilst receiving the elements of education in the schools, to be freed from the poisonous influence of sectarianism. [Cheers.]

What I said before, I repeat now, that we advanced not a single proposition, of which we did not lay the proofs before their Honors; and that in the whole course of the discussion, not a single solitary proposition of ours was disproved by the men who arrayed themselves in opposition to our claims. [Loud cheers.] The fact is they did not pretend to disprove them—they did not think it worth their while—they said, "You believe in the Council of Trent"—but did that overturn our arguments? Not one solitary statement of ours was disturbed. So far from that, the committee did not bring forward anything that was not well known before. They reported that the school houses were all nearly of the same size, and built alike [laughter], and that they found good order there. But there were other things of which they said nothing—they did not report that they found the children all singing hymns that certainly had not the approbation of the Council of Trent [laughter], and repeating the Lord's Prayer, with those additions which Protestants make, but we do not. They said these were very beautiful things, and could do no harm. But then when the Catholic mother teaches her child the Lord's Prayer, and the child finds another form at school, and comes home and asks its mother how all that happens—of that we complain. We hold that such meddling is improper, and we only demand what is reasonable and just, and we challenged them to point to anything unreasonable in our demands, promising that we would correct it, and decline entirely pressing any such claim. But there was nothing of the kind—our statements were not denied. No man presumed to say that our claims were unjust, and yet you know their decision. That decision has thrown us on a course which we trust will lead to an improvement of the system. It was a formula prescribed by the Common Council, and it was right that to them

we should make our first appeal. But they have transferred from themselves to a higher tribunal, the responsibility of doing us justice, and we have applied to that tribunal with brighter hopes and more unclouded prospects. [Cheers.] If we do not succeed next session, then we must keep our minds directed to the next session, and if not successful, then to the next again. [Laughter and cheers.] If you were to fall back like the sluggard on his pillow, because at first a little difficulty occurs, in every future attempt you would be alike unsuccessful. It would be said that you wanted spirit—that you made a great noise for a little, and then all was over. No! Understanding the question—its bearings on your rights as citizens—as men having consciences that are inviolable—with a proper understanding of these things, you must persevere. Stand by justice. Prefer your claims, and sooner or later you will gain the ears and good will of those who have the power and the ability to redress your grievances. [Cheers.]

But there is another view of the subject, or rather a view resulting from the state of things, which it is certainly my disposition to press much on your attention, that is, that having found that the schools provided at the public expense are not a source of benefit to you and your children, that you take care that your children shall not be left to ignorance—on the contrary, every parent will exert himself so that your poor children shall not lose their time—that they shall be adding in the best possible way to that knowledge that is to be useful to them in after life. We must then look forward to the organization of schools, and what is more, if they force it upon us, we must look forward to the expurgation of books. So that if we are ultimately obliged to educate Catholic children at the expense of second taxation—that is, when they first take our taxes and transfer them to an irresponsible corporation that uses them not for our benefit, and only return them in the way that injures us, we must have a second recourse to our purses—then, indeed, we shall study that ours will be a thorough education, and a thorough Catholic education. [Cheers.]

In point of value the whole amount of this taxation is exceedingly insignificant, only at the rate of one-eightieth of one per cent, so that an individual rated at $10,000, pays to this fund only about fifty cents. Now we know a great many men among the Catholics that could rate at $10,000. In that way, a man owning property to that amount, has to pay only fifty cents; yet from these small sums a very considerable amount is raised. Thus, in point of fact, it is not the amount of money with which we have to do; but it is with the tampering with a principle against which every honest man of every creed should raise his indignant voice. [Cheers.] If I see, in this country, a Jew oppressed because he is a Jew, though I have no sympathy with his religion, I feel sympathy with his rights, for there there is a principle involved which closely concerns myself. And if the citizens permit the Jew to be trampled on to-day, the next weak denomination may fall a victim to-morrow, and so on, till there

be only one dominant denomination, ruling over, and trafficking in the rights of all other denominations. [Cheers.] On these grounds is this question important, as well as because it is an imperative duty, incumbent upon you and me, to see that no principle of religion of which we do not approve shall be fixed in the minds of our children. The account of this is not of this world, and under the sense of this solemn duty, I felt called on to mingle with you in the agitation of this question, and direct your attention to it till you should understand it, and be prepared to act on it, in conjunction with that duty which you and I are alike bound to discharge. [Cheers.]

I do not know that I have anything more of interest or worthy your attention to present on the subject. It has often been discussed, and I presume is now perfectly understood. But this one thing I would impress upon you, that wherever religion is concerned, it comes before all other concerns—that is to say, the duty that a man owes to his conscience and his God; and the order of obligation is first to God, and then to our conscience—after God to our conscience, before our parents or families, that is the order; and therefore I should think it a perversion of that order, if any man, for sake of that expediency on which we look with such contempt as ruling in a hall not far distant [laughter], should sacrifice his duty to his God, for sake of what he regards as a little advantage on his side.

If, after all, my friends, the question be overruled and no remedy left us, then submission will be our duty—but it will be a glorious submission. [Cheers.] Every just—every honorable—every fair means should be adopted and persevered in steadily, and firmly, until your rights be recognized and secured if it be possible. [Loud cheers.] Perhaps there are other gentlemen present, particularly the Chairman of the Committee, who was not present some time ago, who could interest you more especially in regard to recent occurrences. I have every reason to believe that everywhere there is the same unanimity of feeling that our grievances should be removed, and what is more, that each one so expressing himself was ready to aid us in obtaining redress. That is consoling, for that shows a very different state of things to that which presented itself to me when I first returned from Europe. Then, those who understood the subject were few. Nothing but a proper understanding of the subject was wanting; but by discussion, and meetings, and so forth, that knowledge has spread from the centre to the circumference of our people. Our people now begin to understand that insidiously, and, as it were, drop by drop, this system was going on, tending to wean the affections of their children from that religion for which their parents had suffered so much. [Cheers.] They understand this, and therefore I cannot but congratulate you on the improved condition of public feeling in relation to this matter. Elsewhere we have made many friends—and let me tell you, by way of a secret, that some who once opposed us have acknowledged that we are right. [Loud cheers.]

We have to wait then till we know the issue of our respectful petition to the Legislature at Albany. I have every reason to believe that it will be attended to. There is nothing in that petition which can shock the prejudices of any man or class of men. There is the statement of a grievance, and in all civilized countries wherever there is a grievance that can be corrected without entailing a greater grievance, a remedy will be applied. In such a state of confidence then let us wait patiently. Nevertheless the principle involved in the case must be kept present in every man's mind—must be the guide and rule of his action and expression of his opinion in reference to this matter. Otherwise you may be assured that the great influence of the Public School Society, and a very great influence it is, extending its fibres like those of the ivy around the oak of authority amongst you, will prevail against you. But persevering in your efforts with the same firmness, and calmness, and determination which has hitherto marked our struggle, my word for it, you must succeed! [Loud cheers.]

The meeting was then addressed by other speakers, who having referred to political affairs the Right Reverend Bishop HUGHES arose and said:—When I returned from Europe, the very first thing I did when attending a meeting for the purpose of directing attention to this question, was to take measures that all politics should be excluded; and in the prosecution of the question up till this time, I have the pleasure and the pride to say that no politics have been introduced. We have attended meetings under St. James's Church and elsewhere, and have not heard a syllable that I did conceive to be political in the remotest degree. And the moment politics are introduced, that moment I disappear from this meeting. I knew, indeed, that that had been the firebrand cast amongst those who first met for the purpose of prosecuting these claims, and therefore knowing it to be a firebrand, I felt it to be my first duty to extinguish it; and it was extinguished. Now the question has been agitated to-night, and certainly, though for myself I did not hear with pleasure one observation of the learned doctor, yet I did not at all understand him as introducing politics. I may not understand the hidden meanings of words, and not being familiar with the subject may have a mistaken impression; but I understood the Doctor to have expressed what I believe to be a self-evident proposition, that if I appoint a man to provide for the public table, and he sets on it what I cannot eat, that then my duty is to withhold from him my future support. Now I agree most decidedly in saying that politics must not be introduced, first, for the perhaps insignificant reason that if they be introduced I disappear from amongst you, and secondly for the very important one, that your prospects would thereby be defeated.

Nevertheless, without being at all connected with politics, yet if a man appointed to supply the public table with food does not do so, I feel it to be my duty to displace him, simply because he does not do me justice. That I do not call politics. But I conceive that any

man who will conspire with the man who deprives him of his rights, deserves to be so deprived of them. If you have any regard, then, for my feelings or your own interests, do not introduce politics. We do not meet for political purposes. I defy our enemies or our friends to shew that one word of politics was ever tolerated in our meetings. Occasionally an unguarded expression might escape, but I never could nor did attach any importance to it. So whilst I feel on the one side that the Doctor has not introduced politics, I argue most decidedly in the propriety of the remarks made by the last speaker, so far as they went, to exclude politics. I trust, therefore, that it will be after I have received notice to retire, that politics will be introduced.

I have been accused of politics. But my politics are to do my duty, imperfectly, I know, but in the hope that by doing it I may have some claim to the mercy of my God in another life. Part of my duty, I felt under that sense of obligation, was to protect from contamination the minds of the children of the people committed to my care—to guard their faith with the guardianship devolved upon me by the Catholic Church, and in furtherance of that object, I attend this meeting.

I believe that amongst both political parties, there are good and very bad men, and I look upon both from the neutral ground. With you it is different, and whilst it is your privilege to have your political feelings, and to exercise your political rights with modesty and discretion, and mindful of the estimation in which you would be held by your fellow-citizen, here at least there must be no introduction of the subject. Hoping that my remarks will be received with kindness, and prevent any reference to these topics in future, I sit down. [The Right Reverend gentleman resumed his seat amid loud and continued applause.]

The Chairman then remarked, that although he was precluded from engaging in the discussion of the subject before the meeting, yet he would say a few words in reference to the matter which had just been incidentally introduced. He felt that all agreed in the wisdom of the remarks made by the Right Reverend speaker, who last addressed the meeting; and indeed there was an absolute impossibility that politics could mingle this question. Why? Because when a Catholic goes to the poll, and finds two candidates, one calling himself a Locofoco and the other calling himself a Whig, and he inquires which party voted against the Catholic claims, the answer will be—both parties voted against you. How, then, in the name of common sense, could politics be introduced? [Loud cheers.] He was glad that the Catholic claim had been transferred from those in immediate contact with the Public School Society to those who were further removed, and therefore the more likely to do justice. From the Legislature, justice might be got; but from their enemies at home, whether Whig or Locofoco, none was to be expected. [Cheers.]

The Right Reverend Bishop Hughes again rose and said—A motion

for the adjournment of the meeting is in preparation, but I had intended to have introdnced to your notice some other matter not connected with the question immediately before you, but very closely connected with the interests of the Catholic religion in this city. However, I shall postpone it till some other opportunity, and probably it will be better to call a meeting for that specific purpose. Time, at present, will not permit me to develop at any length the state of some matters connected with the Catholic churches of this city. Many of them are in a very embarrassed condition, and since I have been absent, a thing perhaps unprecedented in this Diocese has occurred, two of our churches have been entered by the sheriff, and sold for small sums, but of course with the prospect of being regained. But this should operate as a warning in reference to the churches we have been in the habit of frequenting. My purpose, which I shall explain at another time, will be to unite the Catholics of this city, under some organization in a peculiar manner, for the purpose of raising means by a general contribution to diminish the capital of the debt on the churches. And when I speak of this, it is to be observed, at the same time, that in doing this the Catholics will be only doing in another form what they will be obliged to do if they leave this undone. As it is, we are paying an enormous sum for interest. Now, the support of the churches and the payment of this interest, devolve principally upon a certain number of Catholics who are more prominent and better known. Sometimes it reaches somewhat into the people at large, but generally the burden falls on a particular class. And there is recourse to fairs and concerts, and different things of which I would not approve, nor tolerate were it not for the necessity of the case. But every expedient is employed to put off and beat off the last hour which must come upon churches as well as on every thing else that is hypothecated—mortgaged. All this must be calculated rather to depress than inspire with hope. Nevertheless, in a little time, it could be shown that great as is the responsibility of the churches, if only fortunate enough to combine into one the energies of our clergy and the people themselves, it would be the easiest thing in the course of three, or at most four years, to extinguish the debt, or so diminish it as not to be felt. In so doing you would at once secure your churches in the service of the God to whom they have been consecrated, and remove the debt which operates as an incubus on the further development of our church in this community. The exertions that are necessary to provide for the everlasting drain for interest, etc., should bring the matter home to the means and zeal of every man and woman who have zeal for their religion. All should unite in the establishment of a fund, to be at stated periods, and under proper management, distributed to the churches, on conditions that will make it effectual in attaining our object. In the meantime, I shall endeavor to mature a plan to effect this, and present it to you on a future occasion. [Loud cheers.]

Meeting in "Carroll Hall," April 20, 1841.

On Tuesday evening April 20, a numerous and respectable meeting of the Catholics of this city was held in the large building corner of Duane street and City Hall Place. On motion of Mr. Mullen, Thos. O'Connor, Esq.,was unanimously called to the chair. Messrs. B. O'Connor and John Quinn were appointed secretaries of the meeting.

The Right Rev. Bishop Hughes then arose and was received with loud and continued applause. He spoke as follows;—Gentlemen, it has no doubt been anticipated that you should receive some news respecting the progress of the question in which we are all so much interested. Circumstances, however, have rendered the result different from what might have been anticipated, and as yet it appears that there is nothing to be reported on the subject. However, it is still of the greatest importance that we should keep sight of that question—that we should have it present to our minds, for the more it is reflected upon, the more any sensible man will be convinced that if we believe in the truth of our religion—and I trust we would not profess it if we did not believe it—that it is one of the most vitally important questions that can possible engage our attention. The importance of that question has been frequently discussed, and it is one which has been viewed not by us alone, for there is a zeal which goes directly counter to ours. We are zealous to preserve our children in that religion which we believe to be true, and in which we ourselves hope for salvation; and others are exceedingly zealous that, for their good no doubt, our children should be seduced, under the plea of education, from adherence to that religion. And thus the question stands. The whole pretence on the part of the opposition was pretence of friendship for education—a zeal that all might be educated on that broad and liberal system which wishes to have religion without any articles of faith. Nevertheless, from time to time the true views which actuated those who are most zealous in opposing our claims became manifest; and but yesterday my attention was called to an article in a sectarian paper bearing on the subject and going to show to its very large catalogue of subscribers that we are the enemies of education, that we love darkness and dread light, and that therefore we are exceedingly solicitous lest the Catholic children basking in the light which the Common Schools furnish should see the error of the ways of their fathers, and therefore abandon them!—And they go on to say that it is impossible for the Catholic children of Catholic parents, born in this country, to profess the religion of their parents if they are allowed those advantages, and that it is on that account that we are so solicitous to withdraw them from the Public Schools. But they go still farther, and make a very nice calculation respecting the children, the result of which is, that by the working of this system during the past, and, not including the results to be anticipated from

the future, out of every twenty children, fifteen will become Protestants; or, what is nearly as good, will cease to be Catholic! When that is the view which they take of it, and when we know the working of the system, then is the importance of the subject increased, and whatever may be the result of our application for our portion of that money which we contribute for the benefit of education without these enroachment on religions freedom—whatever may be the result of that—one great advantage has been gained, that the attention of parents has been called emphatically to the subject. Now we do not enter into the question, what is the amount of their education, but the matter is an exceedingly simple one, and it is good for us, and for the benefit of those who may be disposed to report fairly what they hear, to commence by stating the question. The question between us and our fellow-citizens, is as one between two, or, if you please, three individuals. Two agreeing in religious sentiments, and the third disagreeing, and the two come to the third and say, "You must pay a portion of money for the education of the children of the three of us, and we will shape the education to suit the views which we entertain, and you must submit." The third says, "No! I would prefer to keep my own portion and superintend the education of my own children; because in this country religious rights are secured, and when you frame a system for your children and compel me to support it, although I disagree with you in religious principles, you do me injustice; you are to be sure two against one, and you may decide against me by your majority, but nevertheless you violate justice." And what is said of the Catholic applies with equal force and justice to any other religion. Because every man has granted unto him by the laws—the happy laws of this country—the right of worshipping God according to the dictates of his conscience. This is the true statement of the question—for, argue it, mystify it as you please, it comes down to this simple matter-of-fact illustration. We never wanted their money, and even if we wanted our own, it was not for the purpose of teaching religion, but for the purpose of conveying education without anti-Catholicity. And they contend, manfully contend, that education such as they prescribe shall be given, and impregnated with that leaven, simple as it may be, but yet enough to corrupt the whole mass. (Loud cheers.) This experiment of the past, gentlemen, I should think quite sufficient to admonish the Catholic body of New York to take measures for the future. And whether the State allows our claim or not, we should remember that we are able and bound to provide for the education of our children. This is but what we have been doing for years. We have voluntarily undergone that expense—but it has been done by isolated efforts, sometimes not very successful, and not most advantageous for the children.

All that we want now is, that the Catholic parents should understand this question. We have another deficiency which will, I trust, soon be supplied—that is, want of teachers. For though we have in

many cases excellent teachers, yet often we are obliged to take them as they offer, and sometimes though not altogether competent, on account of our want of proper means. When in Ireland last summer, among other objects of curiosity, I visited one of the schools conducted by a society of young men, who had associated themselves voluntarily, and devoted their lives, and talents, and acquirements, which are sometimes of a very high order, to supply that education of which the tyrannical government of Britain tried to deprive the Irish people. [Loud cheers.] They looked for no recompense—they feel that it is—and especially in that unfortunate country—a great work of mercy, to supply by the devotion of their time and talents that which should have been provided for by the zeal of their goverement. I was present at an examination there, and in all the examinations that ever I have witnessed, I never saw one more calculated to give satisfaction. Everything is systematized by them. Their Superior and leading members have directed their attention to every improvement in the science—the profound science, of imparting knowledge to the young mind, and every practical and sound improvement has been adopted by them. And such order—such facility in going through that examination with the least loss of time, I have not seen in any other establishment at any time or place. The pupils appeared to be themselves perfectly masters of the subjects on which they were examined. Geography, and history, and several other branches of education were treated of, and in all they appeared to be perfectly at home.

My intention is to send to Ireland, and that within three weeks, for as many members of this excellent community as I can find willing to devote themselves to the education of the whole Catholic children of New York. [Loud and continued applause.] Before two weeks, I trust that a person duly authorized to make that application will be on his way, and I hope also, from the encouragement that I have to cherish that hope, that, within four or five months, a sufficient number will be here to commence. They may not—for they are very much in demand where they are—be able to send as many as will suffice, but at all events they will send enough to engraft their improved and excellent system on such others here as may be disposed and otherwise qualified to assume the office of teachers. And the support of these "Brothers of the Christian Doctrine," as they are termed, will not equal that which the Catholics have been paying from year to year in addition to their taxation —for these Brethren accept of nothing but food and clothing.

Now I conceive that in this way we will be enabled to supply the great want of which I have spoken. In this way we will bring the many hundreds of children of poor parents under the salutary discipline of education and religion; and at all events if we are obliged to teach our children at the expense of a second taxation, we will be free to bring them up in the Christian religion, and even in the Catholic faith. [Loud cheers.] I have no doubt that the whole Catholic body in New York will regard the arrival of these men for this

purpose, as a public blessing; and I have not the least doubt that in the course of five or six years, any who at first may have doubted, will be convinced that for them and their children the arrival of these Brethren was indeed a public blessing. [Cheers.]

As we are here assembled, I may as well direct your attention for a few minutes to some topics having very important reference to the interest of the Catholic community. Our misfortune heretofore has been that we have not been united—that is, united on a large and comprehensive basis, for the promotion of our true interests. Efforts here and there, have been continually made, but there has not appeared to be a general spirit of co-operation and unity of action, by which we, like other denominations, should promote our interests as a religious community. I regret that either the imperfect notice of this meeting, or the inclemency of the weather, or both causes combined has not permitted a larger assembly, although I am somewhat surprised to find it so large as it is. But I should like on this occasion to have representatives, as it were, of the whole Catholic body, so that they could discuss amongst themselves and communicate to all their brethren in the city, the hints I am about to throw out and the views I intend to suggest, and consider how far they are practicable and may be carried out.

It is known to you—at least if you have paid any attention to the subject, it should be known—that the Catholics are far too numerous for the spiritual means within the power of the clergy. It is supposed that there are in this city from 60,000 to 80,000 professors of the Catholic faith—and for these how many clergy? There are able to perform active and efficient duty 9 or 10 at the most! One clergyman for 8,000 people, or for 7,000 if you take a lower estimate. What, I ask, can be his influence among such a mass of people? Where can be his influence in the first great elementary division of society—the family? Where his superintendence of the children? He who from morning to night knows no rest from labor, but is constantly engaged in visiting the sick or attending to other duties, and, as I myself from experience and personal knowledge can testify, knows no hour of cessation, has not a moment to devote to the children. Now the children should be initiated into the knowledge and practice of their religion, from nine or ten years of age. But the clergy are so busily engaged in other duties of their office, that even if children presented themselves to them in crowds, they cannot be attended to.

More, we have not church-room enough for the increasing numbers of the Catholic fold. Without additional church accommodation, there never will be that just proportion between the numbers of the people and the clergy, that is necessary for the due development of the power of religion in reforming character and correcting vice—and in bringing men up towards that high and holy standard which our faith proposes. There should be, to effect this, at least one pastor for every 1200 or 1500 souls. Any clergyman charged with the care of that number has quite as much as he is able to an-

swer for. If there were clergymen in that proportion, then would their personal influence be felt, and not as now. We now see our people in large masses on Sunday—they disperse—we meet them in the street—but we know them not. There may be a thousand evils existing, spreading their desolating influence, and bringing scandal and reproach on the Catholic name, not from remissness on the part of the clergy, but from mere physical inability to attend to the wants of such multitudes.

Should we not then—I speak now of the whole Catholic body—endeavor to diminish this disproportion between the numbers of our clergy and people? Certainly; and everything going towards that should be something dear in the breast of every Catholic in the community. [Loud cheers]

And now I have another topic. Supposing we had the clergy, we want the churches too. And when I speak of churches, it strikes me that most of those acquainted with the present state of our churches, swamped as they are in debt, will say I had better not refer at all to this subject. But it is true that the Catholic churches are obliged to pay in interest for debt, a sum which would enable us to build one new church at a cost of $20,000 every year. Is not this state of things calculated to attract the attention of the Catholic body? [Loud cheers.] I have made an estimate from items I have received, and find that the amount of the debt is $300,000; and yet, enormous as that debt may appear, if a general Catholic spirit were diffused amongst those who profess our religion, it would not weigh as it were one feather against the progress of our faith. A united action—a combination of effort—in a word a change in the circumstances of that debt, would in a short time bring about such a state of things that it would cease to be felt, and means would be provided for the onward march of our religion in proportion to the increasing wants of the people.

How could all this be done? Let us take our figures again. Let us suppose that instead of a weak congregation here struggling with debt, and a strong congregation there with very little debt—that instead of leaving the weak congregation to struggle with a burden doubly oppressive on account of that weakness, the strong should come to its assistance, in a short time the whole, or principal part of that debt would be swept away. What would you thus do? I address you as if you were the whole Catholic body of New York. You would take money out of one pocket and put it in the other—you would be gradually extinguishing that debt, for which you are now obliged to pay a large sum for interest, which is all swallowed up. [Cheers.]

I have said that this state of things hinders the progress of our religion, and I will tell you how. Suppose a number of people cannot find church accommodation, and they resolve to build a church. They apply to the Bishop for permission, which if granted, immediately the pecuniary wants of the neighboring congregation where they may have attended, induce them to rise up and say "If leave be

granted you will ruin us, for our revenue, notwithstanding all we do by oratorios, and this and that other means, is scarcely adequate to keep us afloat, and if you allow another church, it will draw away so much of our revenue, and we will sink." And so, for fear of all that, the souls of people must be left destitute.

Should such a state of things be permitted to continue? Is it not one which calls immediately for any action by which a reasonable hope may be expected of diminishing the progress of that impediment to the advance of our religion? It is not however for churches alone that exertions are necessary. It is for everything that religion requires. I may quote an instance—I mean of the college which I undertook some time ago. There has been no want of zeal on our part to present the claims of that institution; and, although a good deal was subscribed, and a good deal paid, yet it was with the greatest difficulty that we could drag along. Because it was a general cry. We have to sustain our church and we are sinking. There was no end to this; and thus in the isolated difficulty of each particular portion arises that want of general zeal so necessary to carry any thing triumphantly through.

Now what is there to prevent an association which I intend to form—that is, on the principle of one of which I will have more to say at another time, and which is designated the "Association for Propagating the Faith"—to the funds of which the members contributed one cent weekly? This society is now extensively known in Europe, and has been the means of extending the Catholic faith from the rising to the setting of the sun, more or less in every region where that faith has been proclaimed, since its origin. There is no reason why such an institution should not be established amongst us; and although the rules of that institution require that the funds should be placed at the disposal of the Central Board, nevertheless I have reason to believe that in a country like this, and in our circumstances, they would never ask a penny of them expended anywhere but in the diocese itself. The money thus collected would be distributed amongst the churches, and would soon extinguish the burden which now presses them down to the earth, instead of sinking $20,000, year after year, in the payment of interest. Besides, the churches would contribute in this way cheerfully, aware that no other collections would be made, as at present, by means of oratorios and fairs, and other temporary expedients, in which a few take an interest, and which are of so little avail. For, let me suppose a case. We get up an oratorio for the benefit of a church. Well, it is all well enough, and the audience—which may sometimes be five, six, eight hundred, or a thousand—suppose that their dollars go to the benefit of the church; but, it is found in the end that all the dollars went for the music, and that the church gets nothing! Would not Catholics, then, rather give their dollar, knowing it would be appropriated directly to the purpose for which it is given? Let some plan then be organized. I only throw out hints on which I wish you to dwell, so that when something more tangible is pre-

sented, you will be entitled to give it proper consideration. We are now speaking on a kind of half-ground between churches and banks [a laugh], and I am happy to be able to do so in a place where to speak of such things does not render us liable to the charge of profanation. [Cheers.]

We have been speaking of the small amount necessary for each individual; and in this time, when projects for reformation are made on every hand, and amongst others that for the promotion of temperance—where we see it extending on every side with happiest results, in regard not only to the increased temporal comforts of the people, but to their disposition to return with more fidelity and deeper devotion to the duties of their religion—on the Report of the Temperance Society I have taken the pains to make a little calculation. Supposing the Catholics in this diocese to number, as it is said they do, 200,000, and making an allowance—striking as it were a kind of average line between those who drink more than they ought, those who drink moderately, and those who do not drink at all—would it be too much to suppose that on an average each expends three cents a day for every kind of drink? How much, then, do you think do the Catholics, who are so poor, and obliged to earn their daily bread by laborious toil, expend for drink every year? Why, just as near as may be, two million two hundred and ninety thousand dollars a year! If this be correct, and if for one year the whole community would practice total abstinence, where would the debts of the churches be? [Loud cheers.] Well, if the small contributions of the many amassed together produce such an important result, I ask, need the Catholics of New York be any longer retarded by that debt? But they should change their position. Instead of indefinitely paying the interest, and thereby crippling every effort—instead of allowing matters to remain in this condition—let some general plan be adopted by which the debt may be extinguished altogether. By one united effort, in three years the debt might be all swept away, and then you could go on for ten or fifteen years, adding each year a church to the number already erected, and that would not be more than the wants of the people require. [Cheers.]

It is not the time now, nor are we now prepared for submitting a plan for this purpose, but, without going into detail, it seems that one might be suggested which gentlemen may think over in their minds. My own notion would be to form a general association for the purpose—to take the churches one with another—every church in the city, Irish, French, and German—and, by an equal distribution to all, to go on till all should be clear of debt. That is to say, suppose, in the first instance, eight churches, partakers of a general distribution, the collection would be made to fall equally on all parts of the city. But some to whom I have spoken of this have said that will not pass with some, because they will say, we owe but little, and we should not be obliged to contribute for others. But, after all, what would be the difference? No one would feel it in the

end. At present, demands are incessantly made which fall chiefly on the same individuals, who would surely much rather that once for all a regular united effort were made, with the understanding that no other expedients would be resorted to, and that the money collected was to be employed in extinguishing the debt itself. [Cheers.]

I have thrown out the few hints that I intended to offer on the present occasion. Probably, when we meet again, something more practical, something in the form of a system, may be offered to your notice, by which the great end in view may be accomplished. I know that it is easy at meetings to propose things of this kind, and that at first there is considerable ardor, but that that ardor abates, and things remain as before. I conceive that the explanation of that may be found, to a very great extent, in the circumstances in which every effort of the kind has been heretofore made; namely, that it is never made till the church is pressed, and those that feel the pressure show a great deal of zeal at first, but instantly, from a want of united effort, it fails. I feel for the church with which I am myself acquainted, but I find one going this way and another that way, and the isolated effort is lost. But let the effort be general, and my zeal will not be damped. There is no use in concealing our situation. Let it be impressed on the people that the churches should be paid for—that in doing that they do not make themselves poorer, as they do by paying the interest, but will extinguish this debt for which they are continually taxed. Let this be explained and understood, and let us take the interest in the matter which it requires. And the effort will not necessarily require to be continued, for in two or three years at most the incubus would be removed, and prosperity would reward our exertions. [Cheers.]

Now, it may be asked, how comes it that our churches are so much in debt? It results from the circumstance that the people have flowed in on us faster than we were ready to receive them. Because the very zeal for religion by which a temple was erected, wherein the poor emigrant landing on these shores might adore his God, provided it before those for whose accommodation it was built were able to redeem it. All the efforts that could be made for the time have been employed. But had they waited till the people were able to pay for the churches, the churches would not have been built, and we would have been in a still worse condition than at present. But in the interval these people have become able to contribute, and if the effort be made with unanimity, it will be an easy matter to extinguish the debt thus contracted, or so to reduce it as to be equivalent to its destruction in a short time. [Cheers.] With these suggestions I conclude, and recommend my observations to your consideration.

But one thing I may add, that if you have any idea of succeeding in this undertaking, you must embark in it with a large spirit—with minds that grasp the whole subject, and you must blot out all petty distinctions and considerations of individual profit. And are we

not all one body, united in one faith? and according to the very terms of that faith, if one member suffer, all should suffer with it. [Cheers.] Who is there that would not feel the blush mantling his cheek, when he hears that a church, in which had been celebrated the Holy Mysteries, had been desecrated by the hammer of the sheriff! [Loud applause.] Who is there that has a pulse within him that does not feel it a degradation to himself, though he may never have worshipped in that church, nor hoped to worship there? Now is the time for one united effort, and I trust that it will be made.

Important Meeting of the Friends of Freedom of Education, in Washington Hall, June 1, 1841.

Pursuant to the call for a meeting to be held on Tuesday evening, the 1st of June, 1841, at the Washington Hall, corner of Broadway and Reade street, of all persons interested in the cause of education of the children of the poor, a general meeting was held, and was organized by calling Gregory Dillon, Esq., to the chair, and the appointment of B. O'Connor and Edward Shortill as secretaries.

The minutes of the last meeting having been read and approved, James W. McKeon, Esq., on behalf of the Executive Committee, of which he was chairman, made a report of the proceedings since the presentation to the Legislature, at its last session, of the memorial of those who, dissatisfied with the present system of education in the city of New York, were desirous that its blessings should be more equally and widely extended.

Mr. McKeon then offered, on behalf of the Executive Committee, the following resolutions:—*Resolved*, That although we deeply regret the postponement of the New York School Bill by the Senate of the State, we yet perceive in the liberal sentiments which prevail in that high tribunal an acknowledgment of the grievances under which we labor; grievances inflicted upon a large portion of the population under the present system, by a private corporation at variance in all its features with the principles of our republican institutions. That in the manifestation of the enlightened views entertained by distinguished members of the Senate in behalf of the claims of the neglected and indigent children of the metropolis now excluded from a participation in the benefits of the Common School Fund, we recognize a powerful incentive to increased perseverance in a cause which is one alike of reason, humanity and justice.

Resolved, That we conjure those from whom the light of knowledge is withheld, and upon whom the calamities of ignorance are entailed by reason of their want of confidence in the present intolerant and exacting monopoly system, to "be of good cheer," for in

that spirit of justice and equality which breathes through all our institutions there is a confident assurance of the complete and final enfranchisement of those who suffer the goadings of oppression for conscience' sake.

Resolved, That the imposition and collection of taxes, the disposition and disbursement of which is confided to a private corporation, is contrary to every principle of responsibility sanctioned by this government, and in the highest degree dangerous to our institutions as establishing a precedent alarming in its character, because of the power with which it invests a corporate body to abuse a public trust without fear of consequences to its members, and in its will and pleasure to set the constituted authorities at defiance.

Resolved. That the property acquired by the public money should be held in the name of the people of the State, and that the authorities are imperatively required by sound policy and duty to take immediate measures to prevent property purchased by funds raised by taxation from passing into the possession of a monopoly over which the community have no control.

The Rt. Rev. Dr. HUGHES then rose, amid loud cheering, and addressed the meeting nearly as follows:

He commenced by saying, I have no doubt, gentlemen, that, notwithstanding the explanations which I have made on former occasions, and which I trust are satisfactory, yet with those who are opposed to us on the subject in relation to which we are met this evening it will be considered that in appearing here I occupy a place very inappropriate, undignified, and inconsistent with my character as a bishop. But, fortunately, I am not obliged to measure my movements nor my conduct by any rules which those gentlemen may please to prescribe. I entertain my own sense of propriety, and by that, and not by what may be said by those who would desire that I should be silent on this subject, shall I be governed. I do not esteem it any discredit or anything inconsistent with my character, that I should appear in such a place as this, and in a meeting convened for such purposes as the present. On the contrary, I do not hesitate to declare that, next to the performance of the functions of the sacred office which I hold, I consider that I cannot be employed in a manner more consistent with the character of that office than in advocating the cause of the poor, the oppressed and indigent children who are excluded from the light of knowledge and deprived of a just right by the unjust and grasping spirit of an irresponsible and domineering society. It is for this that I appear here—to help to raise up the poor and uneducated from the degradation of ignorance to which a powerful and selfish body would consign them, unless they would consent to sacrifice their conscientious convictions. In their defence I have taken my stand—no taunts shall deter me—not even the omnipotent Press can drive me from it. I shall abide by it to the last, so long as I can raise my voice and assist in making the truth heard and known on the great and vital principle for which we are contending. [Great and continued cheering.]

In the resolutions which have been offered by the gentleman who has just addressed you, there is something which I would notice that appears like an expression of regret at the postponement of final action upon our claims. I must say, respectfully, that I dissent from this. I see nothing to regret in the course which things have taken, and I feel no regret. Indeed I might almost say that I *rejoice* at the disposition which has been made of our application for the present; for however gratifying the immediate grant of an undoubted right, such as that which we claim, would be to us, yet when it will be secured to us, as secured it undoubtedly will be, after the grave and mature deliberation for which this postponement will afford opportunity, it will be a source of much more confident and solid congratulation than if our success should appear to be the result of any seeming haste or carelessness on the part of those to whom we have applied for redress. It will be remembered that at all times and upon all occasions, and whenever we have spoken or written upon this subject we have invariably declared that we asked for nothing but what was right and just, and that whenever it appeared that there was anything wrong, anything in our claims to which we were not as citizens of this State strictly entitled, that instant we would relinquish it. This is the principle upon which we commenced, and upon which we have acted, and to which we shall always adhere. And our cause being thus the cause of Truth and Justice, what have we to fear from time? Nothing. We desire that our claim should be investigated, because we are convinced that the more it is considered and examined the more apparent will become the soundness of the principles upon which it is based. We desire investigation, therefore, and are willing that ample time should be given for that purpose. And that the question has been postponed and time taken for more mature reflection, is not, I repeat, a matter for regret or surprise. And so I have no doubt the postponement was considered by those Senators, or by many of them at least, who desired to make themselves more fully acquainted with the subject. They generally expressed themselves in favor of the principle for which we contend, but desired time to hear and examine all the objections that could be urged against it, and I honor them that they have done so. They were responsible to their constituents, and they were right in demanding time to be able to assure themselves that they would not, in granting the prayer of the petitioners, be committing an error. Had it been otherwise,—had a law securing to us our rights been immediately passed,—might it not have been urged with some plausibility by our opponents, that it was hasty legislation; that the State Government was carried in an unguarded moment; and thus dissatisfaction would have been created, and the system proposed to be established might fail of securing that general confidence which is so essential to the success of public measures of a comprehensive character? But now no objection of that kind can be raised. Ample time is given for inquiry and deliberation, and the success which awaits us will be stable and

permanent. This is not a prospect that can excite regret; and when I reflect on the advance which our cause has made, the favorable consideration with which it has been received by the Legislature, and the emphatic manner in which the justice of our principles has been confirmed by wise and patriotic and enlightened men, who have taken them up and advocated them, I must say that I am glad of the result. Our cause stands well, and time and inquiry will only help, certainly cannot injure us. Besides, it must be borne in mind that in so grave a matter as legislation which is to affect the destinies of a whole people for years, perhaps for ages, a period of three months, or six months, or a year, is no more than so many hours would be in the transaction of ordinary private business. So gratifying, indeed, is the present position of the case, that it is in reality more amusing than otherwise to note the many shifts and devices which the Public School Society have been led to adopt, one after the other, with the hope of defeating us. But they were met on every point, and failing in everything else, they at last were reduced to such extremity that their final efforts were spent in endeavoring to show that the applicants to the Legislature were CATHOLICS, and therefore not entitled to any consideration! This was their last great effort—you were CATHOLICS. [Cheers and great laughter.] So desperate did their cause become, even in their own estimation, that no means were deemed by them too vile or despicable to be resorted to, in order to preserve their power. Charges were fabricated, and circulars, containing the most gross and contemptible untruths respecting Catholics and their tenets, were industriously prepared and distributed amongst the members of the Senate, with the hope of influencing their decision. I do not say that the Trustees of the School Society were themselves personally the distributers of these slanders, but—to give you a specimen of what was done—their agent, or one of their agents at Albany, was detected placing on the desks of the senators—what think you? why, an absurd and abominable malediction which they put forth as the Catholic form of excommunication, but which, in fact and in truth, was nothing more than a pure fabrication of Sterne, witten for his own amusement, in his book called TRISTRAM SHANDY! And these high literary gentlemen—these self-constituted, peculiar, exclusive dispensers of light, and knowledge, and education, were either so ignorant as not to know the true character and origin of the document which they so industriously circulated, or, knowing its character, they were so bigoted and careless of honor, and truth, and justice, and good principle, in their anxiety to forward a bad cause, that they did not hesitate to give the falsehood currency. What must be thought of conduct like this? when men of acknowledged standing and influence—men educated and enjoying a high position in society by their character and affluence—could descend to base artifices that place them on a level with those who brought Maria Monk into the world—not the living Maria Monk—but the infamous book known by her name which has been sent abroad, carry-

ing poison and falsehood into the bosom of every family where it could be introduced.

But this was only in keeping with the whole system of warfare that has been opposed to us. When we were before another tribunal, instead of meeting the question fairly, it will be remembered how every nook and corner was searched, and what dusty tomes were produced to prove—what? Nothing; but to create, if possible, a sectarian prejudice against the acknowledgment of our rights. Some even went so far as to tell you openly to your face that they would rather be infidels with Voltaire, than be such as you; and yet, with this declaration still sounding in your ears, they will ask you to commit your children to their charge. And how do they ask you? They will send round their agents—agents of Tract Societies—as has been proved at Albany—who, when they come to your house, will take the child, and leave a tract. And all this, they will tell you, is nothing sectarian. But we say that it is, and we know, and every one knows, that it is; and it is to all this sectarianism which is inseparably interwoven with their system—these underhand attacks upon the faith of our children—that I object and ever shall object.

I feel, Mr. President, that in viewing this subject I can divest myself of all prejudices. I feel that I should sin and offend against God if I should impute to any sect or denomination, tenets or principles, or practices, which they themselves would repudiate and deny that they held or observed. And I feel and know that I should be wanting in charity, the most essential of Christian virtues, if I could permit myself to infringe upon, or to do any violence to, the rights of another, because he belonged to a different communion from that to which I was attached. I mistake myself, or I would be as zealous and sincere in advocating the rights of any other denomination—Methodist, or Episcopalian, or Presbyterian, or any other—which should be placed in circumstances similar to those in which we are now situated. And it is this principle of general and equal protection for all, which you are now seeking to maintain, and which, I trust, shall upon every occasion continue to animate you. [Great cheers.]

But have we been met in a similar spirit? We have not. That Society which has so perseveringly opposed every effort which we have made for redress, has abundantly earned for itself that epithet, which has been often applied to it, of a soulless corporatian, and has used every artifice and means in its power to vilify and defame us and our principles. Yes, DEFAMATION is the term. I do not say they have done it knowingly. That is not a point for me to determine. But they have DEFAMED us. I aver it and insist upon it—the have DEFAMED US with their extracts from TRISTRAM SHANDY and other documents of an equally high literary character, creditable to the liberality and the pretensions to learning and knowledge of a body so ambitious to be the sole instructors of the youth of the city. And I challenge them to meet me and prove that what they

have laid to our charge has any foundation in truth, or is anything else but DEFAMATION! [Loud cheering.]

I did desire to refer somewhat in detail to the remonstrances and other matters submitted by the Public School Society to the Senate, on this subject; but owing to the late hour at which we have received them, I have been unable to examine them with that attention which would be necessary. One of their principal arguments has been, that corporations have been sometimes found very serviceable in assisting the administration of the affairs of government, and therefore they, the Public School Society, are a useful and necessary agent; and they have gone on, reasoning by parity, and have cited the cases of an almshouse—institutions for the deaf and dumb—and a lunatic asylum—as instances in which corporations have been entrusted with the discharge of certain duties. These gentlemen then would have it believed, that you are as lunatics—that the people of the city of New York are as the deaf and the dumb, and the insane, and incapable of managing their own affairs. [Cheers and laughter.] The poor of the city who become inmates of the almshouse, have trustees or guardians appointed to administer to their wants, and therefore you also must have trustees. But even admitting the correctness of the premises of the Public School Society on this point, there is no analogy between the cases. The tenant of the almshouse enters there to receive benefits accruing from taxes to which he does not contribute, while you, for whom the Public School Society desire to act, are tax-payers and are left, under their system, without any voice in the management or disposition of funds to which you have contributed. That there should be representation wherever there is taxation, is one of the most essential rights secured by the institutions of our country, but the Public School Society would, with respect to you, subvert that important principle.

The whole matter now stands in this position. At the commencement, the great alarm raised, was, that the admission of our claim would be a step towards the union of Church and State. And if those who opposed us upon that ground were sincere in it, I respect them for their opposition; for there is nothing which every patriot should feel to be a more imperative duty than to resist to the uttermost any attempt to introduce measures tending to so disastrous a result. But we denied and disproved the justice of that allegation. The charge of Church and State is now no longer heard, and they appear only to labor to prove that we are CATHOLICS, and, as such, unworthy to be heard.

But it is not now with the city of New York a mere question whether or not the Catholics shall be allowed to participate in the blessings of a common school education, but whether there shall be any public education at all allowed in this city except such as shall be under the absolute and exclusive control and dictation of this Public School Society. We did not ask to be made the recipients of any of the public money. We desired to leave this in such hands as the law might designate, and that our schools should be subject

to the control and supervision of the proper authorities, and be conducted conformably to the laws of the State. We offered everything that could be in reason desired. But no. The Public School Society interposed. They would allow of no rival. They will not partake of a divided empire—*Aut Cæsar, aut Nullus.* They will be Cæsar or nothing. And if we will not take just such an education as they will choose to give us, we are to have none at all. This is the alternative to which they would compel the people of this city to submit. You must submit your children to the discipline of the School Trustees, or they shall be brought up in ignorance.

But I can look through and beyond this contest; and, but a short distance in the future, I can see him who is but now a child—one of those who are shut out from the light of knowledge by the intolerant system of this Public School Society—I can see him, but a few years hence, a young man sunk in crime and iniquity, for which they who deprived him of his rights will be yet held answerable to the Justice of God, which they have disregarded and forgotten in the spirit of unfeeling exclusiveness, that makes them cling pertinaciously to the power which they have acquired. I can see that young man brought up by the constable, or other officer, to answer for offences, for which others are more heavily responsible than he. And when asked by the Judge, what he had to say why he should not suffer the penalty of the law which he has violated, he might, if capable of tracing consequences back to their causes, reply to the interrogatory, "Yes, I have much to say. I am here to answer for offences for which I am not so much to blame as are those who have darkened my path and left me defenceless amid temptations. When a child, poor and indigent, I was deprived of the common benefits of education—of that common right which my country had provided and had intended that I should enjoy, and which would have preserved me from the ruin into which I have now fallen. But I was neglected. I grew up in ignorance, and my heart, where the fair flowers of virtue should have been sown and cultivated, was suffered to run to waste until the weeds of vice sprung up there rank and luxuriant. And all this was the result of an unhappy controversy between my parents and those who had obtained the power to dispense, according to their discretion, the public blessings of education. My parents had conscientious objections, whether reasonable or unreasonable, to the peculiar teachings which were prescribed. They would not accept of an education for their children such as was offered, and in this they acted according to what they conscientiously believed to be the dictates of duty. But the agents of the public bounty of the State would tolerate nothing besides. They would either enforce their own peculiar system of education, or leave me destitute of any. And now, I AM THE VICTIM. I stand arraigned for crimes which had their origin in the destitution and mental darkness to which I was then consigned—crimes, the guilt of which should rest—not on me, or at least, not on me alone—but on those who preferred to see the moral blight and desolation of this

heart, than to part with the least of their pretensions, or the smallest portion of that power which they grasped with a spirit so relentless and uncompromising." [Loud cheers.] All this he might say and more; and I have presented to you in this picture no fancifu' description. It is one which the realities of life would every day abundantly justify.

We have, however, the hope now of redress near at hand; but we must not relax our efforts. Of what the details of your future action shall be, it is not my province to speak, but I would exhort you to persevere as heretofore. And I would again say to you, not to mind the clamors which may be raised about a union of Church and State. There is no danger that any one sect will ever attempt to marry itself to the State. Such an apprehension would be absurd. If ever the spirit or the letter of the Constitution of the country shall be violated in this particular, it will happen, not from any one sect rising above and lording it over all others, but from the coalition of all the others to depress, first the weakest or most unpopular, and then the next, and so on, until finally a few of the most powerful will arise and remain in the ascendant. It behoves you all, therefore, and every citizen, to see that all are protected alike—the weakest as well as the strongest, but the weakest especially. No matter what sect is assailed, extend to it, in common with all your fellow citizens, a protecting hand. If the Jew is oppressed, then stand by the Jew. [Loud and long-continued cheering.] Thus will all be secured alike in the common enjoyment of the blessings of civil and religious liberty, and the justly obnoxious union of Church and State be most effectually prevented.

I will again recommend to you to maintain the same spirit of unanimity and perseverance by which you have heretofore accomplished so much. You are not now under the necessity of pleading your cause before a Committee of the Public School Society, commonly known as the Common Council of the city of New York. We had all supposed that when we presented ourselves before the Board of Aldermen, we really stood before an impartial, disinterested tribunal. But it appears that all the members of the Common Council are, EX-OFFICIO, from the moment you elect them, members of the Public School Society. The organization or composition of this Society is certainly a singular one. First, a certain number of persons, who have become members upon paying an annual subscription of ten dollars, elect fifty trustees—these fifty choose fifty others, and then upon your electing members of the Common Council, those members also become trustees; and thus is this Public School Society constituted. So that in fact when you went before the Common Council with your complaint of the monopoly of the Public School Society, you were preferring your petition to what may be considered as a Special Committee of that very Society. [Laughter.] But you are no longer laboring under that disadvantage. The scene is now changed to a higher and more impartial tribunal, where I feel not even the shadow of a doubt that the spirit

of perseverance which you have heretofore manifested, will soon obtain the great object for which you have already so worthily and so creditably exercised it. [The Rt. Rev. Prelate here sat down amid loud cheering, having been frequently applauded throughout the delivery of his speech, in the most enthusiastic manner.]

Meeting in Carroll Hall, October 25, 1841.

A MEETING of the "Church Debt Association" was held at Carroll Hall, on the above date, and the reports of the collectors having been read, the Rt. Rev. Bishop HUGHES addressed the meeting on the subject of "Church Debt." After which he referred to the School Question as follows:—I shall now call your attention to another subject—one not precisely of a character similar to that upon which we have met here, but still a subject which possesses a peculiar interest for you all. A notice had appeared in the papers, calling you together for to-morrow evening, at this place, and this notice had appeared with my consent; indeed it was published by my direction. But between the time of sending that notice for publication and its appearance, or rather after its publication, measures were taken in another quarter, with the avowed purpose of attaining the same end which the contemplated meeting was designed to promote; and representations were made to me by which (without at all losing sight of the object, however) I was persuaded to relinquish the intention which I had formed of holding the meeting. I have therefore come to the determination to postpone the meeting to which I refer, in order to see the effect of the measures substituted for it. You know now, I presume, that I allude to a question of more importance to you than any other, the question of the education of your children. [Great applause.] By the law of the land, education is sustained, and I will say, properly sustained, by a general taxation. We are willing and able to bear our proportion of the taxes which are imposed, but we are also anxious that, if we bear the common burden, we should share likewise in the benefits which are to be derived from it—that if we cultivate the soil and sow the seed, others should not exclusively partake of the harvest. It is not necessary to repeat now what has been said at former times; but I will only assert, what you are yourselves well convinced of, that the public system of education now established amongst us has been tainted from the beginning. And though I am willing to admit, as I always have done throughout the controversy on this subject, that the men to whom the education of the children of this community is entrusted are, in their private characters, honorable, benevolent men, and conceive themselves to be actuated by a disinterested spirit of benevolence in this matter, yet they are under the

influence of a bigotry which so neutralizes their perceptions of truth and justice on the subject, that they mistake the one for the other, and while dealing out something which their bigotry dictates, they believe that they are obeying the impulses of philanthropy. And it is this which has in part brought on those embarrassments which the Association assembled here this evening is designed to relieve —for while your children were excluded from the public schools— not, indeed, by a bar of iron placed across the door, but by a more impenetrable barrier which the internal constitution of the schools presented, you were obliged to supply the deficiency as well as you could: erecting school-houses in connection with your churches, or in the basement, as the case might be, and the means thus expended would have materially contributed to discharge the debts which now press upon those churches.

I am free to admit that, when this subject was first agitated, from a kind of confidence in the justice and liberality of men—a confidence derived, perhaps, from what I felt to be the impulses of my own nature—what I would be willing to do myself in similar circumstances, and from my knowledge of the justice of our cause, I believed that we had but to submit our grievances to those who had the power, and that they should be redressed. But I was mistaken; justice was not regarded—expediency alone was consulted —our claims were denied, not because they were wanting in justice; for throughout the whole controversy I never met one, either among the Aldermen of the city, or the Legislators to whom we appealed, who denied the justice of our application; but it was not expedient —it was not consistent with some peculiar views or objects that it should be granted, and we have therefore been denied. But that is past; and now we come to the present state of the question. It has been my fortune to advocate this cause before other tribunals; I have pleaded the cause of the destitute and oppressed children before the Aldermen of this city; I have supported it in another form before the Senators of the State; and I have now to plead— before whom? The Public School Society? No!—I HAVE TO PLEAD FOR IT BEFORE THE CATHOLICS THEMSELVES! [Great and reiterated cheering.] For the time has now come when it is necessary to learn *their* sentiments, and to know *whether they are willing to vote for or against it!* [Renewed cheering.] The question to be decided is not the strength of party or the emolument and patronage of office, BUT A QUESTION BETWEEN THE HELPLESS AND ILL-USED CHILDREN AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SOCIETY! [Great and continued applause.] I take my stand by the children; they are my clients; and though they may be deserted by their parents, their brothers, their connections and friends, they shall still find in me a steadfast, sincere and uncompromising advocate. [Vehement applause.] You yourselves are now to say whether they shall be educated according to their birthright as American citizens, or be indoctrinated with that mental poison which you cannot and will not, I feel assured, allow them to receive; whether or not they are to be like the chil-

dren of the Long Island Farms—taken from your control and handed over to the government and instruction of a body over whom you can exert no influence or authority. The question is now submitted, and the judges are to be yourselves!

Under the free and happy institutions of our country, the power to redress grievances and remedy abuses has not an abstract existence. It is something practical—something that comes home to every individual; and if any set of men entrusted with authority should molest and injure others by the evil exercise of their power, the oppressed have, in time, their turn also, when they can vindicate their rights and divest their oppressors of the authority which they had abused. If I am a candidate for your suffrages, I make known my principles and ask for your support. You must satisfy yourselves that I shall execute the office which I may obtain so as not to invade the rights and privileges dear to you; or if I cannot give you the necessary assurances on that point, you will say to me, "You may get the office if you can, but you cannot have it by my vote."

At the present moment there is an important issue made up between you and a large portion of the community on the one side, and that monopoly which instills those dangerous principles to which I have before alluded on the other. The question lies between the two parties, and you are the judges; and if you desert the cause, what can you expect from strangers? [Loud cheers.] My position in this matter is a peculiar one—I stand alone and isolated in a degree—obliged, as it were, to step partially aside from the direct line of my sacred calling and appear before you on this subject. But I have found myself imperatively called upon to take the position which I have assumed for the protection of the religious rights of those entrusted to my charge. The question is now referred back to yourselves; you may desert the cause; you may desert me; but so long as I can command a hearing amongst you I shall never abandon the ground which I have taken. My duty, at least, shall be performed. [Tremendous cheering.]

Those with whom we are at issue would instill principles which are not ours; and though they may be good and beneficial to those who can conscientiously receive them, they are not so for us. We are, in truth, placed in the same situation as the Catholics were by the Kildare Street Society in Ireland, where, for years, with their proselytizing schools, they tried the fidelity of that people, who were never known to be recreant or unfaithful. The cases are almost identical. Their schools here are furnished with copies of Scriptures opposed to our version: and this, with their stories of Phelim Maghee, their hymns, and their peculiar forms of prayers, are all alike objectionable, and at variance with that love and reverence for our faith and its requirements which we would desire to establish in the hearts and minds of our children.

The Bishop then referred to the prospect of success which the future presented to them—the changes in the minds of many who

had been hostile, which he had himself observed during his recent progress through the diocese, and he exhorted them to persevere with a spirit of determination and self-respect, and that sooner or later a triumph awaited the liberal and just principles which they advocated; those who were against them should yield in time; for reflection only brought conviction to their minds of the injustice of the present system; and the day would yet come when the great and growing mammoth of prejudice and bigotry, that could bear no rival, should yield to the voice of reason and to an awakened sense of justice in the public mind. I have been given to understand, the Bishop continued, that three out of four of the candidates presented to your suffrages are pledged to oppose your claims, and to sustain this great and influential society. Though I should deeply regret it, they may, perhaps, triumph; but all I ask is, that they shall not triumph by the sinful aid of any individual who cherishes a feeling in common with those children. This corporate body to whom you are opposed, and from whose insidious influences you are desirous to protect the principles of your children, is in the field, arrogant and exacting as ever, and I wish you, therefore, to look well to the men who are your candidates, and though suitable in all other respects, yet if they are disposed to make infidels or Protestants of your children, let them receive no vote of yours.

In this case a simple illustration of the part you are called upon to act presents itself to my mind. I imagine, when these men come before you, that I can see, in the legislative hall to which they would desire that you should send them, something like a fire, and an iron there red-hot. Well, one of these gentlemen comes and requires your vote; but suppose you ask him, what he means to do with that red-hot iron? He will be sure to evade the question. He will talk to you of "glorious liberty and equality and the sovereign authority of the people," and all that; but press him for an answer. Tell him you want to know what he intends to do with that red-hot iron. [Laughter.] "Oh," he will say, "I am a liberal man; I intend to do whatever is right; my friends, you know me, do you not? I belong to *the party*." [Great cheering and laughter.] But still press him for an answer, and make him tell you what his ideas are about the red-hot iron. [Laughter.] He will answer you at length, perhaps; and you will then discover that he had intended with that iron to brand "IGNORANCE" upon the foreheads of your children. This is the destiny to which he would consign them; but if such is to happen, I trust that you, at least, will have no agency in setting the degrading mark upon those who look to you as the guardians of their rights, as their sole protectors from the ignorance which is forced upon them unless they will consent to become the disciples of Protestantism or infidelity. [Great cheering.]

The Bishop then compared the restraint which the Public School System exercised on the conscience of the Catholics with the oppressive exactions of the English Church and State policy—an odious tyranny that had brought misery on a land that knew it not,

but that now drank the bitter cup to the dregs, under the sway of that formidable and relentless oligarchy. They say to us here, continued the Bishop, as it was said to our forefathers in that suffering land, "If you are oppressed, it is not our fault; we give you the value of your money; our minister is at his desk, and our doors are open to receive you;" and because we will not avail ourselves of a privilege which conscience forbids, we are to be told we have no right to complain. But I trust that you are too well convinced of the truth and justice of your cause to falter now in your determination to seek redress. You should acknowledge no distinction but that alone of the friend and the enemy of a just and liberal system of education—reduce it to the simplest terms possible—the friend of the free and unrestricted education of your children, and the opponent of so noble a measure of public right and justice; and you should remember that if those children whose cause I now plead are deserted by you, they must look in vain for a friend. Why should a stranger interest himself to maintain a just principle, if those for whose benefit it is intended to operate should rebuke him with their neglect? *Who* shall say a word for a Catholic, if while enduring the scorn and desertion of others he finds that the Catholic abandons him too? It behooves you, therefore, to have a proper respect for yourselves, and to evince your sense of the injustice done to you with dignity, with moderation and firmness, with a just appreciation of your rights as citizens, and of the rights of others, and with a cool but determined purpose to know of no distinction but that of the friend and the enemy of your children's rights.

The Rt. Rev. Prelate then stated that he was only anxious for the adoption of whatever just and legal measures would be most likely to promote the good of the object which they had at heart. He had therefore yielded to the representations which had been made to him, and entrusted it for a time to other hands, but he had not ceased to watch it as closely as ever. He should observe narrowly the progress of those other measures to which he alluded, and which were in progress. He should see that those who had it in charge should neither be deceived themselves nor deceive others. He had nursed this cause until it had attained to its present importance; his vigilance should not now cease; and if any danger should, in his opinion, be approaching, they might expect a call that would be heard throughout New York, and that would rally them in support of the great principle for which they were contending. But in every event he would tell them not to forget to ask about the red-hot iron. [Laughter.]

The Bishop concluded amid the most enthusiastic applause, and the meeting adjourned.

Great Meeting of the Friends of Freedom of Education in Carroll Hall, October 29th, 1841.

A CROWDED and highly respectable meeting of citizens favorable to a just and equitable system of Common Schools in the city of New York, was held on the 29th of October at Carroll Hall, in this city, pursuant to public notice. At half-past seven the meeting was called to order, and on motion Gregory Dillon, Esq., was called to the chair, and B. O'Connor and E. Shortill, Esqrs., were appointed Secretaries. The Right Rev. Bishop Hughes soon after entered the meeting, and took his place on the platform, amid the long, loud and enthusiastic greeting of the meeting. Mr. O'Connor, one of the Secretaries, read the following requisition for the meeting from one of the public papers:

"SCHOOL QUESTION.—A general meeting of citizens favorable to such a system of Common Schools in the city of New York, as will extend the benefits of public education to the children of all denominations, without trenching on the religious rights of any, will be held at Carroll Hall, this evening, 29th inst., at half-past seven o'clock. By order of the Central Committee."

Bishop HUGHES then rose and said—

I am delighted, gentlemen, to find that the forlorn and neglected children of the city of New York have yet so many friends as I now see assembled around me. Amidst the passions and prejudices of public men, it is still consoling to observe that the rights of those children to the benefits of education are advocated by so many friends, and certainly if you were to abandon them in this emergency, their prospects for the future would be hopeless. When I speak of their forlorn condition with regard to education, I do not mean that there are not schools erected, but that those schools are conducted under such a system, and on such principles, as necessarily to prevent those children from attending them. The consequence has been as you know, that for sixteen years past, that portion of our citizens represented by this meeting have been obliged to provide separate schools, while they were taxed for the support of those from whose existence they derived no benefit.

Those facts determined the origin of this question. Some have supposed that the grievance had its origin only with the time when the agitation and explanation of it were publicly commenced; but let them look at your efforts for years past in providing education for your children, and ask themselves whether you would have gone to the second expenditure to provide a defective and inefficient education for your children if you could have permitted them to attend the schools already provided.

But first I must say a few words in explanation of my own position in this matter.

I was in Europe when the question was first brought before the public, and when I first heard of its agitation, I believed that we

had but to make a full, fair and candid statement of our grievances to honorable men, in order to produce an acknowledgment of the injustice of employing the funds raised by taxing all for the benefit of a portion of Society, and to the exclusion of one entire class. [Cheers.] I have attended in this place and elsewhere, meeting after meeting, during which we have explained the grounds of our objection to the present system of education. We have uniformly avoided all questions of a political character, and I have more than once expressed publicly, as I do now, my determination to retire from such meetings the moment any political question was introduced. It is not my province to mingle in politics. The course which I have pursued hitherto in this regard I shall not abandon now, and I have therefore to request that you shall not look for forms here which may be usual in meetings of a political character, but to which I am a stranger, and which I do not desire to see introduced for the accomplishment of the object which we have in view.

The object of this meeting is, after all previous measures have been adopted, to see what means yet remain in your power for attaining the end for which you are contending. As to those means they may, it is true, be unsuccessful—you may be defeated in your employment of them. A stronger power may place a barrier between you and the accomplishment of your purposes. But yet by acting in the matter, and using those means which you possess, you will have the satisfaction of knowing that although injustice may triumph, you will have washed your hands of all participation in it. [Great and reiterated cheering.]

In this as in all other undertakings, it is necessary that you proceed with firmness and perfect unanimity. Our adversaries accuse us of acting with interested motives in this matter. They say that we want a portion of the school fund for sectarian purposes to apply it to the support and advancement of our religion. This we deny now, as we have done heretofore. We have denied it officially and under their own observation, and were they careful or solicitous for the truth of their statements they would not have made the assertion. In this community all religious denominations are supposed to be equal. There is no such thing as a predominant religion, and the small minority is entitled to the same protection as the greatest majority. No denomination whether numerous or not can impose its religious views on a minority at the common expense of that minority and itself. It was against that we contended. That was the principle from the unjust operation of which we desired to be released. And here it may be well to explain the extent and limit of our claim.

In this country all things are affected or decided by public opinion, and public opinion itself is sustained by two opposite elements —truth and falsehood. There is nothing more powerful than falsehood, except truth alone. The enemies of our claim were not ignorant of this, and therefore they have crowded every avenue to public opinion with mis-epresentations in reference to it.

It is therefore necessary for us to have recourse to the truth which they suppress or disguise. We do not ask for sectarian schools. We do not ask that any portion of the public money should be confided to us for purposes of education. We do not ask for the privilege of teaching our religion at the public expense—such a demand would be absurd and would richly merit the rebuke which it could not escape.

In the Public Schools, which were established according to the system now in force, our children had to study books which we could not approve. Religious exercises were used which we did not recognize, and our children were compelled to take part in them. Then we withdrew them from the schools and taught them with our own means. We do not want money from the school funds—all we desire is that it be administered in such a way as to promote the education of all. Now the Public School Society has introduced just so much of religious and sectarian teaching as it pleased them, in the plenitude of their irresponsible character, to impart. They professed to exclude religion, and yet they introduced so much in quantity as they thought proper, and of such a quality as violated our religious rights. If our children cannot receive education without having their religious faith and feelings modeled by the Public School Society, then they cannot receive it under the auspices of that institution, and if for these reasons they cannot receive it from that institution, it is tyranny to tax them for its support. We do not ask the introduction of religious teaching in any public school, but we contend that if such religious influences be brought to bear on the business of education, it shall be, so far as our children are concerned, in accordance with the religious belief of their parents and families.

If the principle be correct, as contended for by the advocates of the present system, how would the Protestants feel in France, where they are in a minority? Would they not complain if the school funds were expended for the benefit of Catholics only? Belgium too, is similarly situated. Now I would ask, gentlemen, if they could in these cases approve of such a principle?

It is needless for me to recapitulate what were the grounds which we put forth. We stated our objects candidly and respectfully. But the advocates of the present system raised the cry of sectarianism against us. Misrepresentation after misrepresentation went forth and produced their effect. I have said that there is but one thing stronger than misrepresentation, and that is *truth*. But in this case truth was so overlaid by the multiplicity of these reckless assertions that it was almost entirely lost sight of. [Cheers.]

I need not refer, in corroboration of this, to the last act of that Society before the honorable Senate, when they placed on the desk of every senator a vile fiction from the pages of Tristram Shandy, declaring it to set forth those principles which it was asked should be propagated at the public expense. But it did not defeat our claim—on the contrary we had reason to expect a favorable result

from the wisdom and deliberation of that honorable body,—but time was required by those who were strangers to the subject to examine into it, and then came the close of the session, and it was in consequence postponed to another period.

By the aid of such means as I have referred to, they have throughout labored to defeat our application. When the corporation had the matter under consideration, clergymen were called before the Council—statements and opinions were obtained from legal gentlemen, and all who had information on the subject were requested to communicate it.; but beyond and above all this, slanders were resorted to, that the dominion of the system might be triumphant and perpetual.

We have, it is true, a powerful coalition to contend with. The public press has gone forth, teeming with misrepresentation, exciting odium, and endeavoring to blacken our cause; and not long ago, too, their legal advocate undertook to strengthen their position by his appeal to the prejudices of the public mind,—but in that, also, he has signally failed. Out of their own circle of friends, their influence has not been much felt. It is acknowledged by gentlemen opposed to us in religion, that our claim is rightful, and, if persevered in, must be successful. [Cheers.] And, I have the pleasure to assure you, that however bigotry and intolerance may prevail, it is not universal. There is a feeling in our favor, not among the laity only, but even among many of the clergy of other denominations there are men who acknowledge the justice of our cause, and contend with us that it is wise policy to diffuse the blessing of education to the extent of the entire population. [Cheers.]

Bishop HUGHES here spoke of the incalculable benefits to be derived from a radical modification of the Public School system, and continued—We now pass from the second stage to the consideration of the present position of the question. We first laid our case before the Common Council. They disposed of it in a manner with which you are familiar. We then applied to the Legislature. It is now in the order of things to be referred to yourselves. [Cheers.] But how deeply is the question covered over! how followed up by other questions! how gigantic the influences which have been employed to arrange the matter in such a way that you could not choose for yourselves—that you would be left no alternative but to select friends of the present system! [Cheers.] You are now to decide whether your children shall be educated as others shall prescribe—receive instruction from such books as are repugnant to your relious feelings, and whether you shall be constrained to give your voice in favor of those who would perpetuate such a state of things. And here see the effect of our admirable system of laws. We have it in our own power to remedy the evils of which we complain. It may truly be said to be a government of the people—based as it is on just and adequate representations, founded on a principle in which there is an implied contract, or what may be called an implied contract between the voter and the voted for. But in relation to

the candidates who have been placed in nomination for your suffrage at the present time, mark the cunning of the gentlemen opposed to you. They have so managed it that those candidates, if elected, would go to the Legislature pledged to oppose your claim, so that when the representatives are assembled at Albany, it may be said that if you voted at all you voted in favor of that to which it has been said you were opposed—that you were satisfied with the schools of the Public School Society as they are,—that in your judgment those schools inculcate the proper amount of moral precept, and religion as we were once told, in just the "legal quantity." [Cheering and laughter.] The time, then, has now arrived, when the fathers and the brothers and the uncles of the children who are excluded from those public schools should pass judgment on the evils of the present system. There are those who overlooking the evils of which we complain, speak of it as a system admirably calculated to diffuse the benefits of education, with its one hundred schools, its three hundred teachers, and one hundred and fifty thousand dollars per year. It may be and no doubt is so for those who may be permitted to enjoy the advantages which it affords—to us they are of no benefit. But you are accused of not being sincere in your objections, and notwithstanding the fact of your being obliged to supply and to suffer under the inconvenience of a miserable and defective system of your own, they assert that you were perfectly satisfied with their schools until I, or some other, undertook to excite your discontent and that the objections which were made were entertained principally by the clergymen. The absurdity of such statements, however, is so apparent as to need no refutation. Why, I may ask, do you resort to poor schools to educate your children and to a farther tax upon your private means after paying your contribution to the public fund, if you have not cause of complaint. [Cheers.]

There is another view of this question which it is prudent not to overlook. It is this—you may observe that if a public man should advocate your cause, that man immediately receives a reproof from the friends of the present system; he is certain to encounter all the animosity of personal and embittered opposition. Both here and in Albany, if a man stands up for your rights, he is marked and frowned upon. What is the object of the efforts made to blast men who advocate your just claims? Is it because enmity is felt towards them? No! it is not that alone. But it is to teach all public men this lesson for the future—that it is dangerous to befriend you!—that they must not stand up for justice when justice is not popular. [Tremendous cheers.] It is intended to be a beacon—a warning—to public men, who dare raise their voice in behalf of an oppressed class of society, that when they do so they may expect their downfall. [Great and renewed applause.]

But I call upon you to resist this Public School System, whether you are sustained by public men or not. You are called upon to join with your oppressors, and they leave you no alternative in voting. It may appear uncommon—it may seem to be inconsistent

with my character that I should thus take an interest in this matter; and I should not, were it not a subject of extraordinary import. But there has been an invasion of your religious rights, and, as the spiritual guardian of those now before me, I am bound to help their cause. If you are taxed, you must be protected. [Cheers.] Were the tax so imposed that each denomination might receive the benefits of its own quota, the case would be fair enough. We are willing to have any system that operates *equally;* but we will never submit to a direct violation of our rights, and an appropriation of the school fund in such a manner that we may not participate in its benefits. Though our opponents may now succeed, that will not end our resistance. We will continue to interrogate the candidates as to whether they intend to oppress our children. We will ask them if they mean to perpetuate the present system; and if so, we will say to them, "You may go to the Legislature, but others will have to send you, not we." [Long-continued cheers.] Be not ashamed of so doing, for who will be your friends, if you are not true to yourselves? Act for yourselves, and you will have a shield of protection.

You are called upon to use that protective shield, for how can representatives be more friendly to you than you are to yourselves? How can you expect men to stand up for you, when the very persons who become advocates of your cause are marked out to be neglected, dropped and despised even by the people for whom they risked their reputation? How can you expect another man to do right merely for your sake? There is but one course for you to take: stand up for yourselves, and, I will be bound for it, public men will soon come to your aid! [Loud and long-continued cheering.]

Experience tells us that to all the great questions agitated in this country, there are two sides; and in the history of this one we have evidence of the fact. I do not consider the question as it regards parties or men. I only speak for and advocate the *freedom of education* and the men who stand up for it. I appear as the friend of him who would give justice to all classes. [Cheers.]

We have entirely kept out of sight all mere party distinctions, and have looked among public men for those who had just views of what we regard as our undeniable rights. We have now resolved to give our suffrage in favor of no man who is an enemy to us and the recognition of those rights, and to support every friend we can find among men of all political parties. [Great applause.] Among the candidates nominated upon one side, we could find but one advocate and he a tried friend. As a public man he dared to do what he conceived to be his duty; we can never cease to remember the friendly act of that distinguished gentlemen. [Thunders of applause.] We were in his case determined to show that we were not incapable of gratitude, and to hold out the inducement to any other individual in his situation, that if he supposed he risked some blame for advocating our cause, we would never apply to him the scorpion whip of political ingratitude. [The most deafening applause.] When ingrati-

tude was discovered in a man's associates it was painful enough, but when coming from men, for whose welfare and rights the penalty of public censure had been bravely risked, there was in the chastisement a bitterness which could not be described. That gentleman has thought proper to decline his nomination, and excepting his we do not find one solitary name of an individual on that side, who has not been proclaimed as pledged and bound to protect the present oppressive system of which we complain. And can you vote for such individuals? No! You are for once to stand up for yourselves; for neither in honor nor in principle, nor in conscience, can you now vote for those whom you already know are prepared to do you injury. [Vociferous applause.] Let me illustrate your position by supposing a case. If there be a street to be run in a certain direction of the city, and its course, if adopted, will invade your property and destroy your house, on which you have expended your fortune, and if this matter await the final determination of men to be appointed to office by your vote, and if they expressly declare that they approve of this, to you, ruinous measure, should you give them your vote? If you would, your case would demand no sympathy—you yourself exercise your franchise for the purpose of electing to high places men predetermined to act contrary to your wishes, and involve you in ruin, for which in such circumstances you could never justly claim reparation. [Great applause.] But you are determined to act in no such manner. You have resolved to vote for no man who is a determined enemy to your views of this question. [Renewed and deafening applause.]

This is all. We go no farther. With political controversies and party questions I have nothing whatever to do. Such considerations enter not into anything with which I am concerned. But by my authority the only means left us to obtain justice have been sought, and this organization effected. The representatives of the neglected portion of the children in the various parts of the city have met, and have all united for the purpose of arranging a plan by which they may escape the miserable alternative of voting for their enemies, and they have prepared a ticket bearing on it the names of men who are all known as favourable to your cause. [Great cheering.] We do not, indeed, entertain any hopes beyond what we are authorized to cherish, that these candidates will be elected. But at all events we shall not be chargeable with the absurdity of voting for men who are determined to use the influence given them by our votes to deprive us continually of the right which we claim. [Great applause.]

The persons who have opposed us have laid their measures well. They can use the public press. They can multiply misrepresentation. And what with their great wealth, and admitted respectability and powerful influence, they can purchase into their service everything except one thing—*the unpurchasable votes of their victims.* [Tremendous cheering.] That yet remains in our possession. And, now, come what may, one thing I do expect, and that not only from those

immediately representing this neglected portion of the future population of New York, but also from liberal men of other denominations, that they will not support men who are our declared enemies—known to be hostile to our cause. And now let me tell you for your encouragement, that gentlemen not at all connected with us in religion—who differ with us entirely on that subject—but who understand the nature of this question and know the justice of our claims, have determined that they too will vote that ticket which we have prepared. [Great applause.] They have seen that our wrongs are not merely abstractions—that they are real and demand redress—and that the free and independent exercise of our elective franchise is the only shield left us, and when they see you exercising the right of the freeman, as the freeman, and not as the slave, they will come to your aid, and respect and assist you in your struggles, and friends where you would never have dreamed of them, will arise and plead your cause. [Deafening cheers.]

It is impossible for me to say anything personally of those whose names have been recommended to be placed on the list of candidates, and I would not for one moment urge that they should be placed there, had I not been assured, on the most positive evidence and which I could not doubt, that they are friendly to an alteration in the present system of public education. I know that some of them, it is said, are opposed to us. But again I have been assured by gentlemen who spoke from their own personal knowledge—some speaking for one candidate, some for another,—that by public and recorded acts, or authorized declarations, all of them, aye, all of them, can be depended on as determined, should they by your votes be elected to the position in which they can decide on this question, to support the justice of our claims. [Tremendous applause.] If, however, it should happen, that we discover we are mistaken in any of them, and if after taking him for a friend, contrary to all assurances we have received, we find him an opponent of our measures, then he has the easy remedy—he can write to the papers, and say we used his name without authority. [Cheers.] If any of the gentlemen named take this course we can supply his place. And I conceive that he shall be bound in honor to do so—if we have been mistaken in him he is bound to declare it and not perpetuate the deception. [Cheers.] Before I call on the secretary to read the ticket, I will simply say, gentlemen, that the decision of this night on it, is to be final, and without any expression of individual opinion as to the merits and demerits of those names, which will be read. As I already remarked, I am not acquainted with any of these individuals; but they have been selected by gentlemen as much interested in this question as I am; and now, gentlemen, if you are unanimously determined to convince this community that you are sincere, and really in earnest—that you sincerely feel that there is a *bona fide* grievance of which you complain and wish redressed, you will support the candidates thus offered for your choice, because if you do not you have no alternative left but that of voting for the declared enemies of

your rights. I will now request the secretary to read the names placed on the ticket, of that ticket I have approved. It presents the names of the only friends we could find already before the public and those whom, not being so prominently before the public, we have found for ourselves.

The Secretary then read the following list:—*Senators*, Thomas O'Connor, J. G. Gottsberger; *Assembly*, Tighe Davey, Daniel C. Pentz, George Weir, Paul Grout, Conrad Swackhammer, William B. MacLay, David R. F. Jones, Solomon Townsend, John L. O'Sullivan, Auguste Davizac, William McMurray, Michael Walsh, Timothy Daly. Each name was received with the most deafening and uproarious applause, and three terrific cheers were given at the close on the subsidence of which the Bishop proceeded.

You have now, gentlemen, heard the names of men who are willing to risk themselves in support of your cause. Put these names out of view, and you cannot, in the lists of our political candidates, find that of one solitary public man who is not understood to be pledged against us. What, then, is your course? You now, for the first time, find yourselves in the position to vote at least for yourselves. You have often voted for others, and they did not vote for you, but now you are determined to uphold with your own votes, your own rights. [Thunders of applause, which lasted several minutes.] Will you then stand by the rights of your offspring, who have for so long a period, and from generation to generation, suffered under the operation of this injurious system? [Renewed cheering.] Will you adhere to the nomination made? [Loud cries of "we will," "we will," and vociferous applause.] Will you be united? [Tremendous cheering—the whole immense assembly rising *en masse*, waving of hats, handkerchiefs, and every possible demonstration of applause.] Will you let all men see that you are worthy sons of the nation to which you belong? [Cries of "Never fear—we will!" "We will till death!" and terrific cheering.] Will you prove yourselves worthy of friends? [Tremendous cheering.] Will none of you flinch? [The scene that followed this emphatic query is indescribable, and exceeded all the enthusiastic, and almost frenzied displays of passionate feeling we have sometimes witnessed at Irish meetings. The cheering—the shouting—the stamping of feet—waving of hats and handkerchiefs, beggared all powers of description.] Very well, then, the tickets will be prepared and distributed amongst you, and on the day of election go like freemen, with dignity and calmness, entertaining due respect for your fellow-citizens and their opinions, and deposit your votes. And if you do not elect any of your friends, you will at least record your votes in favor of justice, and in favor of your principles, which must not—cannot be abandoned, and you will be guiltless of the sin and shame and degradation of electing men who are pledged to trample on you if they can! [Great cheering.] I care not for party men—their professions—their cliques—and all that. Bring them to the test, and you find great promises—lean performances. It is time that you should con-

vince them that you, the interested parties in this great question, you the denizens of a nation proverbially faithful to every engagement—you will convince them at least, and perhaps for the first time, that you are not the pliant tools they mistake you to be! [Loud cheering.] You will have nothing to do with the men who go to the Senate and Assembly, pledged to act against you? [Loud cries of "no, no, no;" "that we wont!" and great cheering.] They may find votes enough to send them—[a voice, "no, they shan't!"] let them go! But they will, in that case, be obliged to confess that they were sent by your enemies—let them do the work of their masters! [Laughter and cheers.] I ask then, once for all—and with the answer let the meeting close—will this meeting pledge its honor, as the representative of that oppressed portion of our community, for whom I have so often pleaded, here as well as elsewhere—will it pledge its honor that it will stand by these candidates whose names have been read, and that no man composing this vast audience will ever vote for any one pledged to oppose our just claims and incontrovertible rights? [Terrific cheering and thunders of applause, which continued for several minutes, amid which Bishop Hughes resumed his seat.]

Silence having been at length restored, the ticket was adopted by acclamation, and the immense assemblage adjourned in the most peaceful and orderly manner.

ADDRESS TO BISHOP HUGHES.—HIS REPLY.

Great Meeting at Washington Hall of Catholics and others favorable to an alteration in the present Public School System, November 16th, 1841.

"THE public mind, for two weeks past," says the *Freeman's Journal* of Nov. 20th, 1841, "has been plied on the subject of Bishop Hughes and the School Question, with every description of newspaper rhetoric, from the dull calumnies of the hypocritical *Sun*, and the worthless outpourings of a still lower and more malignant vehicle, to the frantic falsehoods of the *New Era*, the *Journal of Commerce*, the *Commercial*, and other similar organs of bigoted cliques and interested politicians. No vengeance seemed too heavy to be invoked by those pure and moral censors upon the head of him who had warned a people, whom he was BOUND to protect, to beware of the political leaders who had become the partisans of an intolerant monopoly, notorious as the irreconcilable foe of their and their children's rights. A clamorous outcry of proscription and denuncia-

tion was raised, such as had never before, perhaps, been witnessed in this city. 'The State was in danger'—'the Bishop was aiming at the subversion of the Constitution, and effecting a union between the State Government and the Catholic Church.' These and many other allegations were daily and hourly sent abroad upon the wings of the press; and the affrighted public had many grave homilies and prophetic warnings read them on the subject of the dread feuds and murderous outbreaks that would inevitably ensue, if the Catholics would not submit to let their children be taught either Protestantism or infidelity, as it should please the Public School Society, in the plenitude of its wisdom and benevolence, to decree. Another string was harped upon, too—the Catholics were addressed by the several organs of the Holy Alliance, who seemed to have just made the discovery that there was a great body of intelligent and liberal-minded Catholics in the city, and *all* THESE the monopolists declared, in the most self-satisfied manner, would not, they were sure, sustain the Bishop—he was utterly alone, if the veracious soothsayers were to be believed. But an early check was given to the delusion. TWETY-TWO HUNDRED FREE AND INDEPENDENT VOTERS, breaking loose from the trammels of party attachment, and giving their suffrages to the INDEPENDENT TICKET *that was only nominated four days previous to the election*, startled the calumniators and exposed to the world how baseless were all their accusations, and how impotent were all their threats and denunciations. But the friends of justice and equal rights, aud especially the Catholic citizens of New York, were determined to give, if possible, a still more emphatic denial to the extravagant absurdities that were so wildly propagated."

A meeting was held at Washington Hall on 16th November, for the purpose of expressing entire approbation of the course pursued by Bishop Hughes on the School Question. At half-past seven o'clock the large room was filled to overflowing. There were from three to four thousand persons present, and a more enthusiastic and unanimous meeting was never witnessed. Thomas O'Connor, Esq., was called to the chair, by acclamation. The following gentlemen were unanimously appointed as vice-presidents: Francis Cooper, Bernard Graham, Felix Ingoldsby, John B. Lasala, John Quin, John McNulty, Peter McLaughlin, Terrence Donnelly, P. A. Hargous, John Milhau, J. G. Fendi, P. S. Casserly, Gregory Dillon, John McMenomy, Hugh Kelly, James Kerrigan, Dr. H. Sweeny, Tighe Davy, Andrew Carrigan, Peter Murray, James W. White, J. G. Gottsberger, Peter Duffy, Owen McCabe, Dennis Mullens, Robert McKeon, James Olwell, John Mullen, Joseph O'Conner, Daniel Major.

Bartholomew O'Connor, Edward Shortill and Edmund S. Derry, Esqs., were appointed secretaries of the meeting. The call of the meeting having been read, the following gentlemen were appointed a committee to prepare resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting, in reference to the object for which they had assembled, and to prepare an address to the Rt. Rev. Bishop Hughes, viz.: Messrs. James W. White, B. O'Connor, and Edward

Shortill. These gentlemen accordingly withdrew for the purpose of fulfilling the duties of their appointment. During their absence, the meeting was eloquently addressed by the president, Thomas O'Connor, Esq., and by Dr. Hugh Sweeny. When the committee returned, B. O'Connor, Esq., came forward and submitted a preamble and resolutions, the reading of which elicited frequent and hearty cheering.

After the resolutions were read, James W. White submitted, on behalf of the committee, and read to the meeting, the following Address to the Rt. Rev. Bishop Hughes:

Rt. Rev. Sir:

A numerous body, consisting of thousands of your fellow-citizens, friends of free and universal education, and favorable to an alteration in the present Public School System of the city of New York, have assembled this day at Washington Hall, to take into consideration recent events connected with the subject. Having adopted resolutions declaratory of their determination to adhere to the principles by which they are actuated, they now desire, Rt. Rev. Sir, to convey to you a direct and earnest expression of their unwavering confidence in your judgment, zeal, and acknowledged ability; and to testify, thus publicly, to the respect which the fearless, independent, and judicious course that you have pursued in relation to this vital question of education, has excited in their minds. For more than one year past you had been laboriously engaged in advocating the principle of *equal justice to* ALL *classes*, in the administration of a system of education to the support of which *all classes had contributed.* But until of late there had not arisen any circumstances that would call for a special public avowal of approbation of your great and efficient services in behalf of the poor and destitute children of New York. Throughout the whole course of agitation on this subject, you possessed the consciousness that you were discharging a *high* and *imperative duty.* This alone would have been esteemed by you a sufficient reward, and the only sanction that you would have required to sustain you in your efforts. But, at the same time, we felt assured that you could not doubt of the approbatian, sympathy and gratitude of those who were the constant witnesses to your zeal and devotion, and who have, in all things, co-operated with you in seeking a redress of the serious grievance which the odious restrictive system of public education in the city of New York had imposed upon a large class of citizens. Recent events, however, require that we should *now publicly express* that which we have *always felt*, and never felt *more* strongly than at the present time. THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SOCIETY of New York, whose intolerant, usurping, and proselytizing spirit you have often exposed with so much justice and efficiency, endeavored, by itself or its adherents, when the late election was approaching in this city, to overawe the leaders of the political parties, and compel a nomination of candidates for the State Legislature, who, if not pledged, should at

least be distinctly understood as favorable to the maintenance of the monopoly of the Society in all its odious prerogatives. The political leaders feared to encounter the wealth and influence of this corporate body, and, almost to a man, yielded to the demand that was made upon them. This proscriptive and unholy league reduced the friends of justice and of a republican system of education to the alternative of either abandoning the exercise of their inalienable right of franchise, or else, by exercising it, to elevate to office men who had determined to use the power which that office would confer for the destruction of the rights of those to whom they might owe their elevation. From this alternative there was but *one* means of escape; it was one of which no FREEMAN could hesitate, under the circumstances to avail himself; IT WAS THE FORMATION OF A SEPARATE AND INDEPENDENT TICKET; and that *only* course which the opponents of the present Public School System could with honor or consistency pursue, was accordingly adopted by them. Accustomed, Rt. Rev. Sir, to look to you for counsel and aid throughout the entire discussion of this question, and desirous to secure, amongst its friends, entire harmony and unanimity in the important movement that was contemplated, the friends of the independent ticket requested that you should recommend its adoption at a meeting which was to be held on the subject at Carroll Hall, on the evening of Friday, the 29th of October. You consented to do so. You rendered that service to the cause in the same manner as you had before rendered many others. You attended that meeting as you had previously attended others on the same subject. It was NOT a *political one* in any sense of the word. *It had nothing whatever to do, directly or indirectly, with party politics.* It was called solely to adopt means for protecting the principle of *entire equality of religious rights and privileges between all classes of citizens* from the impending destruction which had been prepared for it with so much corrupt labor and unholy zeal. And it cannot be denied or concealed, that your forcible and impressive counsel on that occasion contributed much to produce the triumphant demonstration which was subsequently made—a demonstration which, it is hoped, will teach BIGOTS, that neither menace nor intrigue can succeed in forcing upon FREE AMERICAN CITIZENS A SECTARIAN INSTITUTION that is repugnant to their conscience, and which will also admonish POLITICIANS, that when tempted by a prospect of momentary advantage, they abandon popular rights and republican truth, and link themselves to corruption and intolerance, they will find, that the base companionship will be to them like the poisoned shirt of Nessus, bringing to them only defeat and ruin and political death—the just reward of their contemptible servility! We take this brief retrospect, Rt. Rev. Sir, of these transactions, because we desire to place THE FACTS upon record—we desire to hold up the TRUTH in a distinct and prominent manner before the public gaze, so that it may be seen and understood by all, and that the delusion which many have sought to create may not be suffered to prevail either with respect to the *facts* them-

selves or to our *estimate* of them. Disappointment in their expectation of finding us to be mere unresisting victims, whom they hoped by their deep laid combinations and stupendous effort to overwhelm and crush for ever, the bigots and their allies have turned upon YOU as the author of their defeat. They have sought to take the despicable and loathsome revenge of personality and abuse, that deemed nothing too mean, or too low, or too foul for its services. Press after press poured forth its gall and rancor in falsehoods without number; and SOME men were found, who not content with assaults comparatively distant, sought to draw the line of attack still nearer—within your own household as it were—and hoped to give an additional barb to the calumny which they uttered by assuming to themselves the name of Catholics! Rt. Rev. Sir, we DENOUNCE both classes of these calumniators as equally reckless of truth and of the principles of liberty which they effected to revere; and as to those who sought to give a peculiar character to their invective by their *nominal creed*, we do here IN THE NAME OF THE CATHOLIC BODY OF NEW YORK, REPEL WITH INDIGNATION THEIR *assumption of a right to speak for or represent in any manner the sentiments of that body.* We need not, Rt. Rev. Sir, refer here, at any length, to the great principle for which we are contending, or the arguments by which it is sustained. These you have, sir, on many occasions, powerfully demonstrated and laid before the public. But we should not at this time omit to repudiate *one* of the many absurd accusations that have been made against us. We have been charged with advocating the doctrine of the "*Union of Church and State!*" and this, too when a *union of Church and State was one of the identical political heresies against which we had so resolutely arrayed ourselves!* The present Public School System of New York, we esteem as but the old system of a LAW-ESTABLISHED CHURCH IN DISGUISE—a scheme that seeks, by the sickly substitute of a *State system of education*, to achieve the same end that was formerly accomplished by the establishment of a *State system of Religion*, namely, *to promote certain religious doctrines, and ta discountenance others.* Against this system we have declared an eternal hostility. Against this you have, Rt. Rev. Sir, pleaded, and pleaded not altogether in vain. It has been an insidious and dangerous foe to the religious rights and the purity of faith of those for whose spiritual welfare you are responsible; and it was to counsel the adoption of the *only means* of resistance that could be used against the most formidable movement that had yet been made by this enemy, that you appeared at Carroll Hall on the memorable evening of the 29th of October. Had you omited, Rt. Rev. Sir, to perform the noble part which you then enacted, we must be permited to say, that you would have fallen short of the performance of that DUTY, which those who had a right to look to you for aid and counsel in so great an emergeucy, would have expected at your hands. Having performed it and suffered for it, you are, sir, thereby DOUBLY ENDEARED TO US ALL, and have earned a brighter and more endearing honor than any which had heretofore ranked you

with the most eminent and gifted citizens of the land, or made your name illustrious amongst the prelates of the church. Your heroic devotion, Rt. Rev. Sir, shall not be lost upon us. Already, it inspirits us to greater energy and perseverance in the prosecution of a just and righteous cause—and while we tender to you the heartfelt assurance of our approval of, and gratitude for, your great services, we also PLEDGE ourselves, that *only with our lives or final triumph shall we cease to contend for the principle around which we have rallied—the principle of* PERFECT RELIGIOUS EQUALITY, AND FREEDOM OF EDUCATION, EQUAL RIGHTS AND EQUAL JUSTICE TO ALL CLASSES AND ALL DENOMINATIONS.

The address was received with loud cheering, and, together with the Preamble and Resolutions, was, on motion, unanimously adopted by the meeting.

[When this address was adopted, Bishop Hughes was not in the city, hence the delay in replying.]

Bishop Hughes' Reply

To the Address which was presented to him from a general meeting of the Catholics and other citizens of New York, held in Washington Hall, on the 16th Nov., of which the following gentlemen were officers: Thomas O'Connor, Esq., Chairman; Francis Cooper, Bernard Graham, Felix Ingoldsby, Peter McLaughlin, Terence Donnelly, P. A. Hargous, John Milhau, J. G. Fendi, P. S. Casserly, Gregory Dillon, John McMenomy, Hugh Kelly, James Kerrigan, Dr. H. Sweeny, Tighe Davey, John B. Lasala, John Quin, John McNulty, Andrew Carrigan, Peter Murray, James W. White, John G. Gottsberger, Peter Duffy, Owen McCabe, Dennis Mullens, Robert McKeon, James Olwell, John Mullen, Joseph O'Connor, Daniel Major, Vice-Presidents; Bartholomew O'Connor, Edward Shortill, and Edmund S. Derry, Secretaries.

GENTLEMEN,—The perusal of the Address which you have presented to me, as passed at the large and respectable meeting in Washington Hall on the 16th inst., has afforded me the greatest pleasure. The numbers and respectability of the meeting, the tone and temper of the proceedings, the union of feeling that prevailed, and the dignity of the language employed to express it; are such as meet my entire approbation, and reflect the greatest credit on yourselves. In replying to it, I shall be as brief as possible, and for the purpose of greater perspicuity, allow me to divide my reply into numbered paragraphs.

1. I hold it as a natural and civil right, that, when a class or profession of men is singled out, denounced, assailed, they should combine for the purpose of self-defence in the same character and capacity in which they are attacked; and should employ in self-defence the same weapons which are employed by their oppressors

for aggression. If men are singled out to be trampled on as mechanics, they have a right to rally as mechanics, and wield the weapons of assault, for the purpose of repelling the assailants. So in regard to religion, if men are assailed as Methodists or Presbyterians, as Methodists and Presbyterians they have a right to combine and protect themselves. And if in consequence of the exercise of this right a political or even physical contest should ensue, the censure of virtuous judgment, whether from the judicial bench or the public press, should fall on the *aggressors* against the rights of others; and not on those who in consequence of their being assailed are obliged to stand together in self-defence.

2. But was this the position of the Catholics? Unquestionably it was. They were singled out and assailed as *Catholics*. They go before the Senate as citizens, petitioners. The official advocate of the P. S. Society traces them through every disguise, until he brings them out in their religious character as Roman Catholics. Every public man who was disposed to make abstraction of their religion, and to do them justice according to the common right, was denounced as a friend to the "Roman Catholics." A paper was established in the immediate interest of the P. S. Society, calling on the Protestant voters to be careful and zealous "*even in their primary meetings*," to send only such men as would oppose the claims of the Roman Cathoilcs. For a twelvemonths past, certain pulpits of the city were ringing, Sunday after Sunday, with political sermons on the school question, and abuse of the "Roman Catholics." The religious papers of the city were filled with political homilies to the same effect, against their fellow-citizens who were "Roman Catholics."

3. During all this time of multiplied, various and undisguised aggression on the Roman Catholics, in their religious character, the secular or political press looks on in silence. When several strong denominations attack one that is weaker, in a manner which turns religion into politics, and politics into religion, the sentinels of our liberties at the press are asleep. But when that one assailed denomination meets the assault and repels the assailants with the same weapons which the latter had selected, then the danger of mixing religion with politics, is for the first time trumpeted in the public ear! If Protestants mingle religion with politics to abridge the Catholics of a common right, it is all well enough; but if Catholics do the same for the purpose of protecting common rights, then it is all wrong. Now I agree with the public press in the *principle*, that one of the greatest evils which could happen to society is the mixture of religion with politics. But in the application of that principle, I hold that it is those who *first* introduce the evil, who employ it in *assailing* the common rights of others, and not those who employ it in their own defence, who are entitled to blame. There is not an editor in New York who can deny the facts stated in the last paragraph; and yet during all this time we heard not a murmur of complaint from one of them! The *Post* came and proclaimed no

tidings; *The Sun* was eclipsed; the *Commercial Advertiser* gave no warning; the *American* forgot its name, and embodied all the anti-Catholic toryism, without the talent, of the *London Times;* whilst the *Journal of Commerce* was, what I suppose it ever will be, in morals as well as merchandise, the *Journal of Commerce.*

4. Nay, whilst the religious papers, such as the "*New York Observer,*" became *political*, the political papers, especially the *Commercial Advertiser*, the *American*, and the *Journal of Commerce*, became profoundly religious. Their politico-religious appeals were daily addressed to this "Protestant country," this "Protestant community," against the unfortunate "Romanists." This is known to all their readers. They cannot, and will not deny it. And yet these are journals among the loudest to preach of the degradation which must accrue to religion by any contact with politics. But their preaching condemns their own practice first of all, and their inconsistency in blaming the "Romanists" for employing in their own defence the tactics which *they* had employed in aggression, stares them in the face.

5. But was the measure adopted by the Catholics, in self-defence, a *political* measure? On this point each one must abound in his own sense. For my own part, I certainly did not so understand it. I foresaw the act of civil suicide which the Catholics were called upon to commit by voting for men pledged to defeat the just claim of this portion of their constituents, on a question of great importance to the whole community. It would be said in the Legislature next winter, that "so popular was the P. S. Society in New York, that the two political parties invited each other, in pledges, that the great corporation should be continued unchanged, with all its sectarian and irresponsible attributes." It would be said that "the Catholics themselves voted for candidates whom they knew to be thus pledged beforehand to deny their petition; and it would be inferred from this, that even *they* were satisfied to give up *their* children to be indoctrinated in that vague, sickly, semi-infidel Protestantism which prevails in the public schools." If they had voted for such candidates, would not every man of spirit despise them for their pusillanmity? And if after having done so they sent a petition to the Legislature, would they not deserve to have it contemptuously rejected the moment it was known to have been sent by men who returned, as their representatives, candidates whom they knew at the time to be pledged against it?

6. Thus, then, they selected names not pledged against them, as men of common sense in their situation should do. The measure was not of their *choice.* It was *forced on them.* Their adversaries had brought religion into politics against them. There was but one escape from the circle of fire, which the political intrigues of both parties operated on by the sectarian spirit of the P. S. Society, had well nigh closed around them. This was to throw away their votes on fictitious candidates, and leave their adversaries, of both parties, to fight their own battles. Of this course I approved, and were it

to be done again, in the same circumstances, I should urge it in language quite as strong as any employed by me on the evening of the 29th of October.

7. I have been accused of being a politician. The charge is false in the letter and in the spirit. I acknowledge and proclaim the right of clergymen, as well as others, to vote for public servants. But considering that our ministry is due to men of all parties, I conceive it to be the duty of the minister of religion to avoid being a partisan of either, but rather to study the things which will soothe the irritated feelings and mitigate the asperities of political strife.

This has ever been the rule of my own conduct; this the rule which I expect to be observed by the clergy of my charge. And if at any time they or I should appear to deviate from this rule, it must be for the maintenance of some constitutional principle far deeper and more sacred to the welfare of our country than anything involved in mere party interests.

8. The School Question involves a constitutional principle of this description. A general tax is imposed for education. It is our duty to pay, and we do pay our proportion of that tax accordingly. But then the discharge of this duty creates in our favor the *right* to receive the benefits of the education for which the tax was levied. Of this right we have been unjustly deprived, for sixteen or seventeen years past, in the city of New York. Here the business of education has been left in the hands of a private corporation. And I believe an examination of facts will bear me out in the statement, that, in the expenditure of the public money, in the selection of teachers, the lessons and compilation of books, and the religious tendencies given to the tender minds of the children at large, the whole has been made subservient to the aggrandizement and religious interests of one or more sects, predominant by their wealth, influence, and *tact* in securing to themselves the administration of every public trust by which that wealth and influence may be increased and enlarged. It was in promoting this end, no doubt, that, contrary to their own professions, such religious, sectarian exercises were introduced into the Public Schools, which soon drove the Catholic children from fountains of knowledge which, for them, were poisoned with effusions of anti-popery.

9. It is a great oppression and injustice towards the Dissenters of Great Britain and Ireland that they are required to pay *tithes* for the support of a religion, from whose ministry they can derive no benefit. A kindred injustice and oppression have been exercised on the Catholics of New York by the Public School Society. They tell us, indeed, that it is our own fault; but this is precisely what the friends of the church, "as by law established," say to the Dissenters on the other side of the water.

When I was at Rome, standing under the arch of Titus, and contemplating the sculptured emblems of the sacred vessels and candlesticks which he brought from the Temple of Jerusalem, I was told by my guide that during the middle ages (though I have not seen

it in any history) the Jews, who would never consent to pass under this arch, were provided by the government with a private passage, at which, however, *toll* was regularly demanded of them. I heard the story with regret. Their reluctance proceeded from an honorable feeling, and should not have been avenged on their purse. But our Public School Society go further. They require that we shall contribute to pay for the arch, and even the emblems of sectarianism with which they decorate it; and if we will not *then* pass through, have to find a thoroughfare as best we may.

10. Consequently we were obliged, after paying for public education, to withdraw our children and provide private schools to save them from the calamity of total ignorance. But our means were utterly inadequate to the task. Hence that state of mental ruin in which I found so many of the Catholic youth of this city. And if I have espoused this question of general education with a zeal which to some may seem extravagant, it is because my own appreciation of what I owed to my God and to the flock, which is His, committed to my care, made it my duty to do so. If I have seen the young son of virtuous, pious, humble parents, an ignorant free-thinker at the age of eighteen—if I have seen him old in vice before he reached the term of his minority—if I have seen him a disgrace to his name and a curse to society after that period—if I have seen him pursue his evil courses, until he broke the heart of the mother that bore him—if I have seen the daughter, too, whose childhood had been watched over with care, growing up with some education, but without any religious principles to guide her path in life, falling away from virtue until she brought the grey hairs of her parents down to the grave in sorrow and in shame—and if I could trace these effects, as clearly as moral causes and consequences can ever be traced, to a defective, unequal, sectarian, and unjust system of education, then it was my duty to my country, as well as to my God, to call public attention, by every lawful means, to an investigation of that ruinous system.

11. But it is asked, "then, what system would be deemed just by the Catholics?" I answer, any system that will leave the various denominations each in the full possession of its religious rights over the minds of its own children. If the children are to be educated promiscuously as at present, let religion in every shape and form be excluded. Let not the Protestant version of the Scriptures, Protestant forms of prayer, Protestant hymns, be forced on the children of Catholics, Jews, and others, as at present, in schools for the support of which their parents pay taxes as well as Presbyterians. The P. S. Society have a right to teach their *own children* that our Divine Redeemer "showed uncommon quickness of conception, soundness of judgment, and presence of mind;" but I deny their right to introduce such degrading notions of his character into the public schools of the city, and impress them on the children of Catholics and Protestant denominations who believe higher and holier things of the Son of God.

There is another system which the Catholics would deem just and equal. It is that each denomination should prescribe the amount and quality *for its own children* of religious instruction which consistently with the ends of the State in providing education might be incorporated with it. This plan, if it were practicable, would in my opinion be much safer for the welfare and security of society. But as it is, we behold the establishment of religion in the public schools, by the private authority of an irresponsible Board of Trustees, a thing for which neither the State Legislature, nor the Congress of the United States, could constitutionally give them a particle of authority!

12. It is this private, clandestine, surreptitious, "union of Church and State" against which Catholics have protested. It is this which has driven us from the public schools. It is this for which one part of the community pay taxes; whilst for another, the *taxes* are turned into *tythes*. It is this which for seventeen years past has subjected the Catholics to double taxation, first, to support the educational sectarianism of the public schools, and, second, to support private schools consistently with their consciences. *For no Catholic who believes in the truth of his religion, can allow a child of his to frequent the public schools, as at present constituted, and according to the system which has prevailed in them, without wounding his own conscience and sinning against God; and this he is not allowed to do for the whole world.*

13. There are one or two other matters to which I shall allude. You refer to the attacks, personal and otherwise, made on me by the public press. To the statements made respecting me in the public prints, I do not profess to be indifferent; and if I were so, I certainly should not boast of it. But remembering the account I shall have to render to God, and the eternal trusts committed to my charge, what kind of a creature should I be if I were to shrink from any duty, through fear of the newspapers or of human opinion? Besides, we live in an age and a country in which it is the right of the public press to scrutinize and judge the public conduct of all men. If they do so with *knowledge, just judgment* and *truth*, no one has a right to complain. That the knowledge of the true state of the case was wanting to many of those who assailed me, I am earnestly persuaded. There was enough to give the coloring of truth to the first impression of falsehoods that was published, and this became the *text* from which a thousand presses copied. I would not willingly offend the conductors of the press, more than I would offend any other class of men, and certainly all the abuse they have heaped on me has not awakened in my breast a single feeling of ill will toward them. Their civil right to indulge in abuse is regulated only by the law of libel; their *moral* right must be determined by their sense of accountability to God. Speaking now, as I may suppose myself, to the Catholic body at large, I would impress on you with all the earnestness I am capable of, to be cautious in regard to the character of the papers which you admit into your families.

For, unfortunately, some of them are of such a character that you cannot hope to preserve the FAITH or the INNOCENCE of your families if you allow them under your roof? Let the clergy warn their flocks against them; let the people know that they commit sin in reading them, and greater sin in buying them. Voltaire and Rousseau are less dangerous to religion and morals. In each of our principal cities the Catholics should patronize some one or more newspapers, which would supply them with all useful information, without that mixture of blasphemy, obscenity, and scandal, in which too many of them abound. These have their patrons whose principles *cannot* be corrupted by the printed immoralities which they read; but to see them in the hands of a Christian, and especially a Catholic, is a disgrace to the Christian name. All my efforts to save the Catholic children from the dangers that surround them, will be in vain, if you do not teach them, both by precept and example, the necessity of shunning the corrupt newspapers of the day as they would shun plague and pestilence.

14. As to those Catholics (alas! poor Catholics most of them) who joined the crusade against the rights of their children and yours, I feel for them only a sentiment of pity.

15. Finally, gentlemen, I am by no means surprised at the very general disapprobation which even good men of all religions and parties have felt and expressed in reference to the subject which gave occasion to your meeting. If I were a tool in the hands of a party—if I were a politican—if I brought religion into politics—if I was filling up the measure of any single character which the political papers falsely ascribe to me on that occasion, I agree with them that no terms of reprobation would be too strong to characterize my conduct. But they published these things—some through malice, some through ignorance of the truth—all under the fever of one of those political struggles, during which we know by experience, that men, otherwise moral enough, forget all *distinction* between truth and falsehood, except as either may subserve the party interests of the contest in which they are engaged. Of course the readers of those false and distorted versions, both of action and motive, would assume them as true; for a false statement in print is very different from a false statement in conversation. There is no stammering, no blushing; no inconsistency or self-contradiction about it. The other prints that have copied it are like so many additional witnesses to corroborate the testimony. Men naturally concluded that it was true, and pronounced judgment accordingly. It was a "union of Church and State,"—"bringing religion into politics," a "Roman Catholic Bishop in the political arena," etc., etc. Not a word or syllable of truth in all this! It was simply a pastor warning his flock against a politico-religious intrigue already sprung upon them, having for its object to brand the word "Ignorance" on the foreheads of their children, as the penalty of *not conforming* to the sectarianism of the public schools. I am ready to prove *by facts* that it was *this;* and I defy any gentleman of any party to prove *by facts* that it was one iota more than this.

Ah! but it disturbed party arrangements. If party arrangements are based on iniquity, they ought to be disturbed. But my object was to protect my flock, not to disturb any party. Neither am I surprised that the Catholics themselves should have staggered for a moment under the misrepresentations of the public press. Many of them had not studied the question. They know, indeed, that I never meddle in politics; for in my life I have never advised a man, Catholic or Protestant, as to how he should vote on mere political questions. But when they were questioned by their Protestant neighbors on the statements of the newspapers, they were bewildered for an answer. "It was a pity, so it was," and this was about all they had to say in reply. Another class of Catholics, at least so called, looked on this question through the medium of the little offices which they held or expected.

Poor men! without a particle of true independence, who, instead of using the faculties of mind and body which God has given them for making a decent livelihood by their industry, are mere expectorants, hangers on for political favors, which are often granted only as the reward of degrading services. I do not say that Catholics, as well as others, should not accept any office they may be thought fit and worthy to fill, providing they are not degraded by the means through which they are expected to reach it.

When you take all these things into account, I think your wonder at my being so violently assailed, will be greatly diminished; and your judgment of those who assailed me, perhaps, more indulgent. As for mere personal abuse and scurrillity, of course I disregard it. It is a matter of taste, and each one may indulge his palate as he will. But there is one thing that deserves our admiration. It is the perfect order which prevailed during the recent election, notwithstanding the appeals which were made by a portion of the press to the worst passions of the people, stimulating them to deeds of violence.

What a glorious spectacle was presented by the freemen of New York, of all parties, when they were seen exercising their sovereignty, without violence, without quarreling, without even the interchange of a reproachful or passionate word; and this too, under an unparalleled amount of fictitious provocation created by the misconceptions, or misrepresentations of the press. It is creditable to the character of the city. It is a monument of testimony to prove man's capacity for self-government. It proves that genuine republicanism can present to an admiring world the seeming paradox—man sustaining towards himself the double relation of a *subject* and a *sovereign*. Cherish and imitate the glorious example. Be careful to respect, even with tenderness, the rights of others. Be equally careful to know and preserve your own. If, at any time, you should seek for any privilege, civil or religious, which is not the common right of all other denominations, you will merit the rebuke which you will not fail to receive. If, at any time, you should basely sit down, contented with *less* than the equal privileges which the con-

stitution secures to all, you will be cordially despised, as you ought to be, by your fellow citizens.

Permit me, in conclusion, to offer you my heart-felt thanks for the sympathy and confidence which you have expressed in my regard—and the kind manner in which they have been conveyed. You have not been mistaken in the purity of my motives. Humble as I am, I would spurn from my presence any man who would think to make me a political instrument. And I owe it to the public, as well as to individuals, to state that no such thing has ever been attempted. My only object was to warn you against being made the instruments of perpetuating the ignorance, and of course the vice and degradation of your own children. Ignorance in *other* countries is a misfortune. *Here*, if the laws were fairly carried out, it would, as it should, be a *crime*. If I have done anything which shall tend to prevent that crime, or abate that misfortune in regard to the rising and future generations, I shall flatter myself with having rendered a service to my country and to mankind. And if, besides, I shall have contributed to rescue even one youth from the ruin in which I see so many plunged;—if I shall save the aching of one parent's heart, I shall value the gratitude and benediction of that heart as far more than compensation for all the abuse and misrepresentation that have been heaped upon my name.

I have the honor to be, Gentlemen,

With sincere regard, your friend and serv't in Christ,

✠ JOHN HUGHES, Bishop, &c.

New York, November 29, 1841.

Letter on the State of Ireland.

The following letter of Bishop Hughes, relative to the condition of Ireland in 1843, will be read with interest. Though hurried through that unfortunate country with an almost steam velocity, yet to his keen and quickly penetrating eye her position and affairs seem to have offered no difficulty. He saw and understood them with wonderful sagacity as the contents of his letter will show. Although written solely to meet the eye of a friend, this letter—more unsuspected on that account, and coming from so high an authority—is worthy to constitute a public document.

London, July, 1843.

Rev. and Dear Sir,—Constantly on the go since I landed in Europe, I have put off from day to day writing to you. Thrown by accident into the stirring scenes of a most interesting and eventful period of English, and more especially Irish history, I have been almost bewildered at what is passing around me. One day amidst the thousands at Donnybrook, listening to the eloquent and patriotic Liberator of Ireland, and the next in the House of Commons, listen-

ing to the masters of the world, I might almost call them, attempting to cope with and defeat one man. They have enough to do, I assure you. Never was a cabinet more perplexed than is that of Sir Robert Peel. But, though O'Connell has the right, alas! they have the power, and God grant that the crisis may not end in adding another blood-stained chapter to the history of Ireland's misfortunes!

Repeal, the government will not grant until the last extremity—and nothing short of Repeal will be of much use to Ireland, or will satisfy the Irish people. But there is one melancholy consolation, that, until it be granted, Ireland will continue in the eyes of all nations England's weakness and shame. The Parliament and the leading journals speak of nothing else, and yet the question seems to make but little impression on this iron-hearted people. But the truth is, that the Irish must depend on themselves. If they follow the advice of their great leader—keep peaceful—and carry on the great fight for national independence, not with their hands, but with their heads, their hearts, their abiding and indomitable *will*, they must be ultimately successful.

We landed on the coast of the county Cork on the 28th ult. It had been my plan to visit Ireland after I should have transacted my business on the Continent. This I may still do, but my feelings got so much excited by the poverty and oppression, the patriotism, the indifference, and the perfidy which I witness in that lovely land, that it is a relief to escape from the spectacle.

I shall visit France, Belgium, and perhaps Holland, and hope to set out for my diocese in the steamer of the 1st of October. Rev. Mr. Curran will, of course, have told you of all that could interest you among ourselves in America.

✠J. HUGHES, Bishop of New York.

LIFE AND TIMES OF PIUS VII.

A LECTURE, DELIVERED BEFORE THE MERCANTILE LIBRARY OF PHILADELPHIA, IN NOVEMBER, 1841.

The life of Pius VII. is not remarkable for any of the great and brilliant achievements which make men in elevated positions distinguished and illustrious. He was not, in any peculiar sense of the term, an extraordinary man. Endowed with a mind in which the general force of the intellectual powers did not shoot up into any one single or predominant quality, but in which they were all blended, each in just and suitable proportion with the others, and this mind cultivated in the highest degree for the vocation to which he felt himself called, he presented, in the aggregate, that rich combination of mental attributes which results in a *true judgment* of men and things—"uncommon sense," or common sense in the highest and most philosophical acceptation of the term. An impartial stranger to both, and viewing both in the light of the same philosophy, according to their different, I might almost say opposite, callings, if he wished to classify the *order* of mind to which Pius VII. belonged, would probably place him in the same list, and even near to him who stands first, if not alone, in the annals of American fame —whose name is embalmed in your hearts. But, oh! how different the circumstances in which they were respectively placed! The one chosen as national protector to the young and free hope of his rising country; the other elected only to inherit the afflictions of the Church, and the misfortunes of a predecessor who had just died a prisoner and an exile.

History would be a dull and unprofitable study, were it not animated and enlivened by the presence of Biography. Of the two parts of which history is composed, one is the mere record, assigning time and place—of the workings of nature and her elements—the fiery eruption of the volcano—the fury of the tempest—the throbbings and heavings of the terrible earthquake, with their consequences as regards the inhabitants of our globe. These and the like come from a power superior to man. He has no agency in producing them, and but little force to oppose to their violence. In

their presence he stands overwhelmed with the consciousness of his own insignificance. They are, indeed, well calculated to awe his proud thoughts into submission, and elevate his soul to the adoration of his God, to whom the most violent phenomena of nature recognize subordination and obedience. The man of science, also, may derive from these manifestations of the powers with which God has imbued the elements, beneath, and above, and around us—some obscure hints and data wherewith to build new theories, or correct, regulate and adorn old ones. To an extent thus limited, the study of *this part* of history is useful. But, then, it is only the action that is presented; while the principle and mysterious secret of the agency are far removed from human investigation.

Putting aside this division of history, all the rest is but the record of the HUMAN WILL, brought into the external world, obeyed, resisted, struggled against, or submitted to—with its everlasting action and reaction on the theatre and in the affairs of life. It is in this department that intellectual philosophy delights to dwell. Here it is that the mind is allured from the consideration of the event which is recorded, to the deeper study of the motives from within, that determined its origin and influenced its course and character; and thus we are led to the study of *man*—the great human problem of six thousand years—as yet unsolved.

In this department of the subject there is yet room for a subdivision. It is in the great preponderance of importance which history assigns to the events, with their minutest circumstances, which she records, over the living, thinking, reasoning agents who are engaged in their production. For instance: how comparatively few, in the annals of the human race, have been thought worthy, in the estimation of history, to have their names transmitted to posterity. I speak not now of sacred history, but of that which is called secular or profane. A few orators and poets, a few patriots and generals—an Alexander, a Homer, a Cicero, a Cæsar, best known, and a few others—have entitled themselves to be enrolled in the same annals which crowd up the rest of mankind, of all ages, into undistinguished masses of millions, and thus, *nameless*, consigns them, with the waste but of a single sentence, to dark oblivion.

The Popes, however, have at all times been, necessarily, characters of history. Some of them would have attracted her gaze, and by the force of their high mental powers, won such immortality as she can bestow, even without the help of the Tiara. But Pius VII. was not of this number. His life is interesting principally as one of the figures moving in the sequel of that splendid but terrible vision which burst on the gaze of Europe and the world just before the close of the last century, and continued till the Eagle that rose out and soared above it was at length taken, in 1815, and chained to a rock, where he was left to pine and die. It has passed away, that vision; leaving us, at the present time, but a few shadows that are seen mingling, here and there, in new combinations. In that great drama, Pius VII., both as a temporal Prince and as the Head of the

Church in all spiritual matters, was compelled to take a principal part. It was not his to direct the momentous events of the period. But when his extraordinary prudence could not enable him to evade their course, his soul was strong and resolute in resisting their pressure. Every dynasty of the continent had quailed or crumbled, at the distant voice of the Dictator of Europe; but the Dictator's voice had no terrors for the Fisherman's successor. Now in the Palace of the Vatican, and anon in the prisons of France, he is always the same; always true to himself, true to the trusts confided to him. He opposed himself, when duty required it, to the will of the greatest warrior the world ever saw; and the victor of a hundred battlefields could gain no conquest over the resolution of a public captive and infirm old man. Such is the subject I would bring before you, in the hope of showing you that *greatness of character* does not depend on the success with which brilliant achievements are accomplished, but it depends on its own intrinsic truth of being, which is best established by the test of adversity.

Gregory Barnabas Chiaramonte, afterwards Pius VII., was son of Count Scipio Chiaramonte, and Giovanna Ghini, and distantly related to Pius VI.

He was born at Casena, in Romagna, on the 14th of August, 1742. Embracing the ecclesiastical state, as soon as he was of an age to make a choice, his youth was spent in the seclusion of his profession, and presents nothing interesting as a biographical note, except it be his success in his studies, the piety of his life, and the mild, unobtrusive manners which endeared him to his superiors and his associates. Having joined the Benedictines, he was appointed, from a Professor of Theology in his own order, to be Bishop of Tivoli; and, in 1783, was raised to the dignity of Cardinal, and transferred to the Bishopric of Imola. While many of his colleagues were overtaken by the revolutionary hurricane which broke out in France soon after, and extended itself into Italy, Cardinal Chiaramonte, by the influence of his virtues and prudence, was enabled to continue at his post, equally respected by the victors and the vanquished. Pius VI., a prisoner and an exile, died at Valence, on the 29th of August, 1799. On the 1st of December following, the College of Cardinals met at Venice, and entered into conclave, to deliberate on the choice of his successor; and their deliberations resulted in the election of Cardinal Chiaramonte, on the 1st of March, 1800. He took the name of Pius: and now, in the sixtieth year of his age, bowed his head to receive that once splendid Tiara, which he must wear, if at all, over a crown of thorns.

Here it is that his life, as a subject of history, properly begins. In estimating the character of a public man, according to the standard of philosophical judgment, we are to view his course in connection with the trust which he administers, the end for which it is confided, the expectations of those from whom it is derived. Viewed in this light, the life of a pope is a solitary fact; in his time there is none of his class but himself; and if he be compared, it must be, not

with a contemporary—for in his official capacity he has none—but it must be with some one who has gone before, whom he is to follow. Yet this solitary character is not an isolated one; it is, in some respect, universal, by its spiritual relations with all the parts of the globe. And since every principal event in the outward social organization of men is accompanied or followed by its moral consequences reaching to the inward or spiritual world, the Pope, by his office, is placed at the point of mysterious connection between these two; to watch, anticipate, or modify their mutual action and reaction one upon the other United with this trust is another; the civil government of a small state, by which he ranks, and is considered as a temporal prince and sovereign. The post is at all times one of great difficulty, but at the accession of Pius VII. it was surrounded with unprecedented embarrassments. The hurricane, in the mere lull of which his election took place, had spent but little of its fury. It was still careering on its course throughout the social world, and its progress could be traced by falling thrones and shattered altars. The desecrated temple in Rome was but a sequel to the crimson and gory pavements of the Carmelites in Paris. Impiety had been enthroned in the holy place—the national councils of France, always predominant in her continental influence, had heard in silence, interrupted only by applause, the denial of any God, "save Nature." The name of Christian had become a by-word of reproach; belief was regarded as imbecility; new dates invented; the blessed era of the world's redemption was blotted out from the annals of the new order—and the giant of revolution was strained at shaking the pillars of universal society.

Oh! what an assemblage of momentous events are crowded into the checkered history of the period which followed, bringing out men almost as extraordinary as the period itself. Decrees issued, not to be executed — alliances formed, to be riven by the sword's edge — couriers flying to and fro, from one end of Europe to the other—the fate of battle turning the wisdom of cabinets into wildest nonsense—and farther deliberations of cabinets arranging for new battles, and making the ground thirsty for the blood of coming strife. These the times, these the circumstances in which Pius VII. is called to the helm of the Church, agitated, and all but overwhelmed, by the fury of the elements.

The new organization of the States of the Church, into what was called the "Roman Republic," had but a short existence; and had already passed away when Pius VII. was elected to the Pontificate. But the rapacity with which the rich treasures of piety and art had been devoured and destroyed by the conquerors, and the extortions of arbitrary commanders and commissions, incident to military invasion, had reduced and almost exhausted the means of the affluent, and multiplied, in a corresponding degree, the miseries of the poor. To the condition of these his first cares were directed. He ordered that the price of bread be lowered, and took measures that the supply should not fail. In the sacrifices which their condition required,

he set the first example, by narrowing down the expenses of his household to the strictest limits. He encouraged strangers to visit Rome, by making every effort to restore the works of art, and monuments of antiquity. While engaged in these appropriate cares, the tide of war begins to run again in favor of the French arms; and three Provinces, Ferrara, Bologna, and Ravenna, are swept from his territory, to give mathematical form to the new Republic in the north of Italy. The proximity of this new and ambitious power, left the Holy See completely at the mercy of the conqueror. This circumstance led to the first negotiation that took place between the Head of the Church and the great general, who was then First Consul of France. Beside the immediate object of the negotiation, each had special reasons for desiring the establishment of mutual friendly relations. If Napoleon should succeed in realizing the vision of perpetual power, which already began to dazzle his ardent mind, the favor of the Sovereign Pontiff would be of incalculable importance in cementing and consolidating that, for the mere winning of which, he had faith only in his genius and his sword. On the other hand, the Pope saw that the First Consul was already predominant in the councils of France, and that his influence would be most important in reconstructing, from the fragments of its own ruins, the sanctuary of religion in that country. The Archbishop of Corinth (Spina) was deputed to Paris to conduct the matter on the part of the Pope, and the dispositions of Napoleon were so favorable that the principles of an adjustment were mutually agreed upon; but the execution of the project as agreed upon, required, on the part of the Sovereign Pontiff, the exercise of a power which none of his predecessors had been called upon to employ.

The difficulty was with regard to the Bishops of France. None had been appointed since the Revolution; and those who had received their appointments before belonged to the old order — were attached to the fallen dynasty—and, of course, were unsuited to the new order which was about to rise out of the social chaos of the interval. With most of them, the apostolic entreaties of Pius prevailed; the others procrastinated—the requirement was novel, and unprecedented in the jurisprudence of the church. The true judgment of the Pontiff did not fail him in the emergency of his position, between the prompt and sanguine temperament of Napoleon on the one side, and tardy resolves, and the canonical scruples of the bishops on the other; and preferring the safety of religion to tho ecclesiastical rights of her ministers, in times which demand great sacrifices, he had recourse to the extreme power of his office, and suspended from their jurisdiction those of the bishops who had hesitated to resign. Had he not brought energy to the aid of prudence, in this crisis of the Church's weal or wo, who could tell what would have been the consequence to religion and to France—nay, to Christendom and the world?

The concordat between Napoleon and the Holy See, by which religion was officially recognized, was published on the 5th of April,

1802; presented to the legislative body and officially promulgated on the 18th of the same month. As a sequel to the concordat, the same body received from the government and adopted a series of enactments called Organic Articles, which contained certain provisions violative of the spirit of the concordat itself. They rendered the Church almost entirely dependent on the State; and even contained enactments relative to the exercise of religion and of public worship. The Pontiff complained of them in an allocution to the Cardinals, as having been added without his concurrence, by the secular authority alone; although bearing on matters of a spiritual character. He remonstrated, and required that they should be changed or modified, but without effect. They were invested with the prescribed forms and incorporated into the national code, as laws of the State. This never ceased to be a subject of painful anxiety on the mind of Pius; while its importance was easily swallowed up in the weightier and mightier events which soon engrossed the thoughts of Napoleon. The liberality and munificence, however, which he manifested toward the Church, in a variety of cases, induced many to believe that, in the mind of the First Consul himself, the Organic Articles were susceptible of a less rigid interpretation than was implied by the literal import of their meaning. These indications in favor of religion, with the hope, also, of being able to improve them into happier effect by his presence, determined his Holiness to take a journey into France, which had long been solicited by many pious members of that afflicted portion of his flock.

But events, entirely unconnected with these considerations, were now in progress, which furnished him with an additional motive for undertaking the voyage. These were the yet rising fortunes of Napoleon. A cadet at the military school; a lieutenant of artillery — general — consul, and first of his order, in them all — these were but the brief resting points of his rapid ascent from the ranks of the battalion to the giddy heights of majesty and imperial power. The decree of May 18, 1804, awarded him the hereditary and imperial crown of France. It was probably in anticipation of this event that Cacault, the French Minister at Rome, had been recently superseded by Cardinal Fesch, who, in his double capacity, might best arrange the delicate project of engaging the Pope to assist in person and perform the ceremony of the Emperor's coronation. The rights of the exiled Bourbons; the principle of legitimacy contended for by all that was not France, and much that was, presented themselves as reasons for refusing to accede to a proposal which, if acceded to, would be at once offence to all the old governments of Europe, and would involve him, inextricably, perhaps, in the fortunes of the new Emperor. But, on the other hand, the unsettled state of ecclesiastical affairs in that country; the marring of the concordat, by the Organic Articles, which subjected the Church to the will of the State, in so great a degree; the greater necessity, therefore, to secure the good will of the Emperor—not to speak of the good which he might reasonably hope his presence would produce among a people just

awaking from the wild dream of partial atheism and of general irreligion—these were strong and urgent considerations why the invitation should not be hastily declined. The matter was referred to the sacred Council of Cardinals, and they decided that, under certain stipulations, it was expedient that he should comply with the Emperor's wish.

These stipulations had reference, for the most part, to ecclesiastical matters of the gravest importance. But this did not exclude others that would appear, to us, at least, less weighty; and in the ceremonial of audience and presentation, we find Madame de Talleyrand expressly excepted, "lest" says his Holiness, "I should appear to sanction, by the act, a marriage which I will never recognize."

The formal letter of invitation from the Emperor himself, was dated at Cologne, the 15th of September, 1804, and on the second of November following the Pope set out from Rome. His first interview with Napoleon was at Fontainbleau, where he arrived on the 25th. Throughout his whole journey his presence was everywhere hailed with demonstrations of joy on the part of the people, and of enthusiastic devotion to his person. At Paris he was waited upon by deputations from all the public bodies and learned societies. He had the happiness to receive the submission of the constitutional or state bishops, and to witness the unaffected religious attachment of those faithful children of the Church, in that great metropolis, who had never swerved from their fidelity.

The presence of the Pope in Paris, under any circumstances, in so brief a period after the Revolution, would have been sufficiently unexpected and astonishing. Who could have anticipated such an event ten years before? At that time, the only sentiment of France, that had any pretensions to indicate the national will, was one of uncompromising, universal, and everlasting hostility to royalty and religion. One of its recognized interpreters expressed its object in the strong but coarse declaration, that the welfare of the human race would not be complete, till "the last king shall have been strangled with the entrails of the last minister of religion." Such, according to the spirit of '93–'94, was its scope, and aim, and end. And how strangely—how promptly—how widely—it must have diverged from the line of its direction, when by its own internal workings, and in the space of ten short years, it invites and welcomes to its capital, the first of priests, to place the emblems of royalty on the brow of its own chief, who in one sense might be called the first of kings!

Napoleon, however, did not require the religious offices of the Pontiff. They could not have made him more dear to his army. The crown was at his feet; and his own right arm was strong enough to raise it to his head. The moral sanction of the act, which would be implied from the Pope's presence, was all that he valued. The ceremony took place on the 2d of December; and that over Pius began to express his anxiety to return, and press the Emperor for the fulfillment of the stipulations which had been made, as the

condition of his visit to France. In regard to these, he was to experience and to bear the most painful disappointment. The restoration of the Order of Charity, of the Christian Brothers, the Society for Foreign Missions, and of the Irish College in Paris, was all that his zeal could accomplish. In his efforts to obtain any modification of the Organic Articles, he was entirely unsuccessful. Of course, the object of his journey, so far as it could be, was now accomplished, and he desired to return. But delays and obstacles, to him incomprehensible, opposed the execution of his design. The reason of these will be best understood from the following passage of his biography, from which it will be seen how gigantic and how wise, according to his purpose, were the prospects of the Emperor:—

"The Pope," says his biographer, Chevalier Artuad, "never mentioned the name of the high official who proposed to him to reside at Avignon, to accept a palace in the arch-diocese of Paris, and allow a privileged quartier to be established, as at Constantinople, where the diplomatic corps accredited to the holy Papal Court, should have the exclusive privilege of residing. This proposal, at first insinuated rather than directly addressed, afterwards repeated to his attendants and confidants, and to several Frenchmen who were friendly to the Holy See, led him to suppose that there was an intention of detaining him in France. The fatal words were never directly pronounced by Napoleon; but he possessed such a control over the thoughts and words of men at Paris, that it was not possible they should have been hazarded without his sanction. It was repeated, at least, with so much confidence, that the Pope thought it right at length to reply to the same official personage, 'It is reported that you mean to detain us in France. Be it so. You may take away our liberty, if you will. All that is provided for. Before leaving Rome, we signed a regular abdication, which will come into force the moment we are cast into prison. This act is beyond the power of France. It is in the hands of Cardinal Pignatelli, at Palermo; and the moment you make public your designs, that moment you will have in your hands only a poor simple monk, named Barnabas Chiaramonte.'

"That very evening, the orders for his departure were submitted to the Emperor." Vol. ii. pp. 38–9.

This reply, worthy of its author, set the matter at rest. And now that he was to set out, rich presents were prepared for himself and retinue, and pensions were assigned by the Emperor for the Cardinals who accompanied him. These were delicately, but steadfastly declined; and the Emperor having already set out for Milan, where he was to be crowned King of Italy, Pius VII., disappointed of nearly all his dearest hopes, set out for Rome on the 5th of April, 1805. On his way he had the consolation to receive, at Florence, the submission and full retractation of all his errors, of the too celebrated Ricci, Bishop of Pistoria.

The unsatisfactory state in which these negotiations terminated, was rendered still more so by events which, in the regular events

of the world, would have been centuries apart; but which, under the fiery powers that ruled the destinies of the period, were crowded into the lapse of a few years. The Organic Articles were extended to the new kingdom of Italy. This naturally filled the mind of Pius with affliction and grief. Another matter, of a domestic character, and personal to the Emperor, occurred about the same time; which was the marriage of his brother, Jerome, to a young lady of this country. This marriage the Emperor wished to have canonically annulled, and for that purpose diplomacy was plied to its utmost. It was solicited by the Emperor himself; but it was replied that the marriage, though not according to the canonical forms, was valid nevertheless, and could not be annulled by any authority on earth. All these things tended to widen the breach, and increase the estrangement.

The war with Austria had commenced, and the Papal fort of Ancona, seized by the French, under St. Cyr. The Pope proclaims his protest against the usurpation; and is answered, after six months, by an imperious letter, on the part of Napoleon. This reply of Pius is remarkable for its apostolic meekness and prudence, blended with firmness and dignity. To another subsequent letter of the Emperor, we may quote the following portion of his reply as a specimen of their quality:

"We commence with your Majesty's demands. You require of us to expel from our States all the subjects of Russia, England, and Sweden, and the agents of the King of Sardinia; as also to close our ports against the ships of the above-named nations. You require us to abandon our peaceful neutrality and declare open war against those powers. Your Majesty will permit us clearly and precisely to reply, that it is impossible for us—not on account of our temporal interests, but of the essential duties inseparable from our character—to comply with these demands. Consider well all the relations in which we are placed, and judge whether it becomes your religion, your greatness, or your humanity, to compel us to a step of this nature.

"It is not our will, it is that of God, whose place we hold on earth, that prescribes to us the duty of peace towards all, without distinction of Catholic or Protestant, far or near, benefactor or persecutor. We cannot betray the office committed to us by the Almighty; and we should betray it, were we, for the motives assigned by your Majesty—that is, because the parties in question are heretics, who can only work us injury (these are your Majesty's words)—to accede to a demand which would involve us in a war against them.

"The Catholics who reside in the dominions of these powers are of no inconsiderable numbers. There are millions of Catholics in the Russian empire. There are millions and millions in the countries subject to England. They enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and are protected by the State. We cannot foresee the consequences, if these powers should see themselves provoked by an act

of hostility so decided as would be the expulsion of their subjects and the closing of our ports against their shipping. Their resentment against us would be the stronger, that, in appearance, it would be more unjust, since we had not sustained any injury at their hands.

"These are the candid sentiments which the voice of conscience has dictated. Should, unhappily, your Majesty's heart be unmoved by our words, we should suffer with evangelical resignation, we should submit to every affliction, receiving them all from the hands of the Lord. Yes, truth shall always triumph on our lips; constancy in maintaining untouched the rights of our See shall reign in our heart; we will face all the adversities of life, rather than prove unworthy of our ministry. And you—you will not desert that spirit of wisdom and foresight which distinguishes you. It taught you that the prosperity of a government and the tranquillity of a people are inseparably connected with the welfare of religion." (Vol. ii., p. 230.)

The crisis was now hurrying on with accelerated rapidity. The Papal principalities of Benevento and Ponte Carvo are seized and bestowed upon Talleyrand and Bernadotte. The Pope protests, but offers no resistance. Alquier, who succeeded Fesch as ambassador at Rome, is instructed to demand, *formally*, that the ports of the States be forthwith closed against the enemies of the Empire; and the answer of Pius is worthy of his post: "His Majesty may execute his menace if he will. He may strip me of my possessions: I am resigned. I am ready, if it be the will of God, to retire to my convent, or, like the first successors of St. Peter, to the catacombs of Rome."

This refusal of the inflexible Pontiff exasperated the Emperor exceedingly, and gave occasion to that angry letter which he wrote to the Viceroy of Italy, Eugene. It was dated Dresden, 28th of July.

The tone of this letter foreshadowed but too well the events which were soon to follow. A French army, commanded by General Miollis, under pretence of opening a communication between northern and southern Italy, took possession of Rome, and planted their cannon, directed against the Quirinal Palace. Four additional provinces were taken from the States of the Church, and attached to the kingdom of Italy. The Cardinals, to the number of twenty, were expelled; and Pius, deprived of their counsel and support, reduced to the condition of a prisoner in his own capital. Such was the state of affairs at Rome in the latter end of 1808 and beginning of 1809. On the 7th of May, 1809, Napoleon dated, from the camp at Vienna, the decree, uniting the whole Papal territory of the kingdom of Italy; and on the 10th of June his standard replaced the Roman banner, which for ages had waved on the summit of St. Angelo. To all these scenes of violence and usurpation Pius presented no resistance, other than that of unyielding endurance, and the resignation of unbroken fortitude. Of this the evidence is found

in two documents composed by him at this time; the one, in which he pours out the deep tenderness and affliction of his soul, in a pastoral letter, bidding farewell to his flock; the other, a bull of excommunication, directed, without naming any one, against the "authors, movers and abettors" of the violations of the rights of his See. This he wrote with cannon's mouth pointed against his apartments. Notwithstanding the vigilance of the French guards, it was posted, and thus promulgated, at the porches of St. John of Lateran, and St. Mary Major, by a hackney-coackman and his son. The moment it was discovered, it was carried to General Miollis, and immediately forwarded, by express, to the Emperor. What followed had been anticipated. On the 6th of July, Pius, at three o'clock in the morning, was seized in his apartments, and, without so much as a single change of dress, thrust into a carriage, which was closed and locked, to prevent his being recognized, and thus hurried away he knew not whither. In this way was he kept for nineteen hours under the broiling sun of Italy, and his remark to the guards, that if the orders were to carry him to France, dead or alive, they might proceed, obtained for him only the respite of a few hours. He obtained, on the way to his place of exile, a change of linen from a poor peasant; and with this alleviation to the fatigue of a long journey, and a burning fever, he arrived at length, a prisoner at the Episcopal palace of Savona. All the official papers of the public functionaries at Rome were seized, some of the Cardinals arrested and sent to prison, and the rest summoned to Paris.

This unhappy warfare with a defenceless old man did not interrupt the mighty progress of the French armies in other parts of Europe. The very morning which saw the forcible abduction of Pius, from Rome, lighted up the fires of the battle of Wagram, which led to the treaty of Schoenbrunn, and the alliance with Austria. From this again resulted another case of difficulty to the Emperor, in relation to the question of the validity of his marriage with the Empress Josephine, and his subsequent marriage with Maria Louisa, of the House of Hapsburgh. The Pope's concurrence in the nonvalidity of the former marriage was sought for in every way, but could never be obtained. The whole ecclesiastical proceedings are exceedingly curious, and but little understood. But they are too long to be introduced here. The refusal of Pius to invest with canonical installation, until he should be set at liberty, those who had been nominated to the episcopacy by the Emperor, increased the difficulty still more. Napoleon had never believed thoroughly in the word *impossible*, and his spirit was chafed by thus encountering difficulties which neither he nor his legions could overcome. His severity was extended to all the friends of the Pontiff, and soon reached the venerable captive himself. On the 7th of June, 1811, his apartments were forced, and his books and papers carried away. He and his household were reduced to the daily allowance of five Pauls: about two shillings a day. This treatment had the effect only to give new strength to the resolution of Pius, and new occa-

sion for the display of that calm resignation which distinguished him; while it served abroad to arouse the indignant sympathies of Protestant as well as Catholic Europe in his favor. It was, however soon mitigated, and he enjoyed comparative quiet for some months after, owing in some measure to the memorable but fatal campaign in Russia. This was indeed of sufficient magnitude to draw the mind of Napoleon from whatever might concern the situation of the venerable Pontiff in his prison. Neither, perhaps, would it be just to affirm that the hardships which he suffered were at any time fully known or approved by the Emperor. But that he was subjected to privations, sufferings and ill treatment, which, considering his rank as a temporal prince, his office as head of the Church, and his age (being already seventy years), turned this part of his life into what may be termed the very romance of misfortune, admits of no doubt; and the project of Napoleon, to make a new provision for him, in accordance with the disposition already made of the States of the Church, together with documentary evidence bearing directly on the subject, and quoted in the Pontiff's life, leave it but too certain that, as head of the empire, a large share of the responsibility of the case devolved upon him. The great object was to obtain the Pope's concurrence in a new concordat, founded on the principle of profound secular policy, but which he judged violative of the trusts he held for higher than human ends. This judgment he adhered to with a power of will which was unconquerable. An offer of two millions of crowns a year is made to him: his reply is, that the charity of the faithful is sufficient for his wants.

The fatal result of the Russian campaign seemed to mark the period when the bright and dazzling star of Napoleon overshot its sphere, and began to fade. The French empire which his genius, under the guidance of patriotism, as some contend, or ambition, as others will have it, had extended to the farthest boundaries of many states, began to be disorganized. Even the kings whom he had created were not true to him; while others seized the first hour of shifting fortune to press upon him and precipitate his fall. But of all who were sovereigns when he began to wield the destinies of France, and who were brought under her influence by arms, there was one, and only one, who neither yielded to his power nor triumphed over his misfortunes—the meek, patient, but constant and intrepid Pius VII. The eye of Napoleon could not but read in the political horizon, all around, the symptoms of a futurity, in regard to his own position, which his heart might be slow to believe. At all events, he became impatient and importunate in reference to what was termed the obstinacy of Pius. He and the Empress waited on him, with every mark of respect, at Fontainbleau. He set the ministry of negotiation by all others aside, and assumed it himself. Interviews took place between the principals themselves, in relation to the matter, and the Pontiff, now in the seventy-third year of his age—worn out by sickness, without a single trusted friend around, and beset with emissaries on all sides—was induced, with fingers

scarce able to trace the lines, to sign, on the 23d of January, 1813, the preliminaries of a new concordat; but with the express stipulation that no steps should be publicly taken till he had free and full liberty to consult with his official counsellors. From this moment all restraint on himself and his friends was removed. It was immediately proclaimed to France that all differences between the Emperor and the Pope had ceased, and the "concordat" made the law of the empire. Pius saw in this the open violation of one stipulation on which alone he signed. He lost no time in issuing his protest against the violation, and recalling his fraudulently extorted consent.

All hope of arrangement was now at an end, and the importance of the negotiation became insignificant amid the invasion which was rushing on the heart of the empire from all its extremities. On the 22d of January, 1814, the order was issued; and the next day, accompanied by a single attendant, Pius was on his journey—although he did not reach his capital till the 24th of May following. Connected with this event, there is an anecdote recorded in his life which shows the Christian and forgiving spirit of his character, and contributed much to swell the enthusiasm with which his return was hailed by all classes of his people. It occurred on his way to Casena, his native city.

"King Joachim Murat demanded to present his homage to Pius VII., and was instantly admitted to audience with his Holiness. After the first compliments, Joachim signified that he was ignorant of the object of his journey.

"'I am going to Rome,' said his Holiness; 'is it possible you can be ignorant of it?'

"'Has your Holiness, then, determined to go to Rome?'

"'What can be more natural?' replied Pius.

"'But does your Holiness intend to return, despite of the Romans?'

"'I do not comprehend you,' replied the Pope.

"'The chief nobility of Rome, and the rich commoners,' said Murat, 'have prayed me to present to the allies a memorial, with their signatures, demanding that, henceforward, they should not be governed, save by a secular prince. Here is the memorial. I have sent a copy of it to Vienna; but I retain the original, which I submit to your Holiness, in order that you may see the signatures.'

"At these words Pius took the memorial from Joachim's hand; and without reading, without ever glancing at it, flung it into the fire, where it was instantly consumed. 'Now, at last,' said he, 'there is no obstacle to our going to Rome.'"

The rest of his life, which was yet prolonged till the 20th of August, 1823, is comparatively uninteresting. Like the stream that has been turned from its course, and guided among rocks, and over precipices, without losing itself for a moment, it now returns to its channel, and glides tranquilly on to its term. Not that Europe, or its affairs were settled, but the great convulsion was over, and its

condition might be compared to the heaving of the ocean after the stormy spirit that had roused its depth has passed away.

Such was the life of Pius VII.,—cast in the most eventful period which Christianity ever witnessed. I have selected it, not because the trusts which he had to protect amid the strife of so many contending elements may have any special interest for you, but because, as tests of human character, they might serve for illustrations as well as any other; and another reason, permit me to add, that I might not treat a subject altogether foreign to my profession, when, consulting my inclination rather than my ability, I accepted the invitation with which your society honored me. The play of physical force, by human agency, in the outward world, and the antagonism of resistance of the same order, are but the visible exhibition of forces and antagonism of another order in the human mind. And in this department, how rich and instructive is the period to which we refer. What ardent hopes, what trembling fears, what daring resolves, what vacillations, what fidelities, what treacheries, what courage, what inconstancies, what defections and untruth of character, preceded or followed the march of outward events during this dazzling and astounding period? Amid all this, I did think it would not be unwelcome to you to contemplate one mind preserving its meek but lofty independence; poised on its own appreciation of eternal principle, and capable of discarding all the influences of personal selfishness—it was in the mind of the prisoner of Savona.

On the other hand, when we contemplate the martial pomp, the gorgeous displays of courts and camps, the brilliant achievements and the many and dazzling glories and greatness, so called of the time, and ask ourselves how much, or rather how little, of all that remains to the end of the generation that witnessed it? our minds are overwhelmed with a vague and painful sense of disappointment, and if we find utterance at all, it must be to exclaim, "God, God alone is great!" Man is unquestionably great, also, in his way; but then "his breath is in his nostrils."

Circular Letter of Rt. Rev. Bishop Hughes,

INVITING ALL THE CLERGY OF HIS DIOCESE TO A SPIRITUAL RETREAT, AND CONVOKING THE FIRST DIOCESAN SYNOD.

Rev. and Dear Sir:—The duty of administering the sacraments and discharging the sacred functions of the holy ministry with which we are entrusted, in a manner that may be as conformable as the circumstances of our missions will admit to the regulations and requirements of the Council of Trent, renders it expedient that a system of ecclesiastical discipline for the whole diocese should be adopted with as little delay as possible. The want of churches for the appropriate celebration of the divine mysteries, the paucity of clergymen, the scattered and unsettled state of the faithful, and the other deficiencies incident to new missions, require that many unavoidable departures from the wise and salutary regulations laid down for our guidance by the authority of the Church should be tolerated by the bishop. The time, however, has now arrived when, it is believed that these irregularities, resulting from the necessity of circumstances, may be diminished, if not entirely removed.

The Decrees of the Bishops passed at the Provincial Synods in Baltimore contain many regulations applicable to the circumstances of each diocese, as well as to those of the province at large. From these, and from the experience of the clergy, we hope to be furnished with the necessary information to enable us to draw up such rules as may tend to promote both order and uniformity in whatever appertains to the House of God.

With this view, then, reverend and dear sir, we invite and request you to attend the SPIRITUAL RETREAT of all the Clergy, to be conducted by the Very Rev. John Timon, and to commence immediately after Vespers on Sunday the 21st of August, in the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin, at St. John's College, Rose Hill.

The Retreat will continue during eight days. The Diocesan Synod will be held during the first three days of the week following. We hope that nothing less than the weightiest reason will prevent any of the clergy from attending. Should such reason exist, however, in any particular case, we wish to be advised of it as early as possible.

The attendance of the clergy at the Retreat and Synod, will require their absence from their congregations on two successive Sundays, and not more, except, perhaps, for a few living in the extreme western portions of the diocese. You will see what inconvenience might result from this absence, in reference to the sick, or others; and your zeal will anticipate it as far as pastoral vigilance and foresight will enable.

Besides any books which you may choose for your private devo-

tion during the exercises of the Retreat, you will bring with you, or procure, one copy of the Decrees of the Council of Trent, and one copy of the statutes of the Baltimore Provincial Councils. You will bring also with you, cassock, surplice and stole; and if you can, without great inconvenience, the whole suit of sacerdotal vestments.

On arriving in the city, you will apply to the Rev. Wm. Starrs, at the Episcopal residence, 263 Mulberry Street, who will direct you to the College, where all things will be in readiness for your reception and accommodation.

Your affectionate friend and servant in Christ our Lord,

✠ JOHN HUGHES, Bishop of Basileopolis,
Coadjutor of the Bishop, and Administrator
of the Diocese of New York.

William Starrs, Secretary.
New York, July 28th, 1842.

PASTORAL OF BISHOP HUGHES,

IN REGARD TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS, SECRET SOCIETIES, AND THE "TRUSTEE SYSTEM" IN REFERENCE TO CHURCH PROPERTY.

(The following pastoral of Bishop Hughes possesses peculiar interest, as the one issued by him after the meeting of the first Diocesan Synod, principally against the lay "Trustee System," then so prevalent in his diocese, a system which gave him much trouble, and was the cause of great scandal to the Catholic community.)

JOHN, by the Grace of God, and the appointment of the Holy See, Bishop of Basileopolis, Coadjutor to the Bishop, and Administrator of the Diocese of New York, Grace and Peace through our Lord Jesus Christ.

Venerable Brethren of the Clergy, and beloved Children of the Laity:

The sacred exercises in which the clergy have been so lately engaged, followed as they have been by the convocation of the first Diocesan Synod, require that we should address you, according to the duties of the office to which, though unworthy, we have been appointed. We cannot but congratulate you, venerable brethren of the clergy, on the promptness and zeal with which you have gone through these exercises, not without much advantage to yourselves and edification to the faithful committed to your pastoral charge. The greatest evidence of the divine goodness towards the faithful, is the appointment and preservation of pastors deeply imbued with the holiness and responsibility of their stations. And

whilst humbled ourselves with a consciousness of our own unworthiness, we, according to the duties incumbent on the episcopal office, shall leave nothing undone to co-operate with the merciful designs of God, to save the souls committed to our charge from the most awful evidence of his displeasure, which would be the presence and ministry of faithless and unworthy pastors. We rejoice not only in the zeal and constancy of your labors, but also in the anticipation of an increase of the same virtues, from the edification and earnestness with which you have gone through the sacred occupations of the Retreat, and with which you have acquiesced in and advocated those salutary enactments of the Synod, for the government both of the faithful and the ecclesiastical life itself.

These statutes are such as it is competent for the bishop to enact by his own sacred office, from which in fact their force is exclusively derived. Nevertheless, we, in the full assurance of your zeal to co-operate in whatever might tend to the external order and beauty of the House of God, considered ourselves as bound to avail ourselves of your experience and knowledge of the circumstances of the different congregations over which you are placed, before we should enact any disciplinary statutes that might be in violent conflict with those circumstances, or might be premature and too difficult to be executed. It is on this account, that though we judged of the measures that might be necessary in the discipline of this Diocese, we did not wish to adopt or enforce them, without having first had the advantage of consultation and advice with and from you, who are in co-operation in the same divine work of our blessed Redeemer. We give thanks to God for the zeal, charity, devotion, and unanimity of sentiment with which you surrounded us during the Synod, and in the deliberations on every statute submitted by us for your consideration.

It remains now for us to address some remarks to our beloved children of the laity, on the nature and advantages of the deliberations in which we have been engaged, and on the laws for the ecclesiastical discipline of this diocese, in the enactment of which those deliberations have resulted.

The first great department of the subject which demanded our attention was the administration of the sacraments. These divine institutions are the channels appointed by the Redeemer of men to perpetuate and apply in his Church forever, and under sensible forms, the merits of that blood which He shed for the redemption of all men. Our deliberations could not relate to the divine efficacy of these outward signs, nor to the dispositions on the part of those having recourse to them, essential to the interior and spiritual effects. But the Church of God, enriched with the awful trust of dispensing the mysteries of God, has provided, from the earliest times, salutary rules for the external rites, times, manner, and circumstances of their administration. It was her mind that as she has thus prescribed, so her ministers should fulfill the sacred functions assigned to their office. But the spirit of divine wisdom which God

has promised and imparted to that Church, in the exercise of her supreme prerogative, did not enjoin the absolute necessity of adhering to these external prescriptions under all variety of circumstances. Hence she has ever been accustomed to dispense with her own laws, where essential things were not involved, in every case in which the external circumstances of any portion of the Church, in its connection with the world, rendered the observance of these laws impracticable. Such were the circumstances of the forefathers of most of us under the temporal dominion of the British empire. The laws which made it a crime for the ministers of our holy religion to officiate at all; which banished them from their country and their home; which dispossessed them of their temples, erected by the piety and zeal of their ancestors, and left them no place wherein to offer sacrifice to their God, and to administer the sacraments of religion to his people, but the lonely glen and the humble habitation of some poor member of the flock, where they might discharge the sacred functions of their ministry, not only abridged of all external rite and ceremony, but also in secret, and, as it were, by stealth, necessarily deprived the administration of the sacraments of all outward ritual solemnity, except what was barely necessary to realize the conditions on which their efficacy depended.

Thus it has happened, that the origin of what is a departure from the ordinary laws and usages of the Catholic Church, may be traced to the times in which their absence was amply compensated for, by the constancy, the privations, sufferings, and general condition of martyrdom, by which her children in the British empire were for generations and ages exposed.

But, thanks be to Almighty God, the immortality of that religion has enabled it to triumph over the persecutions with which it has been assailed; and the scenes which have witnessed its humiliation, and persecutions unto death, like those of its Divine Master, have witnessed also, and are witnessing every day, its glorious resurrection.

The circumstances of the Catholic Church in this happy country, in which the rights of conscience and the immunities of religious freedom are secured to all men, have been extensively modified and influenced by the persecutions which she had to undergo in other lands. The usages which prevailed in the lands of bondage, were the first to which we became accustomed, where bondage is unknown. Neither was it practicable, nor expedient, to enforce prematurely the laws of the Church in the new circumstances of this country. Hence the bishops of this diocese have tolerated customs which the Church did not approve, but merely bore with, until a better order could be introduced. That time seems at length to have arrived. The statutes which have been enacted and promulgated, have for their object this return to the ordinary and regular discipline of the Church. Some have reference to the administration of the sacraments. It has been customary to administer the sacrament of Baptism in private houses. Henceforth it will not be lawful for the clergymen so to administer it, wherever there is a Church

within the distance of three miles, except when the infant may be in danger of death; and then, though it will be proper to send for the clergyman, yet in case he cannot be found, the faithful should understand the manner of baptizing, and should administer the sacrament, rather than leave the child to die without receiving baptism. It is required by the laws of the Church, that baptismal fonts should be erected in the different churches; that at these fonts children should be presented for baptism; that the register of such baptism should be at hand, and the names of the child, with its age, and of the parents and sponsors, should be carefully recorded. The inconveniences and indignities to which the sacrament was frequently exposed, when administered in private dwellings, have often afflicted the hearts of zealous and pious clergymen. We have no reason to doubt, but that the same feeling of reverence and respect for that sacrament will induce the faithful to acquiesce in this return to the regular practice of the Catholic Church, with as much eagerness as has been manifested by the reverend clergy themselves.

Other statutes, having for their object a similar return to the laws of the Church, have been enacted in reference to the sacraments of Confirmation, Penance, and the Holy Eucharist. On them it is at present unnecessary to dwell, as the faithful will become acquainted with them through the instructions of their pastors, and by the rules prescribed to be observed in the administration of these divine institutions.

The abuses and sacrileges that have been attempted, from time to time, and in too many instances carried into effect, in regard to Matrimony, have demanded the enactment of rigid laws in reference to the clergy, when called upon to officiate in the solemn rite of Christian marriage. Abandoned persons of both sexes, have frequently dared to apply for the rite of a second marriage, whilst they knew they were bound by the obligations of a first contract, the existence of which they either concealed, or, sometimes, denied. At other times, hasty and inconsiderate marriages have presented themselves for the sanction of the Church. The effect of such proceeding was to leave the clergyman, called upon to officiate, no time to inform himself of the character of the parties, or the circumstances under which they were about to enter these solemn engagements. Neither was it possible for the parties themselves, even when there existed no impediment to their marriage, to prepare for the reception of that sacrament, in the manner required by the Catholic faith, and by the solemn injunctions of the Council of Trent. Matrimony being a sacrament of the living, and not of the dead, as Baptism and Penance, ought to be received in the state of grace. When we reflect on the abuses of this divine institution, it can no longer be surprising that so many of these marriages, hastily arranged, and entered into in a manner violating the laws of the Christian Church, should be followed by that disappointment and misery which mark the absence of the divine blessing. In order to protect this sacred and holy state from similar abuses, in the time to come, we have forbid-

den the clergy, under severe penalties, to perform any marriage, of which notice shall not have been given by one or both of the parties, at least four days previous. We have also adopted the laws that have been enjoined by the Provincial Councils of Baltimore, with the approbation of the Holy See, on the subject of mixed marriages; that is, marriages between Catholics and persons of other religious persuasions. These marriages, though tolerated under certain modifications, have ever been looked upon with regret and affliction by our Holy Mother the Church. The condition, without which they have never been permitted, in this country or elsewhere, is, that the party not Catholic should be pledged by solemn promise to allow entire liberty of conscience, and right to the practice of religion, to the Catholic party; and that all the offspring of such marriages should be baptized and educated in the Catholic faith. Without this condition, such marriages are not only disapproved, but condemned and reprobated by the Church.

In order to guard the sacred ministry from being made accessory, even in appearance, to the awful crime of bigamy, the most clear proofs are to be exacted by the clergy, before they can officiate, that the parties applying are qualified to enter into these solemn engagements, and are bound by no other.

We enter thus into an exposition of these statutes, to advise the faithful at large of their existence, as the ecclesiastical law of this diocese, and to show that when the faithful are insisted on to comply with them, the requirement is not merely the will of the pastor, but the law, from which neither he nor the people committed to his care are at liberty to deviate.

Another subject to which our attention has been directed, is the existence and evils of certain societies, constituted on principles not recognized or approved by the Church. They are generally designated as "Secret Societies," and have, for the most part, some professed object of benevolence, which is used as an inducement to engage new members, and to recommend such associations to public favor.

Now the members of the Catholic Church ought to know that it is not lawful for them to engage in the membership of any association, not consistent with their duties as members of that great Universal Society, founded by our Redeemer, known as the Church, and which embraces all the good that man is capable of accomplishing in this world. If they wished to perform charities, the rules of religion direct the manner, and their fellow-members and neighbors furnish perpetual occasion for its exercise. But wherever some partial good is set forth, as the end and aim of any separate society, unless all its duties be public and left free, the faithful ought to be on their guard, lest there be connected with it something which is not made public, but by virtue of which they who enter become implicated in snares that prove fatal to their salvation.

Again, there is connected with the membership of these associations, either an oath, or some solemn religious obligation, binding

the members to the performance of duties, so called, with which they are at the time necessarily unacquainted, and which depend on future contingencies, altogether beyond their control. The consequence is, that, in fulfilling these duties, they are not unfrequently required to violate the laws of God, and perhaps the laws of the land. Hence arises the incompatibility of these twofold obligations; when, what is required by their society implies a violation of what is required by their Christian Association of Membership in the Catholic Church. Besides, it is absolutely forbidden by the laws of religion, to take any oath or solemn obligation of a religious nature, which implies an appeal to God, as the witness of what we say, except in circumstances and on conditions altogether wanting in the organization of these Secret Societies. Hence, by taking such oath or obligation, the individual transgresses the laws of God; and so long as he perseveres in the transgressions, is, necessarily, shut out from the privileges of the sacraments and graces of the Church. These associations have been originated and continued, for the most part, by men who have had no other end in view than their own private advantage, and for this have not scrupled to violate the most sacred obligations of religion, and to involve their unfortunate dupes not only in sin and evil practices, but oftentimes in disorders and quarrels, in which blood has been shed, and the shedding of it expiated on the gallows! Now we warn and admonish all the faithful committed to our charge, if any are involved in such associations, to withdraw from them with as little delay as possible; and also, as a rule of safety and precaution, we entreat all others not to yoke themselves in the membership of such associations without having first asked leave of their respective pastors or clergymen, whether they can do so without cutting themselves off from the communion of the Church.

In the mean time we have directed, in obedience to the laws of our holy religion and the duties of our office, that no clergyman in this diocese, shall admit to any sacrament of the Church, such persons as, forgetting their fidelity to her, involve themselves in the dangerous and sinful associations already alluded to; or in any secret society, or combination, held together by any solemn religious obligation, whether it be in the form of an oath or otherwise, of similar import. Neither shall it be lawful for any clergyman in this diocese to officiate at the funeral, or over the remains of any one dying without having renounced all connection with such society, if it had been his misfortune to have been so involved. This statute shall be rigidly adhered to; and any clergyman who shall have overlooked, disregarded, or neglected to enforce it, shall not be considered worthy to exercise the holy ministry.

One of the most perplexing questions connected with the well-being of religion, is the tenure and administration of ecclesiastical property. A system, growing, perhaps, out of the circumstances of the times, has prevailed in this country which is without a parallel in any other nation, or in the whole history of the Catholic Church.

That system is, of leaving ecclesiastical property under the management of laymen, who are commonly designated "trustees." We do not disguise, that our conviction of this system is, that it is altogether injurious to religion, and not less injurious to the piety and religious character of those who, from time to time, are called upon to execute its offices. We have known many trustees, and we have never known one to retire from the office a better Catholic or a more pious man than he was when he entered on it. But, on the contrary, we have known many, who, on retiring from that office, were found to have lost, not only much of their religious feeling, but also much of their faith; from whom their families have derived, perhaps, the first impulse in that direction which so many have taken, of alienation from the Church, and attachment to some of the sectarian doctrines by which they were surrounded. We might appeal with great confidence to the experience of both the clergy and the laity, who have lived long enough amongst us, to witness the effects of this system, and to attest that where it has not been as we have just described, it has acted according to the exception and not to the rule. These consequences ought to make us pause and reflect. Is it that, in the proposed necessity of discussing sacred things, connected with public worship, they lose the reverence due to them? Or, is it, that the Almighty would thus manifest his displeasure at the introduction into his religion of an order not appointed by Him in the constitution of the Church, and without precedent in her history? We know not. But the fact cannot have escaped the observation of any one, and is worthy of our deep and solemn reflection.

Yet, lamentable as are these facts, they are not precisely, after all, those which call upon us in the discharge of our episcopal duty for the exercise of the authority with which we are invested. After what relates to the purity of faith and morals, and the soundness of discipline, the next most imperative duty of the episcopal office is to watch over, guard and preserve, the ecclesiastical property of his diocese, for the sacred purposes in view of which it was created.

Now, ecclesiastical property is that, and all that, which the faithful contribute from religious motives and for religious purposes. It is the Church, the cemetery, and all estate thereto belonging. It is the pew rents, the collections, and all the moneys derived from or for the benefit of religion. It is the sacred furniture of the House of God. In a word, it is all that exists for ecclesiastical purposes. According to the laws of the Church and the usage of all nations, such property, though it must be protected by human laws, as other material property, yet, being once brought into existence in the form, and for the uses of religion, is considered as if it were the property of God: which cannot be violated, alienated, or wastefully squandered, without (besides the ordinary injustice as if it were common property) the additional guilt of a kind of sacrilege. It is not considered, in the Canon law, either the property of the bishop, or the property of his clergy, or the property of the peo-

ple; but as the property of God—for the religious use of them all. Hence, it is the duty of all to preserve it; but to preserve not with the care which would be sufficient in matters of a secular character, but under a sense of the awful responsibility involved in such administration. In the enactments of the Canon law, the highest functionaries of the hierarchy itself were not allowed to undertake their administration, whithout having first taken an oath that they would administer, preserve, and transmit it, as above described.

From this you will easily understand, venerable brethren of the clergy, and beloved children of the laity, how great has been our departure from the holy and the wise provision of the Church, in relation to ecclesiastical property. Instead of taking those provisions for our model, we have imitated the secular or sectarian examples by which we are surrounded;—and that sacred property has been managed as if it were in a state over which our trustees could exercise absolute control, according to their judgment and will. And if we should be struck first, and most sensibly, with the spiritual evils which it has entailed, by destroying or diminishing the reverence and piety of those most familiar with it, by giving occasion to strifes, and contentions, and scandals in congregations; we are, nevertheless, deeply sensible of the evils that have resulted in the mismanagement and misappropriation of that sacred property itself. These evils have not arisen from the want of integrity on the part of the trustees, but appear to us to be inherent in the system, and inseparable from it. Indeed, it can hardly be otherwise. We have but to reflect, for a moment, on the manner in which it has operated.

In the first place, we know that the persons usually appointed, and especially in the commencement of congregations, are by no means competent in point of capacity. This is strikingly evident whenever it is necessary to refer to their official proceedings, as recorded in their minutes, or to their books of accounts. Notwithstanding this incapacity, they are conscious to themselves of upright intentions; and this very consciousness renders them less disposed to be guided by others. In building churches, and in managing their affairs when they are built, their reliance in the main has been on the credit by which they may be enabled to borrow. If they were to be personally responsible for moneys thus borrowed, they themselves would be the first to feel the inconveniences and dangers of the practice. But they are responsible only in their official capacity—that is, the ecclesiastical property of which we have spoken above, becomes pledged to creditors, by mortgage or otherwise, for the consequences of their transactions. Then they are stimulated by the laudable desire to have a respectable church, and this expeditiously finished. Besides this, there is still another danger, which is, that they have reason to calculate on being displaced from office, and their successors appointed, before the period when it will be necessary to meet their engagements. Thus one set of trustees contracts the debt, with the idea that, not on them, but

on their successors, will devolve the obligation of payment. These successors come into office, and feel that, if bad contracts and extravagant expenditures have been made, it was not by them, but by their predecessors; and if they add no more to the debts, or the expenditures, they do not feel that their duty requires more than to devise ways and means for paying the interest, and so transmit the burthen, undiminished, to their successors;—and thus it goes on, and we find that, at the present time, the churches of this city in particular, are burthened with a debt equal to what they are worth. Neither is this the only inconvenience resulting from the system. We are well aware that at all times there have been in the boards of trustees, men most anxious to diminish the debts of the churches with which they were connected. Now, this could only be done, either by raising collections from the charity and zeal of the faithful, or by creating a larger revenue. The former has been found impracticable. It seems, as if in the very feelings of the people, there is a natural repugnance to contribute charities to laymen for such purposes. Sometimes it is ascribed to want of confidence, and sometimes to other causes: but, at all events, the fact is a matter known and acknowledged by all; and perhaps the best explanation of it is, that it is the manifestation of a religious feeling which thus intimates the absence of those salutary laws regarding such property which the Church has established, and to which the faithful are accustomed in all other countries. The other means, therefore, namely, that of increasing the revenue, has been most generally employed. This, also, brought with it, as it is ever likely to bring, a complicated train of serious evils.

How awfully low is the character of religion reduced in the very necessity which obliges, as is supposed, trustees to deliberate on the best mode to draw large congregations; and this, be it understood, not for the salvation of the souls of the people so much as for the revenue! Hence, in the appointment of clergymen as pastors, it has oftentimes happened that the only merit which was valued by these men was that of eloquence. Piety, learning, zeal, a laborious industry in administering the sacraments, were all good; but, in connection with the necessities of revenue, were deemed of comparatively little importance, if the clergyman was not, at the same time, what was called a good preacher;—who would cause the pews to be rented, and the aisles to be filled with people. We need not enlarge on the injuries to the true spirit of the priesthood, and to the religious feelings of the faithful, which must ever result from association with such councils and such practices. Neither was this all. We have heard the influence of music in the choirs, and that even by persons whose presence in the church at all could afford no edification, calculated upon with almost equal emphasis as the talents of the pastor. We could even yet enlarge with many details on the abuses of this kind, which we know, either by having witnessed them ourselves, or by the attestation of others. We have sometimes remonstrated on the subject, and have found the ready

answer to be, that the necessities of the church required these things, and that their existence should, on the contrary, be taken as evidence of the zeal and financial capacity of those who managed the temporal affairs of the congregation.

Thus, all the parts of this system of leaving church property under the control of lay managers, acting with good intentions, if you will, but without any responsibility, are so linked and interwoven, as causes and consequences with each other, that they constitute one complex whole. We do not enlarge upon other topics connected with the subject, but we shall simply remark, that it is the faithful, that is, the Catholic people at large, who must, in one form or another, pay for all the mistakes and errors committed by trustees.

We can bear testimony to their zeal, to their liberality, and to the sacrifices which they are ready to make for the promotion of their religion and the prosperity of the Church. But liberality and sacrifices which are often required, and yet from which religion derives but little benefit, will soon deter them from contributing, merely to furnish the means of carrying on this uncatholic system.

The peculiar circumstances under which the congregations have been formed, were such as rendered it apparently expedient to leave these matters generally to the discretion of the congregations themselves. The time, however, has arrived when modifications are required, not only for the order and decorum of ecclesiastical relations, but also by the general demand of the people themselves. We have, therefore, directed and ordained, by the statutes of the diocese, that henceforward, no body of lay trustees, or lay persons, by whatever name called, shall be permitted to appoint, retain, or dismiss, any person connected with the church—such as sexton, organist, singers, teachers, or other persons employed in connection with religion or public worship, against the will of the pastor, subject to the ultimate decision of the ordinary. We have ordained, likewise, that the expenses necessary for the maintenance of the pastors, and the support of religion, shall, in no case, be withheld or denied, if the congregations are able to afford them. It shall not be lawful for any board of trustees, or other lay persons, to make use of the church, chapel, basement, or other portions of ground, or edifices consecrated to religion, for any meeting, having a secular, or even an ecclesiastical object, without the approval, previously had, of the pastor, who shall be accountable to the bishop for his decision. And, with a view to arrest the evils of the trustee system in expending inconsiderately, or otherwise, the property of the faithful, it has been ordained, as a statute of the diocese, that no board of trustees shall be at liberty to vote, expend, or appropriate for contracts, or under any pretext, any portion of the property which they are appointed to administer (excepting the current expenses as above alluded to), without the express approval and approbation of the pastor in every case. And it is further ordained, that even thus, the trustees of the churches, with the approbation of the pastor, shall not be at liberty to expend an amount larger than one hundred

dollars in any one year, without the consent of the bishop approving or permitting such expenditure.

One of the first and most explicit decrees of the Provincial Council in Baltimore, directed and enjoined on the bishops of this province that they should not, thenceforward, consecrate any church therein, unless the deed had been previously made, in trust to the bishop thereof. This rule has hitherto been followed strictly by the great majority of the episcopal body; and wherever it has been followed, the faithful are exempted from many of the evils to which we have already referred. Religion progresses—the clergy are freed from annoyances—their ministry is respected—their influence with the people obtains large and numerous contributions, for the erection or improvement of churches, and the danger of seeing those sold for debt, and given over to profanation, is alike removed from the apprehensions of pastor and people. In proportion to their numbers, the multiplication of churches has been as great among them as in this diocese, and yet their churches are almost, if not entirely out of debt.

Notwithstanding the feelings that must arise from the contrast of their situation with ours, we have, for what appeared weighty reasons, hitherto declined executing the statutes of the decrees of the Baltimore Councils on this subject. In the first place, the system existed here more, perhaps, than in any other diocese. Secondly, it was intimated that the laws rendered the tenure in trust of church property by the ordinary, uncertain, if not insecure. Besides, if it could be avoided, without injury to religion and the ecclesiastical property, we should be glad to see the bishop freed from the solicitude inseparable from its guardianship. These considerations, which might be much enlarged, have induced us to hope that the present system might be so modified as to secure some benefit, and exclude many of the evils which have resulted from the irresponsible exercise of its powers. It is with the view to make the experiment, that the statutes enacted at our late Synod, have been adopted as the Ecclesiastical Law of the diocese. We have made it the duty of the pastors to procure, in every instance, a register of the church property. In this, they are directed to note down, in the first place, whatever appertains to the history of the church—the date of the origin—its location—the Saint under whose patronage it is dedicated—its style of architecture, and whatever else would be interesting in its general history and character. Besides this, they are required to preserve an inventory of all its movable property—such as chalices, vestments, and what may be termed the sacred furniture of the church; distinguishing in said inventory such things as belong to themselves, if any, from what belongs to the congregation. They shall, furthermore, be required at each annual visitation of the bishop, to exhibit a synopsis of the financial condition of the church—embracing a statement of its revenue—from what source derived—how expended, etc.; and for this purpose they are to have access to the books of the treasurer, and the min

utes of all official proceedings by the Board of Trustees, as often as they shall judge necessary.

Should it happen that any Board of Trustees, or other lay persons, managing the temporal affairs of any church or congregation, should refuse to let them see the treasurer's books, and the minutes of official proceedings, they are required to give us immediate notice of such refusal.

We shall then adopt such measures as the circumstances of each case may require; but in no case shall we tolerate the presence of a clergyman in any church or congregation in which such refusal shall be persevered in. We look to this measure as the means, if not of accomplishing much good, at least of preventing much evil. Our object is to fulfill the duties of our station, not only by preserving, as far as in us lies, the purity of faith and morals over which we are appointed to watch, but also of preserving whatever the piety of the faithful has consecrated to the service of Almighty God, and for the support of religion. And we should be happy if it were found that in the laws no substantial obstacle exists to the investment of the kind of property in the manner prescribed by the Provincial Council. Provisions have already been made, wherever it has been so invested, to secure it against the dangers of alienation by the demise of the bishop or other accidents which are possible. Certainly, the responsibility would be much greater on him than it would be on lay trustees. First, because he undestands better than they can be expected to do, the account which is to be rendered to God for its just administration. Secondly, because he has no release from the awful burthen with which it is connected, from the time of his appointment until his death. Thirdly, because were he to mismanage, or suffer the dilapidation of it, the congregations themselves and their clergy would be cognizant of the fact. Fourthly, because in that event, he would be held immediately responsible to the ecclesiastical authority of the Church, for a neglect and violation of his duty. Whereas, with trustees, the ecclesiastical laws and the civil laws are alike feeble in fixing or determining the responsibility of mismanaging or wasting ecclesiastical property. The only penalty that we have hitherto known, is to decline re-electing those who may have so mismanaged.

These are the principal statutes to which, for the information of the faithful, we have deemed it necessary to refer in our Pastoral Letter. Other enactments, intended for their good, but having reference more directly to the administration of the sacraments, and to the clergy themselves, we need not dwell upon. We have been cheered and consoled by the great spirit of zeal, harmony and devotion to the authority of the Church, which have marked the deliberations of the Synod, on all these subjects; and we have no doubt that the co-operation among the faithful, to see them carried out and sustained, will correspond with that of the clergy. We

trust and believe that the holding of this, the first Synod in the Diocese of New York, is an auspicious epoch in the history of our religion. In other countries, where religion has been persecuted by the government, our brethren have but to remove the rubbish of the old temple, and reconstruct it on its own foundations, which can still be traced. With us the case is different. The materials abound on every side, but as yet they have not been reduced to that order which constitutes beauty in the celestial edifice; and for this we have but to consult the annals of religion to discover the plan which we should imitate and follow. We may be assured that if we would have the Church of God to spread among us—if we would have our venerated clergy enshrined in the holiness of their office and in the affection of their flocks—if we would have piety and charity and peace to flourish among us—it is not by imitating the loftiest efforts of human wisdom displayed in the ecclesiastical policy of modern sects, but by endeavoring to tread as nearly as possible in the paths trodden by our ancestors in faith, according to the prescriptions of that Church to which the Holy Spirit was promised for its guidance, and from which the veracity of that promise is a pledge that it will never depart.

These are the wise counsels which already have begun to manifest their blessed fruits among us. They have already begun to extend among the faithful, and we know that their reverence for the authority of their religion is such, that they will rarely offend against it, when they know what it is. It is for this reason, principally, that we have dwelt so much at large upon the several topics referred to in this Letter, desirous as we were to blend explanation, as far as might be, with the promulgation of the laws which they will be so prompt to follow and obey. If we have not succeeded as well as may be required in some instances, we entreat you, venerable brethren of the clergy, to supply our deficiencies by your instructions and explanations of these laws, in all patience and charity. They do not come into operation until the period of three months from their promulgation in our Diocese Synod; and, of course, cannot be enforced until their existence shall have been made sufficiently known, for which purpose three months were considered to be sufficient.

In conclusion, we have to exhort you all to be zealous and faithful to the duties of your Christian calling; to study to adorn your profession by the virtues of your lives; by temperance, truth, integrity, and all those qualities which are required in the character of good citizens. But, remembering that you are not created for this alone, we exhort you again, beloved children of the laity, with greater earnestness to attend to and fulfill your Christian duties, by observing the lessons of religion, by frequenting the holy sacraments, by imparting salutary instruction to your children, and those under your care, and by confirming the same with the authority of your example.

And, now, the peace of God, which surpasseth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in Christ Jesus. AMEN.

Given at the Episcopal Residence, New York, this 8th day of September, in the Year of our Lord, 1842, and in the fifth of our Episcopacy.

✠ JOHN HUGHES, Bishop of Basileopolis,
Coadjutor to the Bishop, and Administrator
of the Diocese of New York.

WILLIAM STARRS, Secretary.

Bishop Hughes' Apology for his Pastoral Letter,

IN REPLY TO THE STRICTURES OF FOUR EDITORS OF POLITICAL NEWSPAPERS:

The first, DAVID HALE, Esq., who is a Congregationalist in religion; the second, W. L STONE, Esq., who is some kind of a Presbyterian; the third, M. M. NOAH, Esq., who is a Jew; and the fourth, the editor (whose name I do not know) of a little paper called the "Aurora."

GENTLEMEN,—In proposing to reply briefly to your strictures on my Pastoral Letter, I have deemed it but right to place your several religious professions in connection with your names, not through disrespect, but in order that the reader may judge of *your* competency to decide a matter of ecclesiastical polity between a Catholic Bishop and his flock. The manifest concord of opinion in the censures which you are pleased to bestow on me, could hardly unite you on any other topic, except an assault upon the Catholic religion and its ministers. On this point Jew and Gentile, Greek and Barbarian, are agreed. It is, in the language of Scripture, "the sect everywhere spoken against."

It is unquestionably your right, as conductors of public journals, to discuss public matters; but how far you are warranted in the propriety of bringing a religious question, of a denomination to which none of you belong, into the columns of secular and political journals, is a question on which I leave others to decide. To me it seems that it is going beyond your province, and especially when we recollect the horror which you affected at an imaginary interference with political matters by the clergy, on a late occasion. If you should extend to every denomination, in the regulation of its ecclesiastical concerns, the same degree of solicitude that you have to ours, then your papers will abound with an incongruous mixture of what you so much deprecate, the blending of religion and politics—Church and State. I do not complain of the epithets which you have applied to the document under consideration, or to its author. It was *my* duty to address the flock committed to my charge, in the plain, simple and direct

language best calculated to express the meaning which I intended to convey. In all this, I have but made known to them the laws and rules of their religion, and if I had proceeded to ordain anything not authorized by the laws of the Church, they themselves have sufficient discernment to perceive and remonstrate against such enactment. Whether or not my language, in doing this, is to be denounced as "impudent," "bold," "bigoted," etc., will depend very much on whether that religious liberty which is guaranteed by our Constitution, is a thing to be enjoyed or not.

As the question stands in the columns of your respective papers, I cannot but consider myself as arraigned at the bar of public opinion, having you for my accusers; and the object of this communication is to prove, if I can, that you are false witnesses, bad reasoners, and unjust judges in the premises. It seems to me that you have made this easily proved. The first charge which is made against me, is, for a pretended encroachment on the rights and freedom of the Catholic body. Before I show how unjust this charge is, I must premise a few observations, which are essential to a proper understanding of the subject.

First.—Every religious denomination in this country, being obedient to the laws thereof, has a right to regulate, according to its own rules, the questions of ecclesiastical discipline appertaining to its government. Deny this right, and you destroy religious liberty. In the exercise of this right, there is amongst us one denomination that refuses to recognize our government, or to exercise under it, the prerogatives of citizens, because, according to their religious belief, the government is opposed to the ordinances of God. They are, however, so far as I know, good citizens—that is, obedient to the laws, discharging their social duties as well as others who hold not these opinions. So also with every new or ancient sect or society, each has its own rules, without which it could not subsist.

Secondly.—The Pastoral Letter is but one of the forms of religious government embraced, and adhered to, by the denomination to whom it was addressed. It specifies and requires conformity to rules which would be very absurd if addressed to Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Jews, or Infidels; but it is addressed to *Catholics*, that is to say, to those who recognize in it the rules of the Society to which they belong.

Thirdly.—But, does conformity to its requirements imply that abjection of spirit—that absence of religious liberty, which your strictures describe? I answer, no. And why does it not? Because, all similar obligations are of a *moral* character. The individuals to whom they are addressed have the power of conforming or of resisting, as, in the exercise of their moral liberty, they may prefer. If they choose and desire to be Catholics and to be in full and perfect membership with their communion, they will conform to the rules, explicitly or implicitly recognized, by all who profess the Catholic name. If, on the contrary, they prefer to forsake that communion, rather than submit to their rules, their power to do so is undisputed;

and though the exercise of that power be at the risk of their salvation—still there is but little doubt that its exercise would tend to an improvement of their worldly circumstances, considering the ignorance and prejudices of a vast portion of the public in reference to the communion which they would have forsaken. Thus, therefore, their adhering to that communion, under these circumstances, is as real an exercise of their religious freedom as if they forsook it, and attached themselves to the undefined worship and usages of the Broadway Tabernacle. In my Pastoral Letter I found it my duty to promulgate certain regulations with regard to the tenure and administration of church property. You, gentlemen, have accused me, one and all, of having dispossessed or intending to dispossess the laity of this property, and of passing it into the hands of the clergy. In this accusation I charge you with being false witnesses. I have not, and if you have read my Pastoral Letter, *you must have seen*, that I have not proposed any such thing. I have simply endeavored to correct certain abuses connected with its administration—but as to having claimed to alter it, there is no evidence found in the document to which you refer. How then, gentlemen, could you in so serious a matter bear false witness against your neighbor?

With the Catholics it is a principle of morals, that a debt justly contracted must be paid, and that no lapse of time, no civil exemption, nothing but inability, can release the debtor from the obligation of such payment. Now, the laws of a civil character for the government of a church, authorize trustees to *contract* debts; and as trustees are but representatives of those who elect them, that moral obligation to which I have just referred, devolves on their constituents, that is to say, the Catholic body at large. It has come within my knowledge, as an instance for illustration, that a debt thus contracted of less than seventy dollars, by the neglect or mismanagement of trustees and the accumulation of expenses by a legal process, for its recovery, has amounted, in less than one year, to the increased sum of *one hundred and ninety dollars.* Now this is an instance of the abuse which the Pastoral Letter is intended to remove, and certainly I did not expect from gentlemen wielding the influence of the public press, so harsh a reprimand for a regulation calculated and intended to promote the great ends of moral honesty and common justice! As for your asserting that I attempt to take such property from trustees, it is, as I have before said, gratuitous, and pardon me for adding, utterly false.

The next point on which I am arraigned by you all, is the regulation respecting what is termed in the document "mixed marriages." On this subject you have indulged a degree of sentimentality which would be quite edifying, were it not that the principles and practices of the Presbyterian religion and of the Jewish religion *equally forbid* the members of either to marry with Catholics. Yet on this point, I contend that there is no violation, on either side, of religious or civil liberty. It is a question which it will be in the power of each one to decide for himself, whether he shall prefer the rules of

the religion which he professes, or the indulgence of his own personal feeling. He is certainly free to decline matrimonial alliances which are not approved by his church; or he is free to throw his church overboard, and enter on those alliances as he will.

The next subject of your complaint is that I have denounced "Odd Fellows," "Free Masons," etc. Here again, gentlemen, you must permit me to say, in my defence, that you are false witnesses. The document which you affect to review has not a syllable against Odd Fellows or Free Masons. I am unconscious of ever having received any injury from the members of either of these societies, and God forbid that I should entertain the slightest uncharitableness or ill will towards them.

But, gentlemen, it is my duty as an official interpreter of Christian morals, in the instruction of MY OWN FLOCK, to define the conditions which according to the Holy Scriptures make it lawful and innocent to appeal to God in the solemnity of an oath. Experience has taught me that some, at least, of my flock, were ignorant or misled in reference to this subject. Three or four years ago, and since, I had occasion to believe that many poor Catholics, especially when assembled in large bodies on public works, are perverted and marshaled into combinations, bound together by the solemnity of oaths administered to them by some of their more depraved or more designing countrymen.

If there had been but one such society, although still unlawful, yet the consequences to the community and to its own dupes could not have been so fatal; but there were at least two,—and I have had much reason to believe that the contagions of these two led to many of those riots and disturbances on public works, which are spoken of in the newspapers as battles between "Corkonians and Connaught men—far-ups and far-downs." Both of these societies had most benevolent purposes, and beautiful features displayed in the programme of their Constitution.

More than a year ago, certain prominent officers of both, promised me to abolish every kind of oath or solemn appeal to God as the tie of membership binding their respective fraternities together. This, I have reason to think, they have observed since then most religiously. But I had occasion to discover further, that in many remote parts of the diocese and country, others who had been initiated previously, into the societies, still retained their oath, and deluded the unwary into joining those societies, by asserting that they had *my approbation*. Now, this was true, so far as the *benevolent object* of the society was concerned; but utterly false so far as those objects were to be secured by an appeal, or an adjuration to the living God. Under these circumstances it became necessary for me through the medium of a Pastoral Letter to *undeceive them*, and to caution others upon this subject. Certainly the society of Free Masons, or the society of Odd Fellows, is not so much as mentioned in that letter, nor did they occur to me in its composition. Yet the principles laid down in the Pastoral, which are principles of Christian morals, as

understood in the Catholic Church, will apply to *every society* coming under the description there given.

Having thus explained the circumstances under which it became my duty to allude to "Secret Societies," and having specified the kind of societies which had particularly created that necessity, I did not expect that you, gentlemen, who ought to be guardians of public order, would have rebuked me in such unmeasured terms for having thus endeavored to remove the source from which those disorders have sprung, on our public works and elsewhere.

When quarrels have taken place, and the public authorities have been obliged to interpose—when hatred has been engendered, and sometimes BLOOD SHED—the whole matter is for *you* but an occasion for a sportive paragraph. For me it is one of horror and affliction; and knowing the source from which, in too many instances, those evils have arisen, I should have taken to myself rather, credit for rendering a benefit to society, and especially to the unhappy men themselves, by endeavoring to remove the cause.

So far I have noticed those charges in which you all agree. Now I shall briefly review the tone and spirit of the several articles according to the *individuality* of their respective authors.

The first who leads off in the charge is Mr. Hale of the *Journal of Commerce.*

This gentleman is so notorious for his bitterness against Catholics and Catholicity, that to their minds his condemnation of anything connected with their religion, is a very strong presumption in its favor. He is generally reported a religious man—some believe him to be a saint, in his own way—one thing, however, strikes me from an occasional perusal of his paper, which is, that he is not a believer in the merit of good works, and that his salvation runs but little jeopardy from his practice in that way. I do not consider him a well-informed Christian. The sign of the Cross, which it is usual for Catholic bishops, especially in the Western Church, to prefix to their signature, occurs to his mind under the idea of a "dagger." Is this wit, or is it ignorance? If it be wit, it seems to me that he would have done better to have chosen another object, and left this for the jest of Mr. Noah. To the Christian the Cross is an object of reverence. It is an emblem, blended with all that is consoling in human life—with all that is commemorative of the Saviour's sufferings—with all that is humane in the elements of modern civilization, and yet this symbol carries to the brain of Mr. Hale only the idea of a "dagger." It has been the ornament of all that is great and glorious, in the annals of Christendom. It is the sign which marks the spot where William Tell freed his country. It is the seal which was impressed on the MAGNA CHARTA of British Liberty, from which our own is derived; and yet it conveys to the mind of a man who reads his Bible and lays claim to no ordinary share of sanctity, the idea and associations of a dagger. It is not for me to explain why this should be so; and in itself it is a phenomenon almost as unaccountable as that the female figure seen in our courts, holding scales

equally poised, which symbolizes a reign of just and equal laws, and on which men usually look with pleasure, should, in some instances suggest to the beholder only the idea of imprisonment or something worse.

Mr. Hale after having first borne false witness against his neighbor, builds some paragraphs of ill-reasoned commentary on the basis of his own testimony. He says: "With no little regard for some of the gentlemen we know (meaning Catholics) it seems to us they have proved beyond all controversy that liberty cannot be sustained in connection with the divine right of priests. This superstition overawes the risings of liberty, and holds the man in bondage. Liberty never grew in such a soil smothered in such rank weeds." Now I have to observe first that all priests who are appointed of Christ, are by divine right; and when they are less than this, they are not priests at all! Secondly, that Mr. Hale's principle is, that no man can exercise the rights of freedom unless he trample upon the religious or social obligations which he has been pleased to assume. Thus, to be a freeman, the Presbyterian must trample on the Westminster Confession of Faith; the Episcopalians on the Thirty-nine Articles; the Catholic on the Council of Trent; the Jew on the law of Moses; and even the Odd Fellows and Free Masons on the rule which bind them together!

I, on the contrary, contend that such a principle is inconsistent with the existence of every social, or religious society. But Mr. Hale does not depend on his reasoning alone, such as it is. He quotes Scripture, and tells us that Peter says, "not to the clergy, but to the whole people, ye are a chosen generation, a ROYAL PRIESTHOOD," and from this he infers that everybody is a priest by divine right. Now, this text would apply in the Catholic Church where there is a sacrifice, which a priesthood necessarily supposes, and where the priest is but the official minister to discharge the sacred functions for, and with the people. To such a people, without distinction of clergy from laity, we can understand the application of a "social priesthood." But if Mr. Hale will allow the question to be decided by the Scriptures, he will find a text, much more safe and much less equivocal in its meaning, in which the inspired Apostle directs the faithful to be "obedient and subject to their prelates"—a text, by the way, which can have no possible meaning at the Broadway Tabernacle.

The next accuser, in the order of time, is Wm. L. Stone, Esq. My wish is to speak of this gentleman with respect. I cannot but regard him as a man whom nature intended to be benevolent. He once entitled himself to the respect of all lovers of truth, of whatever denomination, by his triumphant exposure of the disgusting libel which appeared under the title of "Maria Monk." His merit in this was the greater because his virtue was reflected in the refutation and confusion of some of the ministers and members of his own church. He alone had the discernment to perceive that his religion could derive no honor from the employment of falsehood.

His course, however, is no longer the same that it then was; and if a stranger might presume to speculate on the *cause* of this change, circumstances would go far to suggest that he has been made to feel deeply the power of the enmity which he had provoked, and which nothing but a *show* of hostility towards the Catholics, such as we have witnessed in his writings lately, could appease. Poor man!

In his comments on the Pastoral Letter, he reasons in the same track as his brother of the *Journal of Commerce*. He too accuses me of having attacked the "Odd Fellows" Society, and volunteers a defence in refutation of his *own* accusation, if any, certainly not mine. He seems even to be deeply interested in the welfare of the Catholic Church, and speaks with a benevolent appearance of apprehension and regret, in reference to the consequences of the Pastoral Letter. Now if he be a consistent man, he ought to rejoice of the consequences, knowing as he does, that such Catholics as will not abide by the rule of their religion, have the power to join the Protestant religion. This right of passing from one denomination to another, is restricted happily in this country, only by the sense of responsibility connected with the judgment of the soul in the life to come.

We have next a dissertation on the subject of this Catholic Pastoral from Mr. Noah, who is a Jew, and belongs to a religion for the members of which I entertain a melancholy reverence, mingled with other feelings which, I trust, are no dishonor to the human heart! but that he should have thought himself qualified to disapprove my letter in reference to Christian "baptism" is somewhat curious.

I must, however, do him the justice to say, that he does not treat of the Sacrament alone, but considers it in connection with the "perquisite," an association of ideas in his mind which is, perhaps, under all circumstances, not unnatural. He deals in the same denunciations as his colleagues of the *Journal* and *Commercial Advertiser*. He too defends the "Odd Fellows," whom, as I have already remarked, I had not assailed in any shape or form. All of them have applied epithets which the occasion certainly did not warrant. As a minister of religion, I gave out such directions, addressed not to Presbyterians, nor Jews, nor Odd Fellows, but to the members of my own flock, as the rules of their religion required, a right which is claimed by every sect and every individual minister in the land; and for this I am charged with arrogance, impudence, bigotry, and boldness, by these pretended advocates of civil and religious liberty.

We now come to the "Aurora," of which, however, I need say nothing, as it only repeats what the others had said before, and as I am told the paper is of no repute.

With this defence of my Pastoral Letter, I submit the question to the impartial judgment of that public before which I have been arraigned. The denunciations which have been uttered against me, strike at the root of all religious and social organization. Every society has the right to frame and uphold the rules by which it is held together, and the members who violate these rules, by every

principle of justice and the usages of mankind, forfeit thereby all claim to the benefits of the association.

It may be that I have spoken of the gentlemen who have assailed me so unwarrantably, as I conceive, in a manner that indicates disrespect or ill will. I certainly entertain no ill will towards them, or any other being alive, and if I have used language that may be considered severe, it is simply with a view to convince them, if possible, that I did not merit the treatment which I have experienced at their hands. I did not conceive that THEY were proper persons to decide upon questions of an ecclesiastical character, except in the several communions to which they belong. Their attempt to persuade the flock committed to my charge that I have any other purpose than their spiritual and temporal welfare is perfectly futile. Coming from any source it would not be believed by those who know me, but coming from persons whose hostility to the interests of the Catholic body is so well known, it would but increase their confidence. To the Catholics themselves, I have to say that I have no intention to destroy their charters, or take the title of their churches in my own name, unless they themselves deem it advisable. And with regard to the other requirements of the Pastoral Letter, they contain nothing but what has been enjoined by the authority of our religion before they or I came into existence. It will be for themselves individually to determine whether they shall conform or not; but it may be some matter of surprise, and perhaps of regret, to those who have assailed me, to know that the Catholics themselves, THE BEST JUDGES OF THEIR OWN RELIGIOUS RIGHTS AND INTERESTS, have hailed the appearance of the Pastoral Letter and the requirements which it contains, with a unanimity of approbation almost unequalled! Those gentlemen may still be further surprised to learn that many trustees of churches have tendered their trust into my hands, and that I have declined to receive it! What will Mr. Hale say to that?

There is one portion of the Pastoral Letter which I am sorry has not been understood by some of the Catholics themselves as I intended it. This is a portion which seems to reflect on the trustees indiscriminately, and to involve them all in a censure which was directed only against some in connection with the whole system itself, as at present organized. Now I must say that in all my intercourse with the trustees of New York, and I may add of the diocese generally, I have found them, with very few exceptions, as respectful to me in my official character, as zealous for the good of their religion, as any other members of the Church. There has been but one instance in which an attempt was made, inconsiderately and not maliciously, I am persuaded, to array the power of the trustee system against the authority of the Church. That issue was met and decided as it ought to be. In all other cases the trustees, so far as deference to the laws of their Church is concerned, have always acted as good and sincere Catholics. How then could they suppose me to be so unjust as to involve them in their personal and religious charac-

ter, in censures in which they and I knew equally that they did not merit. They have done, and are doing generally, all that good Catholic men can do, in connection with a system which is uncatholic, and in our circumstances about as bad as a system well can be. But with the aid of our own means and judgment, we can correct its evils without any help from Jews and Presbyterians.

✠ JOHN HUGHES, Bishop, etc.

November, 1842.

Letter of Rt. Rev. Bishop Hughes to David Hale, Esq.

SIR:—From the matter and tone of your letter published in the *Journal of Commerce* of last Saturday, it would appear as if you wished to engage in a religious controversy. If this be your intention, it will not be in my power to correspond with it. My time is much, and I hope more profitably, engaged. My feelings are averse to the agitation of that bitter element in which you seem to delight. For this, and for other reasons which I shall submit in the sequel, I must beg leave respectfully to decline religious controversy.

Neither have I anything to do with the opinions which you set forth as *your* opinions, in opposition to the general views of mankind upon the same subjects. Your opinions respecting Catholics and their religion, you are at perfect liberty to express where and in what manner you may think proper. I cannot tell how much or how little they are appreciated by the public on general topics; but as regards religious matters, I believe they are held by even your Protestant brethren as something below par. Of course, therefore, it was not against your *opinions* that I felt it my duty to enter into the defence of my Pastoral Letter. The question between us is one of fact, and not of opinion. You have charged me with having "attacked the civil institutions of the country" in my Pastoral Letter, and I, unconscious of any such attack, have denied the charge—and arraign you as a false accuser. I look upon your letter as being implicitly an acknowledgment of my charge against you. If it was not, it was easy for you to have selected such portion or portions of my Pastoral Letter as contained an "attack on the institutions of the country," such as you have described. Until you do this, it will be impossible for you to escape from the position of a man who, actuated by the worst feelings of the human heart, presents serious accusations against his neighbor, without having facts to sustain them.

If I repliéd to your strictures on my Pastoral, it was not precisely because I apprehended from them any injury to the religion which you are so impatient to assail. That religion has withstood the

successive assaults of persecution, pagan philosophy, barbarism, heresy and infidelity of 1800 years. It is impregnable as a fortress which God defends: and therefore I had no dread that it could be injured by the Editor of the *Journal of Commerce*. But when I considered the time and the circumstances of the attack by yourself and your colleagues, representing me as setting forth doctrines well calculated to excite the passions of those to whom your strictures were addressed, it occurred to me as probable that your intention was to have the city again disgraced, by the riots of a mob, and to have me assailed by the arguments of BRICK BATS and PAVING STONES—for I hold that the agents who fixed such a blemish on the escutcheon of the city last spring, were less culpable in the eyes of right reason than those editors who had influenced their passions by sectarian denunciations against Catholics, of whom the Editor of the *Journal of Commerce* and the Editor of the *Commercial Advertiser* were the chiefs. Thanks, however, to the sense of order which prevailed during the late election, but no thanks to you or your colleagues—the city has been saved from a repetition of the disgrace to which I have referred. The windows and furniture of my dwelling are unbroken, and the lives of the inmates of my house have not been put in jeopardy. So far my letter, in refutation of your strictures, may have been serviceable; for the very tribunal before which you arraigned me, all prejudiced as a portion of it may be, against the Catholic religion, is too just to condemn and punish the *falsely* accused, although, perchance, too indifferent to rebuke the false *accuser*. We shall now enter briefly into the matter of your accusation.

You charged me with having attempted to invade the civil rights of the Catholics, in the matter of church property. I call upon you for the proof of such charge. My Pastoral Letter is before the public, and I defy you to find in it grounds for any such malignant charge. In my Apology I laid down principles which are common to Catholics, and to ALL OTHER RELIGIOUS denominations, for the government of their respective religious associations. You admit in your reply that those principles are insisted on by other denominations and by all. Why, then, did you *single out* the Catholics, as if that were peculiar to them alone? So far, therefore, the principle of my Pastoral Letter is sanctioned by the ecclesiastical usages of all Protestant denominations. Each has its terms of communion—each has its laws and regulations for the government of its members and its affairs. On this ground, then, you give up the attack—in reference to the Catholics alone, and contend that they and *all other denominations* are wrong, and that you, Mr. Hale, are alone right. With your opinions, as I have said before, I have nothing to do. But the fact that the principle of my Pastoral Letter is the same principle acted upon in other denominations, and without which no society could exist, is sufficient vindication.

The next point of your assault was that I refused Christian burial to those who do not abjure "societies." This is, by your own ac-

knowledgment, a false accusation. For what I said was "secret societies," bound together by *an oath or solemn religious obligation*, and not "societies" in general, as you iniquitously represent. Now, secret societies you yourself condemn, in language stronger than I used. But you tell us in your letter of Saturday, that I mistook your meaning. Your words are: "What I condemned was the order you gave that when dead, the members of such societies should be refused a Christian burial." This order, you continued to say, "seemed to me more in accordance with the maliciousness of the savage state, than with the solemn and softening views of death which Christianity teaches." Inconsistent man! you know well that if you believe *your own religion*, you hold a burial by Catholics, to be not a Christian burial, as you hyprocritically term it, but an idolatrous burial, and of course according to your faith, the only chance of Christian burial for such outcast members of our Church would be the absence of our religious rites and ceremonies in committing them to the earth. Again, you charge this feature of ecclesiastical discipline, as a peculiarity in the Catholic Church:—whereas, making even great allowances, it is impossible to suppose you so ignorant as not to know that this discipline respecting interment, is universally insisted on in the discipline of the Quakers, who are by no means charged with the "maliciousness of the savage state," but, on the contrary, are proverbial for their pacific and humane dispositions.

In explanation of the reasons for regulating and restricting expenditures by trustees of Catholic churches, I mentioned the inconvenient anomaly of the fact, that whilst the law of the land gave to those trustees the privilege of *contracting* heavy debts, whether wisely or otherwise, the law of Catholic morals, on the other hand, required that the Catholic people should *pay them*. I did not institute any comparison in reference to Protestant morality upon this subject, nor am I disposed to enter upon any such controversy. In your remarks upon this you tell us—"It is only where the Bible is a common household book, that men have confidence enough in each other to part with substantial values for promises to pay written on paper." This all may be so; but in Catholic times, and in Catholic countries, at the present day, not even "promises" written on paper are required. Among the merchants of Spain, it would be deemed an insult, in dealing among themselves, to ask a receipt for money paid. In like manner, specie being the circulating medium, it would be considered equally an insult to count over the specie, which was paid in boxes said to contain such or such a sum. But after all, it may be that "promises to pay" are peculiar to Protestant countries, where the Bible is a household book, whilst the payment *de facto*, with or without the written promise, should happen to be on the side of the ignorant Catholics. The discovery which you have made upon this point cannot but be consoling to those who have suffered so much by Banks and banking institutions. It is true that millions and millions have been lost; and thousand of families reduced

to beggary—that the "written papers" for which they parted with "substantial values," carrying on their face "promises to pay"—have never been redeemed—still it may be some comfort to them, when they look on the face of those documents that you have traced their origin to the Bible, and identified them as the offspring of Evangelical Protestantism.

Again, in your strictures on my Pastoral, you designated the "Cross" a "dagger." In your reference to that subject your words are: "It was printed a dagger and I supposed it meant a dagger." This, sir, will not do. You are certainly too well acquainted with the usages of Christendom, not to have known that it was printed as a symbol of Christianity—the sign of the Cross. But it will not do on another account, which is, that the witticism of the dagger was not *original* with you, but borrowed from others: and you have the choice of considering it as a second-handed wit or affected ignorance—so that you cannot avail yourself of that child-like simplicity with which you tell the public "It was printed a dagger, and you *supposed* it meant a dagger." Pardon me, sir, but you did not suppose any such thing.

A very large portion of your letter is made up of extracts taken from my Pastoral Letter, and my Apology in defence of it, as if you had discovered a discrepancy between them. This is a discovery which I am sure none of your readers will be able to make. You say that the Apology "takes back and denies the very gist of the Pastoral Letter," and you make quotations as if you believed in your own assertion. But there is no reader, who is capable of understanding either, that will discover anything either "taken back" or "denied" in the one which had been asserted in the other. The Apology indeed rebukes your misrepresentation of the Pastoral; and it does nothing more, except to confirm and perhaps explain the document assailed. You put, from the Apology, a passage in italics, in which I presume you depend to bear you out in your statement. It is that, in which I say, in reference to the requirements of the Pastoral Letter, addressed to the people, that "*it will be for themselves individually to determine whether they shall conform or not;*" and pray, was not this understood in the Pastoral Letter? The meaning in both is, that it shall not be for Mr. Hale to determine—that it is a matter which is to be governed by their own sense of moral and religious duty. There is one other matter to which I must refer before I conclude this part of the subject. It is that in which we have your authority for the following pretended fact:

"A short time ago," you say, "in one of the churches of this city, a Catholic priest, at confession, condemned a young woman for having attended family worship with the family whom she served, to walk upon her bare knees around the church until the blood issued freely from her wounds." I agree with you, sir, that if such a thing took place, it was "cruel and indecent." The only charge I have to make against the statement is, that it is not according to the forms of the Catholic Church—and more,—that I am willing to

risk the consequences of asserting before the public that it is *false* and *unfounded*. If it were true, knowing that its publication would give pain to the whole Catholic body, I cannot conceive that you would have denied your well-known feelings the luxury of publishing it with the names of the parties, the time and place of the occurrence. Another reason why I do not believe it true, is, that I trust there is no priest in this city so devoid of sense—no Catholic young woman so ignorant and silly as to have been parties to so barbarous a transaction; and further, that there is perhaps no man in this city who has not arrived at the period of second childhood, capable of believing it except yourself. There may indeed be found men who would *say* they believe it, but at the moment of the utterance, their interior sense and conviction would accuse them of uttering what is not true. At all events, you have made the assertion in clear and unequivocal terms, and in this instance you have avoided a feature common in your style, which is the blending of the malice that inflicts a wound, with the artifice and ambiguity which would escape the responsibility of having dealt the blow. I call upon you then, since you have made the charge, to substantiate it. I call upon you to give the name of the priest and the name of the Catholic young woman, and if you do, you shall soon be convinced that the transaction which you have described, is not according to the forms of the Catholic Church.

One word, in passing, on making Catholic domestics attend family worship in houses where a different religion is professed. The practice of family worship is, in itself, not only commendable, but tender and interesting. Yet Protestants mistake, it seems to me, not only the rights of conscience, but their own interests, when they bring *conscience* into the account with their servants, as an equivalent for wages. The conscience of the servant is as free as that of the master and mistress; and if I had, as I sometimes have had, Protestant domestics, I should think it sinful to make them attend family devotion, so long as *they* were under the impression that they were offending God by it. A Presbyterian servant in the house of a Catholic, or a Catholic in the house of a Jew, or a Protestant, ought to be exempted from the petty persecution of being compelled to attend family worship. When the servant gives his or her labor faithfully and honestly, as an equivalent for the wages that are paid, the terms of the covenant are fulfilled. Anything beyond that, I look upon as an invasion of the rights of conscience. Besides, Protestants in this, do not understand their own interests. It is only when they can debauch the conscience of their Catholic servants by making them hypocrites enough to attend the indefinite worship of Methodist, Presbyterian, Jew, Baptist, or Unitarian families with whom they may happen to be earning their wages, by their toilsome labor; it is only then, I say, that those masters have occasion to suspect them. Their safety and the safety of the trusts committed to their servants, depends on the simplicity and integrity of that conscience which they have been so ingenious to pervert.

You tell me that my quotation from St. Paul respecting "obedience to prelates," must come from a higher authority before it will subdue the royal priesthood of the Tabernacle. Let me quote, then, the same text from the Protestant Bible—which has the sanction of a very "high authority," even King James the First.

The words are, "Obey them that have rule over you, and submit yourselves." Now, not to make a difficulty with you about words, let us suppose that "prelates" and "them that have rule over you," mean the same thing. What is here required is what is done by the Catholic clergy and laity, to those "who have rule over them." But I would not answer for the reception, even of the Apostle, if he came to the Tabernacle to institute among its free thinkers any such tyrannical rule.

I have already remarked that I shall not dispute against you the correctness of any opinion you may be pleased to entertain; and there are in connection with these opinions of yours, a great many discretions as to what point I should answer. First, about the Pope as a prince and a pontiff. Second, about the pre-eminence of priests and bishops. Third, about the limitation of powers which are exercised by divine right in the rules of the Church.

That you should have erroneous ideas upon all these subjects, does not surprise me; and, if you asked for information in the name of the disciple, I should be most happy to afford it,—beginning from the first question of the Catechism, "Who made you?" and going on to the highest mysteries of the Christian faith. But you ask for information in the character of a disputant; and in that spirit I cannot afford to give it. If then you would know the solution of your questions, I leave you to infer it from a few general principles of the Catholic Church, pointing out, occasionally, the difference of the medium through which these principles are regarded by the Catholic, as contrasted with the Protestant mind. In the first place we look upon the Church as having been organized by our Saviour, on a model which is enduring and unalterable. You, on the other hand, look upon it as something which may be altered, broken down and built up, according to the pleasure of men.

Our Saviour presented himself as *sent* by the Father, and to teach what things he had learned from him. He taught them—and he gained disciples. From the disciples, he selected twelve, and he made them Apostles. From the twelve, he selected *one*, and he made him a chief among the Apostles. The powers which he gave to them all, collectively, he gave to this one, singularly and personally. It was his prerogative, as well as duty, to feed the sheep as well as the lambs, and to confirm his brethren. Here is the framework of the Christian Church. Christ did not change it, during his time on earth, and he gave no authority to men, whereby they might change it after his ascension. The Church has descended to us in its primitive form. The disciples and the apostles have increased in number over the whole earth; but the chief of the apostleship, is ONE as when first elevated to his singular and special office. Now you,

as a Protestant, have changed all this. And you view it, not as a Catholic does, but you view it according to the standard of your own notions of right and wrong.

Christ communicated what things he had learned from the Father, to that Church. All believed the same doctrines—but some, besides believing themselves, were appointed to the office of teachers of all nations, to teach what things they had learned from their Common Master. Those who were associated with them, or who succeeded in the order of time, by lawful appointment, were appointed to discharge the same duties—with no limitation as to space, but the boundaries of the earth; or no limitation, as to time, but the consummation of the world. The Catholics, however unworthy in our lives, are constituted heirs and successors in this organization. As our ministers have no right to give out their opinions; but only to teach as witnesses, to the ends of the earth, the truths preserved in this apostolical and universal society, it follows, as a consequence, that they have no dominion over the faith of the people. They are witness of doctrine and not inventors of speculations. The humblest of their flock can tell when they bear false witness against any truth attested in the present time, or at any time, by the faith of the whole Society.

Here then is another thing which you, as a Protestant, must think wrong. The ministers of religion with you are not so much teachers as preachers. They take the Bible—give out their *opinion*—and refer the congregations for the truth of them back to the text. When they read the text in the Bible at home, they are referred to their own brain to determine its meaning; and from the brain results again—opinion, opinion. Here then is a difference between us. With us the doctrine of Revelations are facts, resting on the testimony of the Scriptures, rightly understood, confirmed by the unanimous faith of the Church from the days of Christ downward; and, of course, resting ultimately upon the veracity of God. They are believed by virtue of that veracity; and therefore the conviction which they produce is faith unwavering and constant. With you it is all opinion. And between these two words, in reference to Christian Revelation, "Faith" and "Opinion," there is a depth of difference which you would do well to fathom. The Catholic people are alone truly independent in their religious belief. No minister of theirs—no bishop—nor Pope—nor all together—have any power to alter one iota of that sacred deposit, which Christ bequeathed to his followers. Not so with you. One of your ministers may, in following out the farther lights of what he calls Scripture, deviate himself, and lead his congregation into the same ranks of socinianism, before this poor people are aware of it. In matters of this kind they have no fixed point of departure, from which they might calculate either their course or distance. Hence the alarm when some new evangelical impostor arises among your people. If he preaches about the end of the world in a month or two, and quotes a profusion of Scripture, which he does not understand, he can have crowds of followers and

disciples. The same man might preach himself into consumption before an audience of Catholics, and no matter how learned or how ignorant they should be, he could never make a convert. Now what is the reason of this difference? It is that the Catholics hold the truths which God revealed as truths, and believe them by a principle of faith relying on the divine veracity,—where you, as a Protestant, believe them, if you believe them at all, in the order of opinions, more or less probable, according to your interpretation of Scripture. If therefore you go to hear the advocate for the proximate end of the world, he gives his opinion, quotes Scripture, interprets it, and this is neither more nor less than is done by your minister at home. You, then, having no principle of guidance to determine which is right, are as liable to follow the one as the other.

This you call a privilege, but it is the privilege of perpetual instability and uncertainty of belief. The privilege of being made the dupe of every artful preacher that pleases—the privilege of freedom. Be it so. But it was not so that Christ appointed men to perpetuate his doctrine. The appointed teachers of that doctrine, and disciples who should learn from their teachers and believe.

Such being the organization of the Church, I have to say but one word respecting the powers of its chief bishop, and his colleagues in the ministry. You seem to be alarmed at the fact that the Pope is, besides, a temporal prince, and at this I should not be surprised if it came from a school boy of the Green Mountains, who had just gone as far in his elementary education as the story of the burning of "John Rogers, and his nine children, with one at the breast!" But coming from a man of your age and knowledge of the world, the expression of alarm certainly does surprise me. In order to compose you, therefore, I will merely state the Pope's being a temporal prince is, in the mind of Catholics, an accident; and that, as a temporal prince they look upon him as any other of the rulers of the earth. The religious relation which they bear to him is not greater when he is dwelling in the Vatican, than it would be if he were pining in the prisons of France or the catacombs of Rome. The duties of his office, and the extent of his power in the Church, are as well known as those of the President in this Republic. As a temporal prince, he has no authority out of his own States. As a Pope, in his relations with the Church, he belongs to the whole Catholic world, and in that relation between Catholic and Catholic, whether Pope or other, there is no such thing as strangers and foreigners, but all are citizens and domestics of God.

I do not mention any of these things in the supposition that you will approve of them. As a Protestant, and considering the distorted and distorting influence of your education, in reference to the Catholic Church, I suppose you regard all this as one great abomination. If this be your opinion I can only oppose the unanimous one hundred and eighty millions of Catholics, throughout the world, who look upon all this as a most merciful institution of God, for the guidance of the wandering intellect of man; and for carrying on those eternal

interests of our race, for which his Divine Son suffered on the tree. This Society has survived the hostility and the revolutions of the world for eighteen hundred years. Its members enjoy peace of soul, and security in its communion; and the only privilege which they ask of you is the privilege of enjoying for themselves the same right of choice which you claim and exercise. Should you, however, be cruel enough to deny it, they will claim it without your permission—though not without the risk of having "false witness borne against them" both in the *Journal of Commerce* and the Broadway Tabernacle.

Pardon me, sir, if I offend you by prefixing the symbol of redemption to my unworthy name, while I subscribe myself

Your obedient servant,

✠ JOHN HUGHES, Bishop, etc.

New York, Nov. 14, 1812.

Right Rev'd Bishop Hughes to David Hale, Esq.

SIR: I have read your letter of the 19th instant, in reply to mine of the 14th, and there is so little in it to the point, that I think the public will soon be relieved from the tedium of our discussion. In fact, the only object for which I addressed you was to tie you hard and fast to certain injurious statements which you had put forth against me, and compel you, as far as moral influence could have that power, either to PROVE them, or to stand before the public as a man who bears false witness against his neighbor. I thought you could not prove them; and it only remains to show, that the hair-splitting of your last letter cannot screen you from the verdict which you would now be willing to escape from.

You represented me as requiring Catholics to "abjure societies," under penalties, which you exaggerated in your first strictures on my Pastoral Letter. This was false testimony—for, I defined the character of the societies to which I had referred—as, "certain societies;"—and these, "as generally designated as SECRET SOCIETIES," "bound together by oaths or other religious obligations." You represent me as denouncing "societies," without qualification or distinction!

This might have happened inadvertently in the first instance; but your attempt in your last letter, to vindicate this perversion, shows, either that you intended to misrepresent me, and, therefore, acted from a dishonest purpose; or else, that you are utterly ignorant of the first principles of logic.

Suppose you had written that men should not encourage "certain vile editors," who are generally designated "indecent editors,"—that is conductors of indecent papers. And suppose I should proclaim that you attacked *Editors* generally, by omitting the qualifications "vile and indecent," you would have just reason to charge me

with injurious misrepresentations. And yet, as I should have employed the word "Editors," and you had employed the word "Editors," what kind of a pitiable evasion would it be for me to say, in the words of your last letter, "I quoted your precise language!" Sir, this is trifling, unworthy of the conductor of a public press; unworthy of a professor of the Christian Religion.

Next,—I did not say that the Quakers required their members to abjure Societies; but I said what every man acquainted with their usages must know; namely, that they cut off from the rights of interment, those who, while living, violated the rules, and forfeited the communion of their Society.

Again: you take me to task for seeming to doubt whether you *really* suppose that the "cross," as printed, meant "a dagger." For this doubt you say you will not forgive me, although I pleaded your pardon. "Every man," you add, "has a right to speak of the movements within his own breast, and in a society of gentlemen, has a right to be believed." I stand corrected, since you put it on the ground of "courtesy." When you say that you supposed it a dagger, courtesy requires that I should believe you, and I do believe you, accordingly. If a man opens his door to my visit, and tells that he is not at home, I am bound, in courtesy, to acquiesce. Your case is much stronger than this. But, in making the statement, I really took it for granted that you could not be serious, in fact, that you were *quizzing*. How could I suppose that you were ignorant of the custom which prevails, and has prevailed, for centuries among bishops, of prefixing the sign of the Cross to their official signatures!

In all civilized countries it is customary *among gentlemen* to treat the ministers of religion with, at least, the ordinary courtesy which they observe towards each other—and when I remembered the style in which you thought proper to present my name before the public, in your strictures on my Pastoral Letter, it was quite natural for me to regard you as wishing to be a *wag*, whatever else you might, or might not, be. Your words are these—"We do not think it necessary for us to notice Pastoral Letters generally, but this John is the same man who headed a political meeting, last year, for the nomination of members of Assembly, and has shown, in various ways, that he can turn his hand to Pastoral Politics as well as Religion, and as he avows himself the appointee of a foreign Prince, who not only issues bulls, but raises armies, makes war, dethrones kings (or did once) and overturns nations, it is right enough to examine a little the horns of the bulls which he sets to roaring among us. * * * The letter is signed John Hughes with a dagger." I do not stop to point out the false statements in this quotation, although they are as thick as it would be well possible to pack them, within the same compass; but I merely suggest the inquiry whether such coarse language is in accordance with the rules of courtesy? Whether it was not natural for me, to suppose that the writer was ambitious to pass for a wit, or a wag, as you may

choose? And whether it was possible for me to imagine, that the author of *such a passage* could ever dream of throwing himself back on the reserved rights of a gentleman? I hope these circumstances will extenuate somewhat my mistake, when I took it for granted that you could not be serious in mistaking the cross for "a dagger;" but at all events, how was it possible for me to anticipate that the author of such a wanton and coarse attack, should even assume to play the "Magister Elegantiarium"—the arbiter of the courtesy among gentlemen!! Leaving this aside, then, I think it hard that you, professing, at least, to be a Christian, should refuse to forgive me for a mistake into which your style had betrayed me. I, on the contrary, forgive you, in my mind, regularly twice a day; and as often, besides, as I happen to think of you and the "*Journal of Commerce.*"

So, after all, you are obliged to *back out* of the false accusation respecting the priest who, as you alleged, made a Catholic girl walk round the church on her knees, "until the blood issued freely from her wounds." I thought so. And now, for your information, let me tell you that I had nothing to do with the "promises made," at the Washington Hall, or elsewhere. You, asserted then, a gross calumny, which you were never able to prove. I had nothing to do with calling upon you for the *proofs* of it. I knew it would be useless. I never made allusion to the subject in public, and all the statements in the "*Journal of Commerce*," representing me in that business, you may add as an appendix to the false statements already noticed. Other gentlemen thought proper to call on you, and demand proof, but I did not. And, after all, how did you get out of the scrape? Three lines, giving the name of the priest whom you accused, and the parties in the accusation, would have been sufficient. Instead of this, you waited some two or three months, until—from anonymous pamphlets—hasty and inconsiderate proceedings, involving the reputation of fifteen or twenty gentlemen, who were in no wise connected with your statement, had been raked together by the industry of some scavenger of scandal who appeared to be at your command, and all that mass was presented, in several columns of the *Journal of Commerce*, as the proof of a fact, which, *if it had been true*, could have been established in a half dozen lines of a single column; and because the gentlemen who did call on you did not think proper to re-agitate such a variety of questions, involving the private feelings and character of so many persons, you escaped from the exposure, respecting a single and malignant charge, which you have done so much to merit.

It is related in the history of the persecutions of Ireland that a poor Catholic was on his trial for murder, and though there was no witness against him—though the man was alive at the time, who was said to have been murdered—though the judge charged the jury accordingly—still, they brought him in guilty, on the plea that though he was innocent of *that* crime, he had committed others before, and, therefore, ought to be hanged. Out of Ireland, I pre-

sume, the annals of malevolence never furnished a nearer approach to the ethics of *that* jury, than was found in your reply to the proofs demanded of you, by the gentlemen at Washington Hall.

On the subject of the petty persecutions of conscience that are carried on against servants in a few, generally speaking, obscure families, I am glad to perceive that my remarks have awakened in your breast symptoms of humanity and good feeling. It is not I, but the religion which they profess, that forbids Catholics from joining in the forms of worship belonging to Jews, Presbyterians, Unitarians, or others, with whom they may live. You say that the Catholics, in reference to religion, have nothing but opinion to depend on, like their Protestant fellow-citizens. I am surprised at this. As, however, you do not appear to be a proficient in dialectics, I will furnish you with some illustrations which may aid you in comprehending "a difference" which you do not seem to understand. The doctrines of the Constitution, in civil matters, are facts, and not opinions. The appointment of judges, to determine what those facts are, is itself a fact, and not an opinion. Their uniform decision, with respect to those facts, is also a fact, and not an opinion. Now, this will correspond with the dogmas of revelation, and the living authorities, at all times contemporaneous with their existence and descent, to determine what they are. This, although every *human* comparison fails, may illustrate to your mind what I meant to assert with regard to the *facts*, which are believed in the Catholic Church. In the faith of that Church there is no teaching of opinion whatever—there never has been—there never can be. What is opinion in the Catholic Church, is something not included in the Revelations of God.

When He has vouchsafed to speak, what he says is a fact, a truth to be believed, not an opinion to be tried at the bar of man's feeble reason, and, therefore, *opinion* forms no part of the Church's doctrines. You would not, perhaps, understand this so well, if I did not furnish the counterpart which belongs to you as a Protestant. Supposing you, in your civil capacity, were to hold that the doctrines of the Constitution are mere opinions written out in plain English, which everybody can understand and interpret for himself; and that, therefore, there is *no need* of judges—and that, if judges have decided otherwise, it was a usurpation on their part upon the rights of the people, who are abject enough to submit to it. You would then exemplify in your relations to the State, that which you now contend for, in your ideas of the economy of revelation. But every other individual would have the same right as yourself, and the Constitution would thus soon come to mean what the Bible, in *your hands*, is now made to mean; that is, everything which a man, by perverting its true meaning, is pleased to adopt *as his own opinion*. Now, just reflect a little upon this; as an imperfect illustration of the difference between *facts* and *opinions*, in reference to the faith which Christ and his Apostles established in the world.

I thought, however, that the authority of King James' Bible would have satisfied you with respect to the officers in the Church whom the people are directed to "obey." You say that neither "prelates" nor "those who rule" are intended by the Apostle; but that he meant "leading men"!!! and you yourself claim for "leading men" that they should be "treated with deference, respect, and obedience." Very well. Let us suppose it to be "leading men," for argument's sake—for I will go a great way to accommodate you. Why then did you not allow me the advantage of your own interpretation when I published my Pastoral Letter? You will admit, I presume, that I am a "leading man" among the Catholics. Why, then, since you proclaim that as such I should have been treated with "deference, respect, and obedience," why, I say, did you preach up to them *disregard*, *disrespect* and *disobedience* towards me? And in doing this, why did you go further, by bearing false witness against me? Why did you say I attacked the institutions of the country? Why did you charge them with unfitness to enjoy the blessings of liberty, if they should treat their "leading man" as the Bible directs him to be treated according to your own interpretation?

As to your opinions, as you know, I will not dispute any of them. In like manner, I shall avoid anything like religious controversy with you. This for several reasons: First, Because in the matter of discussion alone, you show yourself so utterly unacquainted with the ordinary rules of reasoning, as not to be able to appreciate an argument, or to know when you are driven from a false position. Secondly, Because I suspect you are but ill acquainted with any system of religion; and perhaps unable to define your belief. Thirdly, Because I do not venture too much in stating that you are entirely ignorant of the Catholic religion except as you may have learned it from the "Key of Popery," and other classical and theological works, of similar distinction. Did you ever in your life read a Catholic book of any acknowledged authority in the Church? I doubt it; and if you did, was it in that sincere mood and disposition of mind which is requisite to understand what the doctrines of the Catholic Church really are? Or, on the contrary, did you not read it rather as the deist reads the Bible—for the purpose of extracting from it the weapons for its overthrow? In any of these contingencies, it is evident that what you stand in need of, is not argument so much as information. And if you really desire information on this subject, I shall be most happy to afford it, both by offering you the use of my library, and furnishing such aid by oral communications as your case may require. I shall be prepared to solve every objection, which may occur to you in the investigation, as far as my ability will go. Then when you have learned what the Catholic Church really is, you will be qualified to enter on a disputation against it, but not before.

I do not make these observations in the spirit of disrespect. Far from it. No man can excel in every department, and, of course, I am willing to acknowledge that I should be as utterly disqualified for a discussion with you on political economy, the science of bank-

ing, or the details of commerce, as you are for a discussion on the subject of the Catholic religion.

In the mean time, your strictures on my Pastoral Letter abound with so many unfounded charges, that I shall, without classifying them, make a little enumeration of those that are most palpable. You say:

1. That I "have led my followers to the polls."

2. That in my Pastoral Letter I "have attacked the civil institutions of this country."

3. That I "have required Catholics to abjure societies" (without distinction).

4. That a Catholic priest condemned a young woman "to walk upon her bare knees around the church until the blood issued freely from her wounds."

Now, sir, if these charges are true, prove them. If they are not true, retract them, and entitle yourself thereby to the respect of honorable men. But, sir, in demanding proof it will not do for you to depend upon *false statements* found *in your own columns* or elsewhere. Tell me on the testimony of a witness *when* or *where* or *whom* I led to the polls.

2d. Point out the passage in my Pastoral Letter in which I have "attacked the civil institutions of this country."

3d. Show me where I have required Catholics "to abjure societies," other than those which are designated "secret," and bound together by an oath or other religious obligation.

4th. Give me the name of the priest and of the Catholic young woman who were parties to "walking around the church on her knees till the blood issued freely from her wounds."

All these are things not above your comprehension. If these are true you must have the means of proving them. If they are not true you ought to be ashamed of yourself. But whether you will or not, I shall conclude by wishing you may "live a thousand years," and learn that when a Catholic bishop puts the sign of the Cross before his signature it is the symbol of Christianity you see, and not a "dagger," as you "supposed."

✠ JOHN HUGHES, Bishop, etc.

New York, Nov. 21, 1842.

To David Hale, Esq.:

Sir—I have read your letter in the *Journal of Commerce* of this morning. A few words will be sufficient in reply.

You state that *want of leisure* has prevented you from giving to my last letter that attention which it deserves. This is precisely what I anticipated. Under the strongest conviction that you had "borne false witness against your neighbor," it occurred to me that you *would* find yourself wonderfully oppressed for want of time, when it should be necessary to furnish the proof of your statements.

It was partly on this account that I contrived to make your task so simple and so easy; for after all, the question between us is not a question in New Orleans, but a question *here* in New York. The matter between us was stated at the close of my last letter, in the condensed form of the following words:

In the mean time your strictures on my Pastoral Letter abound with so many unfounded charges, that I shall, without classifying them, make a little enumeration of those that are are most palpable. You say:

1. That I "have led my followers to the polls."

2. That in my Pastoral Letter I "have attacked the civil institutions of this country."

3. That I "have required Catholics to abjure societies" (without distinction).

4. That a Catholic priest condemned a young woman "to walk upon her bare knees around the church until the blood issued freely from her wounds."

Now, sir, if these charges are true, prove them. If they are not true, retract them and entitle yourself thereby to the respect of honorable men. But, sir, in demanding proof, it will not do for you to depend upon *false statements* found *in your own columns* or elsewhere. Tell me on the testimony of a witness *when* or *where* or *whom* I led to the polls.

2d. Point out the passage in my Pastoral Letter in which I "have attacked the civil institutions of this country."

3d. Show me where I have required Catholics to "abjure societies," other than those which are designated "secret," and bound together by an oath or other religious obligation.

4th. Give me the name of the priest and of the Catholic young woman who were parties to her "walking round the church on her knees till the blood issued freely from her wounds."

All these are things not above your comprehension. If they are true you must have the means of proving them. If they are not true you ought to be ashamed of yourself.

Such were some of the statements you had made. And I assumed that a man making pretensions to *Christian morality* would not make such statements without being authorized by *certain proof* of their being correct and true. This proof, then, is all that I demanded as above.

You allege that you "have not had time," after more than two weeks, to furnish the proof. Pardon me, sir, if I must reject this statement, unless, indeed, you require me to admit it "by courtesy." My first reason respecting it is, that the proofs, if they were in your possession, could have been furnished in twenty-five minutes. My second reason is, that though you could not find twenty-five minutes for that purpose, you have been able to find time to translate a long document of anti-Catholic matter, issued by the trustees of a church in New Orleans.

Neither do you appear to have been pressed of time in this opera-

tion, since you seem to have considered other *possible* translations of the document; and tell us that "there is not a sentence which might not have been translated some other way." I shall not criticize your translation, for I hold both the translation and the original to be of small importance. I could furnish you with a bushel of such documents; and the reason why I notice your translation at all, is the difficulty which the time spent on it presents to my mind, in contrast with another statement of yours, in which you assert that you had not leisure enough to "attend" to my letter!

Will you have the goodness to reconcile this *apparent* discrepancy between two of your own statements; whilst I, waiting for the *proofs* of your former assertions, remain

Your obedient servant,

✠ JOHN HUGHES, Bishop, etc.

December 15, 1842.

RT. REV. BISHOP HUGHES' LECTURE,

DELIVERED IN THE TABERNACLE, ON THURSDAY EVENING, JANUARY 5TH, 1843, BEFORE THE CATHOLIC LIBRARY SOCIETY.

SUBJECT:—*Influence of Christianity upon Civilization.*

[The following lecture was announced to be delivered on December 22d, 1842, but the Rt. Rev. Bishop DUBOIS having died on the 20th of December, it was, in consequence, postponed until the 5th of January, 1843.]

"CIVILIZATION" is a word in our language which all who understand the language comprehend, but of which it might, perhaps, be difficult to give a definition that would convey an absolute meaning. It is, like so many other words, relative, and not absolute. Every one knows what it means in a general way, but there is no fixed standard whereby to determine its absolute value. It is understood to express the condition of society living under fixed principles and laws, in mutual and social relations with each other; and, therefore, wherever this exists, there must be, in some degree at least, civilization. And it is not a little remarkable that human nature, being the same in all ages, wherever Christianity has not penetrated, there is either no civilization, or civilization on the lowest possible scale. Not only there, but wherever Christianity has departed from a land, there you find the movement retrograde; and mankind, although possessed of all their powers of reason, and all their natural faculties, without *that* spirit and feeling, relapsing, if not into, at least towards, primitive barbarism. We, in our age, are enjoying the blessings of civilization to a very large extent (it is not to be supposed that they have reached their perfection yet; nevertheless they are in very ample development); and it is natural for us, in this as in other things, to trouble ourselves little about the means by which mankind—society—that moral being—that aggregate of human mind and human feeling—should be in the position of enjoying those blessings. Sometimes we pride ourselves in their enjoyment, but seldom inquire how it was that these blessings have been accumulated and brought to their present perfection. If, then, I enter on this subject somewhat, let it not be supposed that I present to you the highest value of Christianity. Let it not be supposed that I would, even honorable as it is to revelation, make this the primary, or supreme, end of its communication to man. No. It has two aspects. One is all divine, looking to God. One, contem-

plating man, not in his temporal existence, but in his eternal state of being. And that seems to be the direct object of Christianity. But it is a remarkable thing, as observed by Montesquieu in his "Spirit of Laws," and an admirable thing, that religion, which appears to have been intended exclusively for our happiness in a future life, is also to serve for the support of our felicity in the present. And it is that indirect effect, that temporal effect, that social influence of the Christian religion, of which I treat; not as its primary, but as its secondary, yet exceedingly important, result. Our forefathers, having all the mind naturally that we have, having all the affection that we have, having even a larger portion of physical power of endurance and exertion, were barbarians notwithstanding; and wherever you can trace the line, that is the verge of Christianity; understand and know that beyond that is barbarism. If, then, I speak of the subject selected, it is not, knowing as I do the nature of my own function, which is to speak to men of Heaven, and of God and of Eternity, and of the sacred and mysterious things of that religion, it is not that I would raise these mere temporal considerations to an equality of appreciation. But it is that even as regards that which constitute the cement and the strength and the ornament of social life, I should also point out to you that it is to the Great Author of our redemption that we are indebted for all. Christianity on the other hand is itself, so far as it is exemplified in the life of its Divine Author, perfect as its source. Then, communicated to man, it is a principle planted in the heart—it is a conviction—a religious conviction—it is a sentiment—it is in itself, if I might so speak, the opposite of all that is physical or all that constitutes physical power. It is not intended by its Divine Author (for if it were it would have accomplished its purpose) to destroy absolutely the free will of man, so as to change him by its divine influence against his will into a perfect being. But it is a sentiment by which, if a man guide himself, he will be as perfect as it is possible for his nature to be. If, then, Christianity, in its descent down to us, side by side, and intimately connected and interwoven with the progress of social life, has not made individuals and families and communities and nations happy, it is because it has had to operate on a nature that is evil. Man is naturally evil. It points out to him the way of goodness; but it does not compel him by either moral or invincible coercion of any kind to embrace it. This remark is exceedingly important in reference to the view of the subject which I am about to take. Because, as errors on this point are often to be met with in our age, when there is so much to be read, and on account of the quantity, so superficially too, it is important for us to make that distinction; and instead of holding Christianity or Religion or the Church responsible for the evil that has occurred, rather to ascribe that evil to its proper source, and understand that the good which has resulted came from the religion, whilst the evil itself came from the corrupt and depraved heart of man, on whom that religion could make no impression. This, then, is an important distinction

to be made. For here, in speaking of past ages, or speaking of the forms, the phases, at different times and in different countries, presented to our contemplation by social life, it is customary in many quarters to charge religion, the only remedy for the evil of these times, as if IT were responsible for the evils it could not prevent! And we never can appreciate the advantages of religion in the improvement of the social condition—the correction of the passions of the human heart—the amelioration of the social institutions, laws, usages, and manners, unless we make that distinction and draw the line broadly between what religion recommended and what it has been able to accomplish, and that which it recommended, but which men in the stubbornness of their pride and obduracy of their hearts refused to perform. It is singularly remarkable that the Author of our religion, neither in his public preaching during his brief ministry on earth, nor in the writings of his Apostles—left by inspiration after his ascension—has so much as one word in reference to the improvement which should occur in the world by virtue of the doctrines he had promulgated. There is not a word about the evils which existed, and which penetrated into all society at the time He lived on our earth. There is not a word of the iniquities prevailing, not a word of recommendation to his Apostles to overturn these governments, even if they had the power; not a promise that they should become rich, or happy, or powerful, in a worldly point of view; but on the contrary, if there be a prediction shadowed forth at all, it is that they should be the especial victims of the world's persecution. Nevertheless, it would be impossible even then, for a mind capable of appreciating on this point of view the effects of his doctrines, not to see that in the principles of justice, the principles of truth, the principles of fraternity, the principles of holiness, which his doctrines embodied, there was enough to give sure promise that if these doctrines ever took root in the world, they must of themselves and of necessity, as a little leaven, gradually leaven the whole mass. It is in the first promulgation of these doctrines that you see the germ of civilization. This was not, so far as the text goes, so far as the fact speaks, the intention for which the doctrine was itself spread abroad, but it was of necessity to be its effect. Because for the first time He conferred honor on human nature, and He taught his disciples to love their neighbor as themselves. He called them once "servants," but afterwards He called them "brethren;" and after all, if you will examine and trace to its primitive origin the whole amelioration of the social condition, from the time that He proclaimed his doctrine on the earth, you will not find this so much in any specific text as in the great conviction of the fundamental doctrine of his own person and of his own nature. Cast your eyes abroad over all the nations of whom we have any knowledge from antiquity, and you will find man, as to his nature, despised. You will find, turning over the pages of the Persian, Egyptian, and Grecian historian, that man in himself was esteemed of no value, that the line was almost invisible between him in whom was concentrated

absolute power, which he exercised as tyrants always will, and the rest of the people—they were groaning beneath his iron sceptre; that there was but one monarch, and the rest slaves of various grades and different conditions. If you look, then, at the great theatre of Roman domination, you will find that in Rome, with all its pretended civilization, the same feature prevailed. The citizens of Rome, when we read and read hastily, we suppose to have been pretty much like our own citizens. But there can be no conception more erroneous than this. The Roman citizen was as one perhaps to ten thousand; and the plebeian race, and above all the slaves, were as persons of no value; because they were not citizens, and because not having that special privilege, their nature, although like that of the others, stamped with the image of God, was not appreciated. There was nothing to give them value. And the great idea of the great lever which Christianity presented for the elevation of the human race, was the doctrine that the Divine Son became man, and in becoming man elevated human nature by its union with the divine nature in the same person! This is the origin; and if you start from the fountain and behold these waters of regeneration bursting forth from their primitive source, and watch them as they meandered and divided, now into one stream of benevolence, now into another, now into the improvement of legislation, now into the mitigation of the civil condition of the slave, and as they passed from nation to nation, and age to age, you will see in all their branches this power and efficacy, because God had ennobled humanity by the "Word" being "made Flesh and dwelling amongst men."

It is further to be observed that the lesson which first united the disciples together was a lesson of love and of fraternity. And it no doubt entered into the providence of God that that which was a doctrine and an affection should become, through the manner of its development, a standard of imitation to spread from the centre to the circumference of the world. The first lesson of equality, practical equality, we can trace to the catacombs of Rome, where those who professed Christianity were obliged to hide themselves from Pagan persecution. You will behold there the bishop of that city, and the noble senator, and the freedman, and the slave—all, as brethren, assembled around the altar on which they offered sacrifice to their God, and near the sepulchre which was to contain their consecrated remains. The first lesson was one of suffering and humility; and whilst the Christian Church was in this situation of suffering, it is not to be expected that she, either by her external development of the moral principle with which God has inspired her, or by any other influence, could exercise any power over the usages which then prevailed. Nevertheless, if you watch the progress of Roman legislation, you will find that even before the empire professed the Christian name the harsh spirit of that legislation was mitigated. Many of its stern and cruel features were changed for others of greater mildness; and there is strong reason to believe that the reflection of the example and usages of

the obscure and persecuted Christians was shed even on the mind and heart of him who wielded the imperial sceptre. Until then the slave, under Roman civilization, had no protection of any kind. Until then the slave belonged to his master as the ox belonged; even the attribute of humanity was denied him; he was called a thing—"*res*"—and not a man. His master could kill and destroy him at his pleasure; and it is known that the slaves, even whilst at labor, were bound with chains of iron, and at night were compelled to retire to the caverns of the earth, with only an opening as a medium of breathing the air of heaven. We know that, in his caprice, the master sent one of his slaves to be devoured alive by the fishes in his pond, for no reason except that, in awkwardly attending the banquet, he allowed a crystal vase to fall and be broken. We know another instance, in which four hundred slaves were directed to be taken between files of soldiers and massacred—for what crime think ye? None, but that their master had been assassinated, and they would not tell by whom; possibly because they *could* not! But it was to be presumed that it could not have occurred without the knowledge of the slaves, and therefore the slaves were to forfeit their lives to that inconsiderate and barbarian law. Now we find the first modification of that law under the subsequent emperors. But if such was the manner in which the slaves were treated, let us see what was the manner in which that first element of social existence, the family, was regulated. A family is in itself a State; it is a corporation in which there is form, and dominion, and order; and the Christian family presents a spectacle which would have astonished the ancients, who could not have admitted the possibility of the existence of such a perfect organization in domestic life. The Roman family was not a natural family. It was a civil one, regulated by the law; and under that law the father owned his children just as he did his slaves. He could kill them both. The mother could do so at their birth, without any crime against the State; or the father, at any subsequent period; he could sell them, or dispose of them as he pleased. If you can imagine, then, such a family, and an aggregate of such families, you will have some idea of that free Rome, so-called, where the law protected the father, and secured this power to him, which he might exercise as arbitrarily as he thought proper, so long as he lived. The child was incapable of acquiring anything. All that he acquired belonged not to him, for he belonged not to himself, but to his father. And when death removed that father, then he himself passed, by a sudden transition, from the condition of a slave to that of the tyrant under whom he had previously lived. Would you speak of that so immediately connected with the family—the marriage bond? You will find that the wife was scarcely the companion of the husband. She was, it is true, not called a slave; she was called a wife. But she was, both on account of her sex and on that of relation, a being in this condition of society, having no rights from the hour of her birth until she went to her grave. She could not bequeath to her child anything;

no, not even a token of affection, without permission. During her minority she belonged to her father, and after her marriage she belonged to her husband. And the consequences of this, in the growing depravity of that corrupt community, were such as respect for the modesty and the feeling which, thanks to Christianity, exist in your bosoms, prevents me from describing in any way.

After this period, then, of which this is but a faint outline, you find a new order of things introduced when Constantine professes the Christian religion, and in a very brief period you find the first law enacted towards the emancipation of the slaves; laws also enacted for the relief of the poor; and the first external manifestations of the feelings and of the principles which Christianity had implanted in the heart, and which had exhibited no direct power before. Then succeeds rapidly—for in a matter of this kind I must pass very cursorily—the decline of that empire and that people so fond of blood, especially in this last and most corrupt stage; that people, who could amuse the multitudes in the amphitheatres with the spectacle of Christians devoured by the lions of Africa; that people, who could season their banquets with the agonies of naked gladiators piercing each other's breasts; that period of blood and voluptuousness—the bloody star of their dominion now set for ever. Then came in a new order. Those hordes from the north of Europe and Asia—the Huns, Goths and Vandals—rushed upon the empire as a deluge, as if the cataracts of heaven had been again opened, and the great fountains of the earth had burst forth afresh; one tide rising above its fellow, and rolling onward as if to blot out the bloody foot-prints of that iron-hearted race, who had made the earth groan beneath the weight of their violence and crime. (Loud applause.) These invaders were not Christians. They came, not knowing their own mission, but with a kind of instinct in their hearts—a kind of dim idea that God had destined them to become the scourge of that empire; so much so that Attila, who boasted that "where the hoof of his steed once struck the earth, the grass never grew again," boasted also that he was the "Scourge of God." But he was only one of a series who came, one after another, destroying everything that had resulted from the operation of the Roman mind, and the progress of Roman civilization. Yet whilst those torrents of barbarism spread over the empire, religion and her ministers were also there; and the ship of the Church, mounting on these waves, with its crew inspired by the promises of their glorified Master, was now employed in gathering, here and there, the fragments of literature, science, and the arts of civilization which floated on the surface, and would otherwise have perished utterly and for ever. (Applause.) This was their occupation. The very form in which God had appointed that his Church should develop itself, became, in the goodness of his providence, the means of preserving these benefits to future ages. He, instilling his doctrines into the simple-hearted followers who surrounded him, selected twelve, and of them he chose one; and thus constituted a society, organized

with its own peculiar government and powers of government within itself. You cannot read the history of those ages without seeing how intimately the Church and State were blended together; and you cannot, perhaps, refrain from expressing your indignation at the discovery. You may not have understood the explanation of this fact. Christianity and the Church have nothing to do with the State. Their mission is from heaven to man. Men believe it, and its end again is heaven. So that if the Pope—the first bishop of the Church; the successor of him who was taken from the twelve, and appointed one to whom was given power not given to others—if he becomes an important personage in secular or political matters, in after times, do not suppose that he is so by virtue of any warrant he received from his Divine Master. His office and these things are, in themselves, utterly separate.

"How did it occur then," it will be asked, "that strange union of Church and State—that intertwining of the fibres of the one with the other, so that it is almost impossible, by reading history, to distinguish the limits, and in fact that it occasioned perpetual struggles of the one power against the other, in which each had its own mode of warfare, appropriate to its own nature and character?" It is easy to explain all this. When civilization was destroyed; when the Roman provinces were pillaged by a new and barbarous race, who refused to adopt any of the manners of the people whom they had subdued and annihilated, and who would not stoop to learn wisdom from the conquered; in a word, when men without cultivation, without literature or laws, occupied that empire, was it not a great mercy that in that ship of the Church, which rode triumphantly on the wave of barbarism, there should have been found men capable of teaching these barbarians? This was the origin of the union of Church and State. The very nature of the office sustained by the ministers of religion kept them in contact with mankind. What are they sent for but to convert the heart; to subdue the natural ferocity of men; to make them love each other? How, then, could they abstain from intercourse with mankind? and how could they have that intercourse without imparting some of that light to the taper of him who was in darkness, and came within the reach of their illuminating influence? When the whole social fabric was broken down, what remained to be done, except that these men should exert themselves in gathering up and restoring all the fragments of what was valuable; in re-constructing the social edifice, and regenerating the affections and enlightening the minds of the new nation springing into existence? It was thus that the early ministers of the Church laid the enduring foundations of the modern and boasted civilization.

If you find, then, that the Church came to have influence in the State, do not impute it to the ambition of her ministers, although it is proper to acknowledge that even these men, high and holy as was their calling, would not be in all cases above the influence of that feeling more than other men. They were men; and as men

they would be operated on, more or less, by the ordinary feelings to which our nature is subject. But examine the page of history, and you will find that if they had influence—if they began to be arbitrators, and from that to be, as it was natural, magistrates and judges of the peace—it was because they had gained the confidence of the people by whom they were surrounded; because their mission and character inspired those people with respect, and led them to confide in their ability and will to render that justice which they might have elsewhere sought in vain. And so general was the feeling of popular confidence and desire to seek the counsel and judgment of the Church, that her ministers were often obliged to devote much of their time to these works. In the writings of St. Augustine we find that when he wished to call on St. Ambrose, he found him "so surrounded by clients that it was difficult to gain an audience." And at that time and subsequently, also, but especially at that period when all the regular organization of government was dissolved, the Christians had in their minds that admonition of St. Paul to the Corinthians when he seemed to have been scandalized at them for referring their disputes to the Pagan judges, and exhorted them to refer them to some of their own communion.

They applied that admonition, and because these ministers of religion in the constitution of society were the persons to whom the people would naturally flock, as men not having families of their own—no interest to interfere with their pursuit of holy things—they naturally became the umpires and judges, the duties of which offices they were well fitted to discharge with propriety, from their superior learning, and their vastly superior integrity. (Loud applause.) We know that historians, and even ecclesiastical historians, boast of the conduct of Constantine when he assisted at the great Council of Nice with the bishops, and though emperor of the world, as might be said, yet was so humble that he would not allow himself to express an opinion in the matter. But in the final issue it could not but turn out a misfortune that the emperor was present on such an occasion, and we accordingly find that he who was so humble and respectful to the ministers of religion, lived long enough so to appreciate his own power in relation to the Church as in the controversies between the orthodox and the Arians to take upon himself the decision of the question, without the slightest hesitation, and banished into exile such of the bishops as refused to acquiesce. From that time forward if you find the bishops entering more or less into the counsels of the king or of the State, it is because the latter were ignorant, and the bishops enlightened. It was because the State officials wished to borrow from the light of the bishop, as he, from his character, position and bearing had manifested that love of human nature which was now prized, not by any earthly consideration, but by its equivalent of value in the IDEA that man had been raised by the Incarnation for the enjoyment of his primitive destiny. (Applause.)

Going on, you will come to the origin of monastic institutions.

And it has been quite customary to look on them as rather indications of barbarism, or a low state of civilization. It would not become me, on an occasion like this, to enter into any question connected with the merits of these religious institutions in a religious point of view. That is not appropriate for the plan or occasion, and I will leave it aside. But I will view them in connection with the times and the progress of society. I find in them one of the most remarkable agencies which God employed for extending the blessings of civilization, and giving form and permanence to these crude materials for modern nations which were then strewn around. How was this? The Roman empire being in the state I have described—overrun with northern barbarians, who brought with them all their habits of plunder, dislike of labor, and unspeakable contempt for the occupation of letters as one only fitted for the coward —how were they brought into that condition in which all the mingled interests of a large community could be so balanced and arranged as to allow freedom to each, and equal rights to all. How was this to be accomplished? How was it, in fact, done? I answer, it was effected in a great measure by the institution of monastic orders.

I find, in reading history, especially that of the Church, that these institutions had amongst their objects the preservation of ancient manuscripts which would otherwise have perished. Their origin was in the desire of their founders to retire from the evils of the world, to save their own souls, and serve their God in solitude. There, then, you see the first organization of civilized life, in the constitution of a religious community. The very word "community" was unknown before, and had its origin in those institutions. Admirable schools of wisdom and justice, and freedom too!—the essence of whose constitution and government has been infused into the best civil organizations of modern times! (Loud applause.) The time of the monks was divided in attention to rest, prayer, study, and labor. And if in the sequel they became wealthy, and seem to have occupied a larger space than they ought have occupied, let not that, any more than their character and influence, be misunderstood. In their origin they selected locations where land was of no value, because inhabitants were wanting and the soil was not prized. They ordinarily selected retired places—the wilderness, far remote from the usual haunts of men—but they were industrious; their habits were religiously frugal; their clothing was of the coarsest texture; they lived a perpetual life, never dying, but as a body with its particles always supplied in proportion to the waste; having no helpless childhood, nor feeble youth, nor decrepid age in their institution; they, by their own continual industry, and the gradual increase through ages in the value of the lands on which they had settled, became, without its being at the expense of any human being on the earth, wealthy and influential. (Long continued applause.) These untrodden, wild and barren mountains, which they found forsaken and forbidding, their patient toil converted

into smiling gardens, which thus became the first "model-farms" to the inhabitants of the agricultural regions of Europe. The monks were now the pioneers of successful agriculture. They taught it; they practiced it with their own hands; it was, in part, their occupation. And not in agriculture alone—which is, we may remember, the first element of civilized social life—but in science and literature, they were the instructors of their fellow-men. Whilst some of their number tilled the ground, others taught, and others studied. And in their constitutions we find express provisions made for the transcribing of the ancient documents which had been preserved, and books of a peculiarly unpleasant kind were reserved for copying in penitential times, such as Lent; for as yet the world had no printing-press. These were the men who preserved and handed down to future ages the hoarded treasures of the past, which, but for their patient, denying toil, would have been irrecoverably lost. Take the Benedictine order alone, which existed for some fourteen hundred years, and you see that it has been employed, during the whole night of barbarism, in gathering up the fragments of the ancient writers and the fathers. All, in fact, that we know of Greece and Rome, and the perished empires of the past, has been derived from these despised monks. They were the men who built the bridge—the only bridge connecting ancient with modern civilization. And whilst we, in our ingratitude, feasting on the labors of their toilsome hours, call them "lazy monks," we ought to know that they were the literary carriers of all the knowledge that has come down to us from the elder days of the world. (Immense applause.)

But I perceive that I should waste the whole of the time appropriate for a lecture, if I were to follow out any single idea which occurs to me on a subject like the present. I shall, therefore, be obliged to hurry on, in order to give some hasty glances at a general view of a topic which covers such a vast space of time and of locality.

Gradually from this period you find these nations, in their struggle against the mild and gentle influence of Christianity, themselves opposing or slowly yielding to it, following out in their social forms the primitive instinct of the races from whom they were descended. Thus you find in the first legislation that the life of an ancient subject of the empire was not worth so much as that of one of the invaders; and again, in that strange compounding for injuries inflicted, that the price of a first finger was nearly as much as that of a limb, because they wanted it to pull the bow-string, and send the arrow to the foeman's heart. It is only by thus examining the condition of society, at that period, that you learn how near the state of infancy it was, how feeble then the dawn of the general mind.

Then, after the decline and fall of that empire, we enter on the "middle," or, as they are sometimes called, the "dark ages;" not so much because exclusively dark in themselves as because we ourselves are very much in the dark respecting them, and in the brevity of human life do not deem the toil of research to be compensated

by any advantageous return. Now these ages are, to a certain extent, of this description unquestionably; but, in the mean time, through these ages you observe the powerful workings out of that great idea which God had made known through his Divine Son, viz., the *worth* of human nature. Then was the time of the founding of all these charitable institutions for the aid or relief of humanity. Then was the period of Christian heroism—of men and women dedicating themselves to the suffering and the poor; the poor who were despised under ancient civilization, and the poor who are unhappily yet despised. Then it was that charity made her dwelling with men; and recollect that charity is like a new sense, it is as if God has given a new sense, but a divine one, to the human mind; charity, the whole of which is the gift of the Christian religion; that charity which consists in loving God, and men for God's sake; *because* Christ the Redeemer loved man, and laid down his life for for him! Then it was that men pledged themselves by a solemn vow; so noble and disinterested was their heroism, that they crossed the deep, and periled life and all they had, to save a human being who, once baptized into Christianity, might still fall into apostacy and be lost. Then was the period when those institutions of charity, those hospitals for the relief—now of one, now of another form of human suffering—were founded. So ample were the provisions thus made, that I might ask you to set the imagination to work, and then write down in a catalogue all the misfortunes and calamities of a moral or physical description to which man, as a man, can be subject, and present it to me, and I will show you an institution of generous men, and generous women, taking leave of the pleasures of the world, and, with delight, consecrating themselves to the alleviation of each! This is the nature and power of the feeling which pervades them.

We also find, at the same period, those crusades which have occupied so much of the attention of the historian and the student of human progress. By the superficial critics of modern times the motives of the crusaders have been censured, and the influence which they exercised on civilization denied altogether, or immensely underrated. These writers exhibit to their readers only their views of what they deem the absurdity of rousing whole nations into enthusiastic determination to rescue a far city of the earth from the hands of the infidel. But such historians know little of what was accomplished by those chivalrous crusaders. They cannot see that by their successful invasion of the Mohammedan empire they checked the career of the followers of the false prophet, and prevented the subjugation of the whole western portion of Europe to their dominion. I enter not now at all into a discussion of the morality or the religious bearing of that chivalric enterprise, but I refer simply to its effects on man in his social character, and affirm, without hesitation, that, in the order of human things, to these crusaders the western nations of Europe are indebted for the preservation of the Christian faith.

Then it was, too, that another order of society which had sprung up, a vestige of ancient slavery, was itself diminished. I allude to serfage, which mingled in all that complicated feudal system, and was but another, a milder form of the slavery of a past age. But the serf who accompanied his lord in the crusades was, when he returned, no longer a serf, but a free man. In relation to this whole class, you see the mild and gentle influence of Christianity in the amelioration of their condition. Under the ancient law of the empire the master could not emancipate his slave, except under the greatest restrictions. The new legislation prepared the way for the emancipation of the serf, and provided for it on a thousand occasions, on which men ought to be grateful to GOD. Now a baron or nobleman, on the birth of a son—now a youth when he attained his majority. Now, on the occurrence of any other prosperous or desirable event, gratitude was to be displayed by raising the serf to the privileges of freedom. And thus all over Europe you discover at this period the growing influence of Christianity on human society—a softening down and an amelioration, a shedding upon legislation and social existence all those benign influences of religion, whose operation prepared the way for a higher state of civilization than that which we now enjoy. Subsequently to this you perceive the rapid progress of knowledge. You find the Universities of Paris, Pavia, Oxford, and Cambridge, of anterior origin. And it is remarkable that even during this period, from the first dawn of the revival of letters in the beginning of the thirteenth century, how rapid was the advance towards the full day of civilization. It is during this century that we read of twelve thousand students at Oxford alone at one time; and at another time, of thirty thousand students, when every monastery besides had its school, and was the centre around which towns and villages and shires and counties were formed. When all this was going on, then, had it not been for the shock of subsequent events, we can easily perceive that the progress of civilization would have been far more advanced at present than it was. (Great applause.)

We are in the habit also of supposing that what we term human rights, and the particular limitations of rights and duties, were but imperfectly understood at this time. That it was to a certain extent is true. That there were abuses, persecution, and crimes of every kind, just as now, only perhaps of a somewhat coarser form, is not to be denied. But we are in the habit of supposing that men at this time were entirely dependent, if not in temporal, at all events in spiritual matters, on the clergy, and that what the latter ordered the former were prepared to do at all hazards. No falser conception could be formed than this. On the contrary, so far from being in bondage to either spiritual or secular guides, it was then that, in the name of future generations, they took that noble stand in favor of human rights, because they were, as might well be said, the shield of humanity exalted in the person of CHRIST by union with the Deity itself. If you speak of the institutions of an Alfred—of the

very forms of legislation—of deliberative assemblies—of the elements of jurisprudence—of the civil law—of what has been called the common law—I can tell you that if you thread them all up to their true source, you will find that it was in the sanctuary; there was the origin of all that is now most dearly cherished in our social institutions. (Loud applause.)

Had the ancients anything of a representative form of government? No. Did they know or recognize anything of those three divisions—legislature, judiciary, and executive? Had they any knowledge of that phrase, whose origin we ourselves do not perhaps always recollect, the "Commonalty," or Commons of England? No. They had no idea of a representative and deliberative assembly. And where did the idea of the "three Estates"—of the "Estates general"—of the "Cortes" of Spain—for trodden down Spain was once one of the first and freest nations of Europe—originate? In the councils of the Church! The bishops assembled in council and representatives of other orders were there also. I defy any historian to find any other origin for the representative form of government. If, again, you turn your eyes to the scientific developments of the human mind, where had it its origin and where its proudest triumphs? Just go and measure if you can the dimensions of those cathedrals and minsters which were upreared in those ages. Trace the development of the mind and the nicety and exactitude of the science by which the illuminated pages of manuscripts were lighted up. Measure those mighty domes suspended in the air, those long and lofty arches pointed in the style called Gothic, but which properly speaking is not Gothic but Christian, and you will see that these men, in what we call the "dark ages," but what were in reality the middle ages, the ages of transition, knew how to stretch with precision the architect's line along the earth, and lay the foundations of noble edifices and raise them up, and turn the stones into form and suspend them in long drawn-arches over the "long-drawn aisle, and fretted vault." I question much, strange as it may sound, whether we have science enough to know how to take down these noble structures—it is certain we have not enough to know how to reconstruct them. (Loud applause).

But let us pass to those striking evidences of higher civilization which are presented by the origin and progress of the fine arts, of which indeed architecture, on which I have just touched, is one. Engraving, painting, sculpture, all these things were necessarily lost in the great moral catastrophe to which I have already alluded. In my conception of civilization, I wish you to recollect it discovers its growth and advancement not alone in those arts and that knowledge which have their application merely to the animal comforts and well-being of our race. Civilization should do something more than provide a house to shelter our heads and clothing to shield our bodies from the cold air. God has created us with rational minds, and has also endowed us with affections which yearn for appropriate nutriment. We have hearts to glow with ecstasy or throb with

sympathizing sorrow; we have imaginations to conceive and to create; we have susceptibilities keenly alive to every impression; and my idea of a high state of civilization is of that which, whilst it ministered most to the comfort of the body, and imposed the least restraint upon the individual, should at the same time allow, and even encourage, the highest development of those faculties which distinguish man above the brute, and link his nature with divinity itself. (Loud applause.) And in the ages of which I now speak, was there not abundant evidence of the growth and supremacy of the moral and intellectual faculties of man? Besides the sublimity of the architecture of the religious edifices to which I have alluded, look at their ornaments—the painted glass, an art now lost—the exquisite carving in wood—the paintings themselves, developing a new idea again which seemed to elevate man above the mere matter of this perishing earth to a loftier and purer region, and revealing the mysterious secret that there were new forms and all but a new life dwelling in the light as it came in pencils from the sun; and that it was only necessary to fix a surface on which these forms could be reflected, in order to create a whole world of imagery and thought.

Then again of music, to what is its cultivation to be traced? To the inborn desire to honor the Deity, who by becoming incarnate has so elevated human nature. By the estimate in which these things were held, matter was depressed in the scale of appreciation; gold was depressed; money was depressed; everything was depressed and treated as the dross of the earth, when placed in the balance opposite to man, because he had a soul stamped with the image of his God, and redeemed by his Divine Son on the cross of Calvary. (Loud applause.) It was this feeling which created the forms which live on the breathing canvas; it was this that led them to the depths of the quarry, there to perceive the figure and afterwards to labor in removing the surrounding rubbish until they gave to the world such forms as the Moses of Michael Angelo, speaking with every feature, and wanting only the human voice to transmit the sound. (Great applause.) What was it that inspired these men? Religion. And, again, if you look at the walls which are immortalized by their hands, you behold ideas embodied and presented to your bodily sense, of which you could otherwise form but a feeble conception. He read of the judgment; he studied the prophets and the apostles, and deeply imbued with awe and reverence of the solemn mysteries and awful sublimities of the Christian religion, gave visible and undying existence to the conceptions of his mind. For recollect that when you have the outward signs of civilization, whether it be in architectural monuments, or with breathing canvas, or in the all-but speaking statue—recollect that those were first created in the mind, and all the rest is but the carrying out of that IDEA into a form in which it will become objective to the senses, and through them be conveyed to the mind. You behold this in every direction; you see the first idea of Christianity contributing, ministering secretly, silently, without violence, without

overturning any established order, but always through the heart, to exalt the worth of the human soul. Always to bring comfort to some portion of suffering humanity.

And after this was another means and a most important one, which I had almost overlooked—the spirit of missions, which was the essence and the soul of that Christian religion. The command of our Saviour was: "Go ye, teach all nations," and this word was never silent, never inoperative, but as a principle of activity was transmitted as one undying commission, whereby the purposes of redemption were to be accomplished. This spirit of missions, having Rome for its centre and source, became the medium of extending civilization throughout the world. The missionary going on his errand of mercy brought with him the light and the knowledge of his own land. Thus St. Augustine proceeds from Rome to England. Thus the missionaries of England itself in later times, and more particularly of Ireland, became the apostles at once of Christianity, and indirectly of civilization too, in France, Germany and the northern states of Europe. But not only was the light of one nation communicated to another, but by the medium of missions it was more generally diffused from province to province of the same land. Without this the intellectual commerce of distant parts of the same country could not have been carried on. And the consequence has been, that not only by the progressive influence of Christianity, by its missionaries, was felt in mellowing down the peculiar institutions of the heterogeneous tribes settling in different portions of the same country, into a certain uniformity both of feeling and of ideas, which soon took the form of general legislation, but also between different nations through the medium of one tie, that of religion, a kind of brotherhood was formed among the states themselves by the action of religion in its unity and its universality. Without this, as far as we can judge, nations would have been isolated and disjoined from each other.

It is almost impossible to appreciate at its just value the services thus rendered to the temporal condition of man by the missionary spirit of the Church. For we must recollect that in those times there were no railroads to facilitate communication, nor highways, nor post-offices, nor carriages, nor hotels. And even in regard to these, I find that religion is the principle of their origin, if not of their perfection. The idea which penetrated all Christian society in those ages, inspired men with an impulse for every enterprise which could confer a benefit on that humanity which had been so honored in the mystery of man's redemption. In accomplishing these works they considered themselves as laboring for Christ, when they labored for their fellow-men. Thus we find them banding themselves together into religious confraternities for the purpose of improving highways, building bridges across rivers otherwise impassable, and planting monasteries and hospices in solitary places, where the traveller, overtaken by night, or by sickness, or by the tempest, might find the shelter of a Christian brother's roof. These things,

begun by the spirit of religion, were afterwards taken up and continued by the secular policy of the States, but not until those States had been themselves imbued with science and other aids equally derived from religion, for accomplishing the task. The intercourse among men by these means became enlarged. The light of one country or province was made to shed its beams on another. Not only was this the case in Europe, but it extended itself to every quarter of the globe. Whilst the secular adventurers in South America sought for gold, they were accompanied by the missionaries of religion, who wished to impart the light of Christianity to the nations of that hemisphere, and who were invariably the friends and the protectors of the poor Indians. These men, actuated by their love of God and of man, were ready to shed their blood for the cause to which they devoted themselves with such holy zeal. Even in our own day, whilst the English soldiery, in the spirit of conquest or of ambition, are knocking at the outward portals of China, the French missionary has been pursuing his labor of love in the heart of that empire for more than two hundred years; and this is not for the advantages of home manufacture or of commerce, but to carry the gospel of Christ to that people, and if necessary, as many have done, to yield his neck to the axe of the executioner. (Great and continued applause.) This zeal for the propagation of the kingdom of Christ oftentimes exercised a poweful influence in the progress of navigation. It often happened that when other motives failed, Christianity led to the successful enterprise, and even under the circumstances antecedent to the great discovery by Columbus of this new world, when all other arguments in favor of the expedition had failed with Isabella herself, her confessor suggested that in the new countries souls might be found who could be brought to the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and this argument decided the question. She saw with that intuitive vision so peculiar to the age, that when treasures and souls were to be weighed on the balance against each other, that the former were of no value. Her jewels were immediately pledged for the expense of the expedition, and a new world was discovered. (Great applause.) I have already trespassed so long on your patience, that I must again apologize; I hasten to a conclusion. There is no one point in which we are more indebted to Christianity than in the elevation of woman, that is to say, one-half of the human race, from the degradation and oppression of which she is universally the victim where our holy religion is unknown. This is her condition throughout the whole earth, even at the present day, wherever Christianity does not exist.

On this point all writers are agreed. But mark the contrast in Christian lands. If you are travelling in a public conveyance, and a female makes her appearance, her sex alone—unless there be something positively prejudicial to the individual known, secures for her universal attention, and she takes whatever seat she chooses. This trivial occurrence shows remarkably the vast difference in the estimation in which her sex is held in civilized and uncivilized countries.

And if you examine more particularly into the causes of this, you will find they are discoverable in the same Christian sentiment, and evince its supremacy in a still more poetic and affecting manner than we have yet seen exhibited. The ancient Christians, who lived immediately near the times of our Saviour, did not fail to observe that in the fall of our race by primitive disobedience, woman was the first to be seduced, and being seduced, became a seducer in her turn; and they conceived, looking at her condition over the earth, that in consequence of this the weightier part of the malediction resulting from that disobedience fell upon her, and that on this account, by the permission of God, until her Restorer came, when, through the woman there should be a reparation made, she should be in a suffering condition. And then they considered that a glory corresponding with this degradation resulted to her sex from the circumstance of the virgin of Gallilee being selected to be the mother of that Saviour in whom was united the human and the divine nature. (Great applause.) The Blessed Virgin Mary, as the type of regenerated woman, became the pride and glory of her sex —raised above all men and above all angels, and they conceived that the nature of woman, as a special portion of humanity, was exalted and ennobled, and in some measure rendered sacred in consequence of her relation to the Saviour of mankind. This idea pervaded the whole of that society. And you can trace it in all those orders having religion for their instinct, and which went to vindicate and protect that sex. You can perceive it in a thousand relations in which it would not be possible for me to dwell.

So with regard to almost everything else. Whilst men were thus struggling against barbarism and ignorance, and their progress checked by all the accidents and circumstances of our nature, you perceive this vital current of love coming from the Son of God and pervading every heart, and making humanity as a kind of ideal object of almost veneration. This was the source which made wealth be looked upon as of comparatively little value, and man to be regarded as worthy of all that his brother could do or suffer for his sake. But when civilization was thus advancing—whilst men were making such rapid progress in letters, in eloquence, painting, sculpture, music, and architecture, an event occurred on which, however, I have no desire now to dwell. For the first time the great division of the human mind on the subject of religion took place, and Christian unity was broken. We cannot but deplore that as a misfortune, without at all entering into the merits of the question on one side or the other. But the stream which had passed unbroken, and vivified all lands through which it passed, was now turned off into narrow channels, and from thenceforth you see nothing of that great united co-operation—that idea binding the hearts of millions—but you see the human mind distracted, and what is worse, the human heart divided. And instead of laboring altogether with unanimity of thought and purpose for the general welfare of mankind, society becomes cut up into sections and cliques, and any good efforts are

counteracted by the antagonism of another. If that change was sincerely thought necessary by those who led in it in order to please God, who will judge them? Not I. Nevertheless I do think it is a point susceptible of the clearest proof that civilization received a shock, a check, and false direction there, from which it has not yet recovered, and perhaps never will. This was the complaint of Erasmus; beholding the evils flowing from it, he described it as an epoch of "polemical barbarism." He and many others even at that time, could deplore the sudden check given to men's united intelligence, when the discovery of printing, of gunpowder, of the perfect use of the compass, and of a new world, and all the important elements for promoting civilization gave such promise and certainty of the still greater advance of knowledge, refinement, and liberal studies.

You behold that from this time the features of civilization are not identical. That warmth—that kind of poetry of feeling—that enthusiasm—that effective, united counsel, are all lost. Even liberty itself—even the social rights of men, in almost every nation, retrograded. It may, perhaps, surprise some here when they are informed that before that time Spain was a free country—not free as we understand it—but comparatively free—that her king was not absolute—that he could not grind his subjects at his will, but his Cortes stood before him, and lest he should forget, made it a rule to tell him "that each of them was as good as he was, and all of them together much better." Before that time—even as far back as the beginning of the thirteenth century, the great fountain spring of all our social and political rights burst forth into the Magna Charta; for in all the quarrels of Popes and Bishops with the arbitrary powers of Kings and Governments, you will always find the representative of the Church standing by the side of human rights and struggling for their extension. In that contest for Magna Charta, the King, misrepresenting the state of the question, obtained the excommunication of the Barons; but how was this document received in the metropolis of England? Just as it would be at the present day—as so much waste paper. The King could not find a single Bishop who would publish it. He had to compel the monks by sending his troops to perform that office. The event to which I have alluded destroyed in that country the healthy tone of independence here manifested. Neither was it thus in England alone. On the Continent you find that the despotism of nearly every government either originated with, or was increased by, this event. The reasons are perfectly obvious and natural. The different States soon discovered that this new religious question was to be decided by troops and battlefields; and according to the issue the governments favored the old or the new system. But the spirit of the people was broken by these divisions, and the opportunity was too favorable for the spirit of despotism to let pass, without strengthening itself through their disasters. And accordingly the whole tone of government on the Continent became more stringent and absolute, and in most of the Northern States there is less of the substance of

human freedom at the present day, than there was when that event occurred.

Civilization, however, is still going on, but the vital principle which had borne it so long has been essentially impaired. This was a religious principle, created by the idea of Christianity, in which the honor and the benefits of the Incarnation were received as embracing the whole human race. The principle still abides in the larger division of the Christian name, but in the other division limited and impartial views of the Atonement under the forms of election received most favor. It is impossible, I think, not to trace in the external developments of society, the effects of this change. The impetus which society had received continued to impart a momentum, even after the great motive power had ceased to operate, and after others had been substituted. It is evident that in modern ideas humanity is less prized and wealth more. The direction of civilization, and I might almost say the soul that animates it, is material. Interest, and that purely of an earthly kind, is the great propeller of our age. As to results for bodily comforts it answers as well as any other, but it has lost that high and holy feeling which caused men in former times to expect the recompense of their self-devotion in the approbation of God, and in the reward of another life. The consequence is, that man as man has depreciated; and money has acquired an awful value. The proof of this is found in everything we are acquainted with. In the struggles of individuals and associations for wealth; in the remarks of writers; in every public sign from which a judgment may be inferred, you perceive how much more emphasis is laid on the mere material object—the possession of a large fortune, or extensive lands, or great revenues, than there is on the higher attributes of humanity, the noble intellect of the generous heart. It is impossible not to perceive in modern society this melancholy and almost universal tendency. We see little of that desire to ameliorate the condition of human nature. Men are no longer impelled by that love, that affection, that ideal and lofty estimate of humanity. The great and ennobling influence of the mystery of Redemption which has effected such wonders in past ages, seems to have almost gone away from us, and we are reduced to a selfish struggle for the things of this life, in which each human being seems to act for himself, and to be acted upon only by motives of private and personal interest.

Were it permitted to present a type of our age it might be the splendid edifice of a joint stock or banking company in the public square, and in the back ground a simple structure for a Christian church. The former building open six days of the week and crowded by thousands of the votaries of fortune, the latter open only on Sunday, and its interior divided into apartments according to the wealth or pretentions of those who occupy them. Even in this, you witness the absence of that ancient picture of the Christian Church, in which men were taught practically as well as otherwise, that in the sight of God they are all equal, and though the

pointed arch and vaulted dome rose majestically above their heads, barons, and nobles, and princes, and common people, all occupied the same level without any division to mark their distinctions, because the Incarnation and the Redemption were for the benefit, not of classes, but of the whole human race.

It ought to be remarked that the true basis of civilization must be found in the enlightenment of the human mind, and the moral soundness of the human heart. This is the medium through which it must proceed to its development in the external order of things. This was necessary to create civilization; it will be indispensable to sustain it. Nothing can be more manifest than that the well being of society rests upon a moral foundation. And if that foundation should become weak or unhealthy, or if it should in itself not be sustained by the supporting power of religion, then civilization must be impaired in its highest attributes.

It certainly will not be for want of science or skill, or external means or appliances, if civilization should at any future time retrograde in this country, so peculiarly and advantageously distinguished from all others. In this country we have not to contend with that tenacity with which the nations of the old world clung to ancient customs and usages. We have seen in other countries men struggling for centuries to effect a change in some law, on account of the old hereditary prejudices in favor of it. So that it is easily seen that in this country a remarkable and favorable opportunity of making great advances in civilization, is afforded in its freedom from the influence of such prejudices. Such a state of things, every one must see, is admirably calculated to aid the development of human powers, and the extension of human rights. It presents a spectacle —a phenomenon which the ancient world would have believed utterly impossible. We find one of their philosophers speaking of a condition of society in which religious classes should be represented, and he calls it a beautiful chimera. They never could have imagined that a nation only half a century in existence, and with sixteen millions of people, should present itself to the world in the two-fold character of governing and governed—every man having so far a portion of what constitutes a kingly power, and at the same time every man using it under the guidance of his intellect, and in such a manner as shows he values and does not abuse his prerogative. (Great applause.) This is a spectacle novel in the history of nations, and the prayer of every man who loves human nature and respects and values human rights, will be, that this shall go down to posterity undisturbed, but with increased benefits to mankind and growing prosperity until the latest times. (Long continued applause.)

THE INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY ON SOCIAL SERVITUDE:

A LECTURE, DELIVERED IN THE TABERNACLE, NEW YORK, MARCH 29, 1843, FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE HALF-ORPHAN ASYLUM ATTACHED TO ST. JOSEPH'S CHURCH.

Society, for the purposes of this Lecture, may be divided into three classes. The first is composed of the few, who, possessing wealth, enjoy the privileges of social independence, by which they can command the services and labor of others, without having either to obey or labor themselves. The next is of those who compose the great mass of society, especially in our own country, who, though they live by the productions of their labor, still are not dependent on the will of given employers, but whose position enables them to regulate their hours of toil and of rest, according to the dictates of their own judgment and discretion. The third class consists of those who have to depend exclusively for their means of subsistence on labor;—and who are dependent for the privilege of labor, which to them is almost of life, on the interests and caprice of employers.

The first and the last of these classes have always existed, from the earliest annals of the human race. The middle class is of comparatively modern origin, having sprung up, imperceptibly, during the transition of society from the feudal syetem to the more attractive and liberal condition, as regards laws and general civilization, under which modern society lives. This middle class would be, perhaps, the happiest of all; but time has developed the alarming fact, that, in the most recent stages of human progress, in the countries of Europe, this class, taken in the aggregate, is undergoing a gradual diminution, both of numbers and of resources. The units, indeed, are observed to succeed, by successful industry and fortunate enterprise, in scaling the social heights, and rallying under the gorgeous banner of the first; whilst the tens, and the hundreds, are reluctantly borne downward, on the social scale, till, at last, they are

seen, in the thickening ranks and under the tattered standard of the third. If we are to place any confidence in the statistics of France, and more especially of England, this result is becoming every day more and more evident, since the peace of 1815.

These two nations, coming down to us by unbroken history, from remote antiquity, furnish the richest field for inquiry and investigation, to those who would speculate in the philosophy of human society. But how different the circumstances of both countries, from those that bless and distinguish our own; which, though checked from time to time, still is, as regards the social position of its inhabitants, the most prosperous and happy land on the surface of the globe. Singular in the manner in which it was peopled by a race already civilized, unparalleled in the variety and salubrity of its climate, unsurpassed in the richness and fecundity of its soil, unequaled in the extent of its territory, with the rich and regular harvest waving above, and immense unexplored treasures of minerals sleeping beneath the surface of its soil;—with a population among whom there are no privileged classes, among whom education and enlightened enterprise are almost universal; who are the guardians of their own rights, the interpreters of their own wants;—among whom in fine the people are the government, and that government *free;* the American citizen who is a part and a proprietor in all this may witness the calamities of older nations, and feel no other emotion except that honorable sentiment of our nature which prompts us to sympathize in the sufferings of any portion of our race. [Applause.]

Still, for these very reasons, it is evident that this is not the country from which the Philosophy of History may derive her purest lessons of wisdom, on the subject of human society. She may have opened her book of memoranda, and recorded a few chapters—but still it must be evident that in such a country the fruits of historical experience, though luxuriant and healthy, are, as yet, too green;—and that to older nations, in which that fruit has been matured and ripened by the sunshine and the showers of many centuries, she must look for whatever she would set down as established conclusions,—indisputable maxims.

The increase of operatives, or the diminution of labor, or both together, has become in the two countries I have mentioned, but particularly in Great Britain, a question of startling importance to statesmen, and of singular embarrassment and perplexity to that class of philosophers who are known as political economists. Various and contradictory have been their speculations, but both have agreed that if there be danger to the ship of State, it must be from the broken rocks and sunken shoals of social servitude, which have been cast or drifted with fearful accumulation in her course. Even now she is seen straining in the effort to escape; and whilst the obstinacy of her officers will not allow them either to shift the ballast or take in sail, the extraordinary leeway which she makes, reveals to the hand of her most skillful and experienced Pilot, almost for the first time,

that she ceases to obey her rudder. Will she be shipwrecked, that gallant old bark, that has breasted the billows, and braved the storms of a thousand years? Time alone can determine and solve the problem.

The disciples and even masters of political economy have attempted it; but facts and results are every day developing themselves, which confound their theories and speculation. It is not so clear that the rich are becoming richer, but it is certain that the poor are every day becoming more poor and more numerous. It is remarked that this class of writers have, generally, considered man in his social relation, and indeed society itself, as a being invested with a single attribute, viz., the power of "producing and of consuming;" that is, as an animal with whose existence in society, one or other of those results is inseparably connected. They have hardly thought it worth while to take his intellect into account; whilst they have uniformly overlooked his affections, feelings, his moral and religious nature; and so long as they consider him abstractedly separated from these, they discuss something less than half the subject on which they profess to write.

"Producer," "consumer," "production," "consumption,"—it is astonishing to consider what books, what statistics, what calculations, what prodigious mental labor, have been expended on these four words. Yet it does not so far appear that either the writers or the readers of these books, or the nations for whom they were written, have been able to extract from their pages the secret whereby the increase of poverty might be arrested, or the millions rescued from the horrors of want and destitution, with which the whole department of social servitude is threatened and of which many from its ranks have already fallen victims. But whatever may be the character of their reasoning, too much importance cannot be attached to the *facts* on which it was founded. And the conclusions to which one school of these writers has come, give us a fearful idea of these facts. One of these conclusions is, that in the absence of war and other wholesale messengers of death, the productions of the earth would, in a short time, be insufficient for the consumption of its inhabitants; and that, therefore, it would be a measure of political wisdom to prevent the increase of the population, and thus prospectively diminish the number of the poor—without the crime of killing off those who are in actual existence.

Whole volumes could not give us so clear an idea of the extent of calamity with which the condition of social servitude is threatened, as the simple fact that the author of this view is a clergyman, that the doctrine which it maintains should be popular in a nation professing the Christian religion. Deep and festering must be the disease in the social body, which could authorize the proposal of such a remedy, not even to heal, but to prevent its spreading farther.

Alas! for the condition of social servitude, and alas! for the poor so nearly related to it, if a better book had not been written

than ever proceeded from the pen of political economy. I turn away from its cold pages, and look for a better economy in the book of God; but the book of man also, as especially of the poor. In it I read "the poor you have always with you, and when you will you can do good unto them. Do unto others, as you would that they should do unto you—feed the hungry, clothe the naked, give drink to the thirsty, and as often as you do it to the least of my brethren, you do it unto me." Here is the source from which every amelioration, in the condition of social servitude, has flowed; and if the experience of mankind, from the origin of history, can authorize any conclusion, it will be that is it vain to expect it from any other.

Social servitude, in one form or another, has existed from the earliest formation of society. But it would be a gross mistake to suppose that society always was what it is at present—and yet this is a mistake which is by no means rare, especially among superficial minds. They wonder why things should have ever been different from what they are at present—forgetting or rather not comprehending that the social relations by virtue of new discoveries, new improvements, new laws, and consequently new rights, and new duties, are changing every day—even in the time that now is. But at whatever period you examine it, under whatever phase it presents itself, you will always and universally find that servitude has been blended into the very being and existence of society. If, indeed, we were engaged in the analysis of society itself, we should come to the conclusion that in the nature of things, it could not be otherwise. The first form of society, as it is still its greatest element of supply, was domestic; families existed, before nations were formed. Now the head of the family was the protector of his household; and the individual who found himself without protection, would attach himself to some other family, for the purpose of securing the means of life, the first want of his nature, and the protection of that life which was no where else afforded. Hence we know that the Patriarchs had slaves, and this was the earliest form of that social servitude which has come down to the present day. So, also, the Jewish people had slaves. But it would be erroneous to suppose, that *Slave*, then, meant precisely what it means now; or that the condition of slaves was the same among the Jews that it was among pagan nations. Not only did the spirit of their religion inculcate feelings of true humanity, but the laws secured to the slaves certain privileges unknown to other nations; such as *repose* on the seventh day, restoration to freedom in the seventh year, or at least in the year of Jubilee.

To these causes, which existed also among pagan nations, was added others, namely, the *rights* of conquest. Before Christianity, and even now, wherever Christianity does not exist, the recognized law of nations allowed the conqueror to take the life of his prisoners of war. If he spared their lives, and deprived them of their liberty, it was considered as an act of humanity rather than of cruelty.

Hence slavery was found extensively established among the Assyrians, the first warriors of the primitive times. In Egypt also it existed; but it is from Greece and Rome that we can gather an idea of the treatment of slaves, and the notions that were entertained respecting them, and it will be necessary to have some conception of both, in order to appreciate the benefits rendered to this unhappy class by the Christian religion.

The Spartans stand before our imagination as a brave, frugal, abstemious people; especially jealous to exclude the enervating influences of artificial life. We should have expected some traits of humanity from such a people, in keeping with that courage of which they furnished such splendid examples, and that simplicity of social manners which they affected. And yet in the treatment of their slaves they were systematically ferocious. Not only were the slaves punished individually when they committed crimes, but at stated intervals they were all scourged by public authority, not for crimes, but in order, as the law expressed it, to keep them in mind of their condition. Not only were they made drunk in presence of the national youth, to excite a horror of intemperance, but, as an exercise and preparation for war, they were hunted by that same youth, on the plains of Laconia, as the Indian hunts the buffalo on the Western prairies, or the Roman used to pursue the wild boar on the sides of the Appenines.

The Athenians were not so cruel to their slaves. But the number of these, compared with the free population, is almost incredible. Atheneus tells us, that for twenty or twenty-one thousand free citizens, the city of Pericles contained four hundred thousand slaves. It is to be remembered that these were of the same race and the same color as their masters, the only difference was, that Greeks could not reduce Greeks to bondage, even by the chances of war, but all who lived out of Greece were for them barbarians, and as it was only justice when made prisoners to take their life, so it was considered mercy to let them live on condition of perpetual servitude.

But were there not wise men, philosophers, in that classic land of pagan civilization? How did these things strike their minds? Just as they did the minds of all other pagan nations. With all their powers of reason and philosophy, they looked upon slavery as an ordinance and condition established by Nature herself. Plato, in his treatise on laws, gives out the prevailing opinions among his countrymen on this subject; and from these Athenius draws the general conclusion, that there is nothing good in the soul of a slave, and that a wise man ought not in any case to trust him. In support of this view are two verses of Homer, in which the poet says, that Jupiter took away one-half their intelligence from those whom he destines to slavery. Aristotle maintains, as a principle not to be disputed, that slavery is a part of the order established by Nature. Among the warlike and cruel Romans the same ideas prevail. The Indians of the East had a far more rational theory for the explanation of slavery. They believed in the transmigration of

souls and regarded slavery in our life, as a punishment inflicted for the crimes committed in some previous state. If the doctrine had been true, the explanation would have been natural and just. The German nations entertained views similar to those of the Greeks and Romans regarding slavery, as a natural condition, and slaves as being, if not of a different, at least of inferior nature—and to this day the proper conceptions prevalent among them derives nobility less from outward circumstances than from the current of the blood, because during their paganism, it was their belief that the blood was the principal seat of the soul.

Such were the ideas that prevailed among the best lights of ancient paganism. And if these constitute the light, what must be the darkness. With such ideas, without any knowledge of the true God—or the true end of man's creation—with slavery as universal as the human race—with an unlimited power even over life recognized in the master—with scarcely a check or an inducement for the restraint of human passions—with a set of pretended immortal gods, whose very example was an encouragement to licentiousness and crime—when we take all these things into account, the soul shrinks back upon herself overwhelmed and affrighted at the contemplation of the multitudinous evils, physical and moral, which are interwoven with the condition of ancient slavery.

Such was the state of the human race when the Divine Author of our religion came to establish, even in the midst of its corruptions, a kingdom which is not of this world. He recognized the diversity of conditions in society—it was at once a consequence and an evidence of the fall of the human race, by primitive transgression and the carnal corruption of its way. But he revived the knowledge of the True Master of all, whom the nations had forgotten, and proclaimed that in His sight, all men are equal. In his doctrine there was nothing of anarchy, nothing of violence, nothing of coercion. He, himself, and after him his apostles, submitted to the injustice and oppression of earthly oppressors and earthly rulers, and thus, whilst they remonstrated against the injustice, they respected, even in its perversion, the principle of authority which sanctioned it. He established the true relations between God and man. He instructed his disciples in their duty, he promised them the aid of his grace to perform it. He planted in their breast the celestial virtue of charity, taught them the love of God, and commanded them to love one another.

Here is the germ of every social amelioration which has accompanied or followed the march of Christianity throughout the world. If it be asked why these ameliorations, especially as regards the condition of social servitude, were so slow, so gradual, so almost imperceptible, in their development, the answer is obvious. It is because He left man's free-will undestroyed, unimpaired. He proposed the good, He promised his assistance to all men to accomplish it; but, at the same time, He did not employ his Almighty power to force or compel them. So that, in fact, they were still competent

to reject the good, and pursue the evil; but then, all this, again, at the awful responsibility of a future judgment before an infallible tribunal. This also is a key to the discrimination and understanding of Church history—the dividing line between the virtues and the vices which it records. Surely both did not proceed from the same source. All that is good is due to Christianity—all that is evil is to be ascribed to the perverse exercise of man's free will, in despite, and in contempt, of what Christianity teaches. This is an important distinction which is never to be lost sight of. In fact, the principles of Christianity had reference to the spiritual world, but through it, it would be impossible that their development should not exercise a salutary influence on that which is external or material. Thus St. Paul says:—"Let every one abide in the calling in which he was called. Wast thou called, being a bondman? Care not for it—but if thou mayest be free, use it rather." And, again, in reference to those baptized into the new Society, he says—"There is neither Jew, nor Greek; there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus." The same apostle after having converted Onesimus, a fugitive slave of his disciple Philemon, sends him back with a letter, in which we see the true spirit and tendency of the Christian religion. In that epistle he calls the slave his "spiritual son"—and recommends him to his master no longer as a servant, but "as a most dear brother." Of whom he says, "I would have retained him, but without thy consent I would do nothing; that thy good deed might not be as it were of necessity, but *voluntary*."

This manifestation of the spirit of Christ, seems to have furnished the rule and the model of the Church's action on the condition of social servitude. She exalted the action and the feelings of the servant, she brought down the pride and rebuked the cruelty of his temporal lord, she instilled heavenly charity into the bosoms of both, she taught them to love one another; this was the first stage—and then through the converted heart of the master, she trusted and hoped for the liberation of the slave, that the good deed of the former might not be as it were of necessity, but voluntary. Nor was she disappointed in her charitable expectations. The supposition that all should have been emancipated, simultaneously with the progress of Christianity, would be an absurd supposition, when it is remembered that in those ages perhaps nine-tenths of the human race were in the condition of slaves. But the thing was in itself utterly impossible.

Still we see, and your feelings will be relieved by observing, even in a few instances, where multitudes might be mentioned, the working of the Christian principle. The first known instance among the great of a real enfranchisement of slaves was by Hermas, Prefect of Rome, who was converted to Christianity by Pope Alexander, under Trajan, whilst the Emperor was absent in a campaign against the Persians. This great man, with his wife and sister, his sons, and 1,250 slaves, with their wives and children, went over to Christian-

ity together; and on Easter day, when they were baptized, he gave them all civil freedom, and as they had neither property nor trades, he gave them means of support until they should be able to gain their own livelihood. Another remarkable instance occurs under the Emperor Dioclesian. St. Sebastian was a Centurion of Rome, a Christian, and the same whose martyrdom, having been tied to a tree and shot to death with arrows, has furnished such a universal subject to painters. He was the instrument of God in the conversion of Chromatius, who on the day of his baptism liberated 1,400 slaves of both sexes, saying, that they who began to have God for their *father*, should cease to be the slaves of a man; and like Hermas he provided them with all necessaries for their new condition.

Even during the persecutions under the Pagan Emperors, we learn from the writings of St. Jerome that multitudes of slaves were receiving their freedom from rich families converted to the Christian faith. St. Milanæ, with the consent of her husband, Pinius, who was yet a pagan, liberated 8,000 of her slaves, and others who would not accept freedom she presented to her brother-in-law, Severus. Many other instances might be presented, but these are sufficient to demonstrate the early and practical working of Charity in the bosom of the Christian Church. Celsus, representing the feeling of old Roman Paganism, made it a reproach that the Church instructed slaves, and received them into her communion. And in reply, Origen, writing in the third century, says, "we confess we wish to instruct all men; and though Celsus may not desire it we wish to show servants how, by acquiring a freed mind, they may be ennobled by the Word." At a later period, Lactantius, too, answering similar objections, unfolds the spirit which her founder breathed into his Church. "With God," says he, "no one is a slave, no one a master; for since he is the same father to *all*, we are all his children, and all brethren."

But after St. Paul there is none who rendered more essential service in rescuing the victims of social servitude than the eloquent and saintly Chrysostom. And we need not be surprised that the intrepid Bishop should have become a subject of persecution, when he made such sentences as these ring in the very ears of the pride, the pomp and voluptuousness of the eastern Capital:—"You say, 'my father is a Consul'—how does that affect me? you have ancestors, no doubt, since you come after them; but I may call a slave a nobleman and a nobleman a slave, when I am informed of their moral character. How many lords lie drunken on their couch, whilst slaves stand by fasting? Which shall I call the not free—the Fasters or the Drunkards?" Among the Latin Fathers, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Peter, and St. Chrysologus were equally zealous in their efforts to ameliorate the condition of social servitude preparatory to final and universal emancipation. Nothing could mark more strongly the progress that Christianity had already made than the fact that Ambrose, who preached the equality of slaves with their masters, did not hesitate on the other hand to

require that the Emperor, whom the pagans a short time before were accustomed to worship as a deity, should acknowledge his equality with the humblest member of the Church, by taking his place on the porch of the temple, and thus among the public penitents, making reparation for his public scandal.

Thus by the idea of equality and the spirit of Christian charity infused into the whole body of Christians—by the mitigation of severe laws—by the multiplying of legal facilities for the process of emancipation—by the ever-living and active zeal of the clergy—plying the powers of their influence individually within their small but numerous circles over the empire,—ancient slavery, so ingrained in the very essence of pagan society, was almost entirely abolished; when the progress of amelioration was suddenly arrested by the irruption of pagan barbarians from the north and east of Europe—whose coming was as when the sliding avalanche overlays the blooming and peaceful valley at its base—or as the deluge when the cataracts of heaven were opened and the fountains of the great deep broken up. They felt that they were executing a mission, but its nature and purposes were mysterious to themselves. They were merely conscious of a two-fold instinct, the plunder of what they might carry away and the destruction of what they should be obliged to leave behind. Having gratified their impulses they were gone, and their career was to be traced only by the universal ruin which they left to perpetuate the memory of their visit. Again and again they return and disappear in like manner, before they finally determine to take possession of the best parts of the Empire and its inhabitants, now prostrate at their feet. They despised labor, and they regarded all that appertained to refinement, science, literature, the arts, not merely with sovereign contempt, but with positive hatred. But a good sword, a brave heart, and a strong right arm—these are what they prized and worshipped almost to idolatry. The law of the sword comes in, and, henceforward, woe to the weak in their struggles against the strong!

From this period Roman civilization may be considered as at an end. Society passes through its period of transition and begins to present itself under an entirely new phase. Slavery in its ancient form is done away, but social servitude is still continued. The conquerors own the soil from which the inhabitants must obtain their living. The former want retainers whom they can summon at the trumpet's warning to follow and fight for them in their personal quarrels with other chieftains, or it may be with royalty itself. Hence, protection and support were deemed by the vanquished as an equivalent for labor, military service, and loss of freedom. Hence, vassalage, serfage, fealty, and the other terms of feudalism, which have become obsolete under the present form of civilization. It was during these times of civil anarchy and disorder that the weak, particularly among the princes and nobles, who had right on their side, without might to support it, threw themselves on the protection of the Church, and particularly of her chief bishop, the only

source from which a peaceful decision could be expected. Hence, the authority used by the Popes was not a usurpation on their part, so much as it was a thing forced on them by the chiefs of nations appealing to their influence in hope of that *justice* which could be realized from no other quarter. It was an anomaly growing out of the social disorganization of the time, and in the nature of things must pass away, as in fact it did, when the causes which created it ceased to exist. But, at all events, it is now admitted among learned men of every creed, that, with scarcely an exception, the authority of the Church was always on the side of the weak against the strong, on the side of the people against their oppressors—the invaders of whatever rights they had. This was the spirit of the clergy, from the Pope down to the Acolyte, in their relations with the various classes of the state, from the peasant up to the monarch on his throne. In fact, if there were not other proof, the very influence which they wielded would be sufficient; because it was founded on the confidence of the people, and that confidence never could have been acquired or retained if they had not, in the main, proved themselves worthy of it. How did they prove this towards the serfs, or vassals, the representatives of social servitude in the middle ages? Oh! it is touching to see with what charity, what zeal, what prudence and perseverance they distilled the gentle influence of the Christian spirit into the breasts of their masters, until the frozen hearts of the north melted into humanity and pity towards their unhappy dependants. Among their most distinguished advocates and deliverers, dating from the seventh century, may be enumerated the saintly Bathilde, wife of Clovis II., Charles the Bald, Louis le Gros, Louis VIII., the good Queen Blanche, and her son St. Louis, and Louis X. Now all these persons were acting under the spirit inculcated by the Church. Servitude, says Ducange, began to disappear insensibly; moved by piety and mercy, or receiving a pecuniary compensation, the seigneurs gave full liberty to their serfs, but they requested that the right of freedom should be conferred in the Church and by the Bishop—as if, says he, they wished to give the honor to religion which had inspired the act.

All the preaching of the clergy tended to inspire this pity and mercy towards the serfs of which this writer speaks. All believed in the importance of good works, to salvation; and at the head of all good works, during those ages, stands MERCY towards prisoners and slaves. Hence, it is impossible to tell how large a share in their gradual emancipation is to be ascribed to the dogmas of the Church; but it is not too much to assert that among those who regard the doctrine of purgatory as a superstition, there are many whose ancestors owed their elevation, from *slavery to freedom*, to that identical doctrine; for nothing was more common than to *give* serfs for the consolation of a soul departed, or as presented to the Blessed Virgin, or St. Peter—which always meant giving them their liberty, investing them with the rights of freedom. The provision of the Canon law which forbade the alienation of church property, was

founded on the idea that the actual incumbents for the time being, had only a life interest in the use of it. One-third of its income was for the support of the poor, one-third for the repair of the churches, and the remaining third for their personal maintenance, with the understanding that even the surplus of this, if any, belonged to the poor. This regulation was one of the causes of their wealth, in the progress of time. But the same authority which forbade the alienation of church property, made one glorious exception—and the law did not apply if the money resulting from such alienation was for the purpose of ransoming slaves.

It was in this spirit that St. Exuperius, Bishop of Toulouse, actually sold the sacred vessels of his church to apply the money to the purchase of their freedom; St. Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, went so far when pecuniary resources failed, as to become voluntarily a slave himself as the means of relieving others; in which he was successful. Individual instances of this kind were common over the whole length and breadth of Christendom. Who can estimate the influence of such distinguished examples, on governments and legislation, on the inferior clergy who were equally devoted in their sphere, on the feudal lords themselves, on the serfs, on the whole mass of society!

It was, no doubt, examples like these, which, acting on the charities of the Christian religion on their own hearts, prompted so many to unite together in the different religious orders of mercy, having for their special object the redemption of slaves, the instruction, protection and consolation of the poor. But there is yet more. What would be, in the very nature of things, the greatest obstacle in the minds of the masters, to the voluntary enfranchisement of their slaves? Assuredly, the loss of the profits arising from their labor. If then you could diminish those labors, you would of course diminish his profits, and with them his interest in perpetuating the bondage. Now this is precisely what the Church did—though not altogether for this purpose. She multiplied religious holidays. This took from the master the profits of labor on those days, and imposed on him the burthen of support. Who is there that has not ridiculed the many holidays recognized in the Church, and yet how few have ever suspected the motive of mercy towards the slaves, to which in part they owed their origin.

Thus by a combinatian of influences, all of them taking their source in the charity of the Christian religion, the way was prepared and the work gradually accomplished; so that at the beginning of the sixteenth century, there was hardly a vestige of slavery on the map of Europe, except in Poland, which had been the last nation converted from Paganism, and in Russia which had been already separated from the unity of the Church, and in which it is not a little remarkable, that after her separation, not a single step has ever been made towards the emancipation of her serfs. But everywhere else, the whole class of serfs had been transmuted into the first elements of what has since constituted the middle classes, tenants or proprietors

of small portions of the land. Thus was slavery driven out of Europe by the power of Christian faith and of Christian feeling alone, working in the hearts of men. Its operation proceeded slowly, but with the certainty of ultimately accomplishing its object, and without producing any social or civil convulsion.

I have not spoken of particular nations, as my object has been to give a general outline—as the time would not suffice for entering into detail. Neither was the action of the clergy, generally, of an authoritative or national form. But there is one remarkable instance of this kind on record, and a large portion of this audience would hardly pardon me if I passed it over in silence. It is taken from the celebrated collection of the Councils, by L'Abbe. In the nation to which I refer, slavery never existed among the native population, for it never had been conquered. But it had become a market for the sale of slaves brought from other lands, until that unhappy statute, prompted by the same religious feelings which operated elsewhere, its bishops, assembled in national council, proclaimed the universal and simultaneous emancipation of all the slaves in the land. This council was held about the year 1050, in the city of Waterford, in Ireland. May we not hope that the people of that lovely but unfortunate land, will soon be able to do for themselves what they did for their foreign slaves nearly 800 years ago? But at the begin ing of the sixteenth century almost the last vestige of the system had already disappeared throughout Europe generally. The period of the transition of society from the forms of the middle ages, into those of modern civilization, had begun at least a century before. In the interval, the art of printing had been invented, and Columbus discovered a new world, in the midst of what had hitherto been supposed a boundless and unbroken ocean. With such accessions to the means of human improvement, with so many obstacles to it already removed, with the resurrection of literature and the arts, which had already taken place, with the knowledge of gunpowder, the use of the compass, and the first practical ideas of general manufacture awakened and in action, however feeble, with the avenues of commerce opened, the rights and laws of nations established on a Christian basis, these nations themselves having their separate interests, but held together by religious bonds which constitute them but as different members of the same Christian family—all these circumstances would seem to have opened a vista of unexampled improvement, progression and happiness for the human race. But soon after this period, religious differences broke out, and a large portion of the Church was rent from the unity of the whole, and broken into fragments. The charities of religion which had accomplished so much, and under such disadvantages, during the middle ages, were now unhappily chilled and withered away under the acrimonious conflict of ideas, and language, and even armies, of which this event was the occasion, if not the cause. I enter not into the theological merits of the dispute, on one side or

the other; but many even of those who justify it on theological grounds admit or rather contend that it would have been well for society, and especially for the condition of social servitude and the poor generally, if it had never occurred. Let us take England as an example.

It cannot be denied that the accumulation of wealth in that country during the three centuries that have since elapsed, is without a parallel in the history of the world. You see on every side the most cultivated scenery crowded with gorgeous seats and fairy palaces. On every side are profusely collected all that can gratify the senses, charm the taste, or fill the cup of human bliss, so far as happiness can depend on outward circumstances. This would all be well if there were no poor also, or if God had created this earth for the rich alone. But, without entering into details, it has been established by innumerable statistics that a large number of deaths occuring among the poor, so immediately connected with the classes of social servitude, are to be ascribed to slow starvation; that is, to such a deterioration or diminution of the necessaries of life, as brought on or aggravated the diseases by which it terminates. This is a sad reverse to the picture of the nation's prosperity—and as I have already trespassed so long on your indulgence, I must be brief in assigning what occurs to me as the cause. This I shall derive rather from the history of the past than from the revulsions and commercial fluctuations of the present, against the occurrence of which, as an occasion of crushing any portion of its members, society, if it deserve the name, ought to be always provided by foresight and precaution. During the old system, religious festivals, on which labor was suspended, were very numerous—and considering what had been the condition of social servitude, the provision was at least a humane one. There was a time when England was not the only manufacturing nation of Europe; Spain, Italy, Belgium, and France, had already started with her in the competition—and France was likely to have proved her rival had it not been for the revocation of the edict of Nantz. But England crushed them all. Of course, for mind, energy and enterprise, the English are unsurpassed by any people in the world. But in the earlier history of manufactures, they had another advantage. The other countries continued to observe their festivals on working days;—whilst she, by devoting forty or fifty days more labor annually on her works—at once increased the amount, and DIMINISHED the cost of her productions—so that she was soon enabled to undersell those countries, and drive them out of their own markets. Thus she became a monopolist among nations. This naturally drained THEIR wealth, and transferred it to HER workshops; it did more—it enabled one class of her subjects to wield the power of capital against another class, who had nothing to oppose, in the contest, but the capacity of labor. The consequence was and is now, that the labor and life of the working classes depend on the profits or losses which result from the employment of capital, When the master, for such he is in everything but the name, finds it

HIS interest, he employs them, and not only does he work them six days in the week, but for them the DAY is fourteen, sixteen and even eighteen hours long. By this he increases the amount, and consequently cheapens the price of their toil, and we read from official documents that even thus, they can hardly earn enough to procure the first necessaries of life. This is while they are employed—and if the master cannot augment his capital, he dispenses with their labor and leaves them to idleness and destitution for months at a time.

But it is only from the reports connected with the poor and the poor laws, that one can form any idea of what must be the condition of the working classs. Neither is this feature unconnected with the change to which I have alluded. Under the old system there were no poor laws, other than those of the Gospel, which were expressed in the simple words, "this is my commandment, that you love one another." But then it was ordained and understood, as a RELIGIOUS LAW, that the one third of the ecclesiastical revenues belonged to the poor. From this and from individual charity they obtained relief, sweetened to them by the very kindness with which it was administered. All this Church property was seized on by the government and squandered in the expenditures of a licentious monarch, and in the recompense of his interested and cringing flatterers. Hence, the foundation of the enormous wealth and revenues of the nobility and aristocracy, of the present day—who never think of the poor, except when the progressive accumulation of their miseries and destitution demands the imposition of new taxes for their support. Nothing can better attest the evils to the poor, resulting from this measure, and the heartlessness of the nobles who seized on their patrimony, than the provisions of an act under the subsequent reign of the King Edward VI. The act is directed against "vagabondry"—and after stating that if those who are guilty of it "should be punished with DEATH, whipping, or imprisonment, it were not without their deserts, and would be for the benefit of the Commonwealth;" it goes on to ordain that any person idling or loitering about, for three days, should be marked on the breast with a hot iron with the letter V—should be a slave for TWO years,—and should he run away and be absent fourteen days, during that time, then, "he should be a slave for life." In the same spirit of legislation the aristocracy have contrived to alter the laws of taxation so as to throw the greater part of the public burthen on the lower and less wealthy classes, until at the present day, whilst the wages of the working classes are reduced, whilst they are thrown out of employment, the very bread which they eat is made dear or diminished by taxation.

Now if these things are so to an extent that is alarming and almost incredible, in the richest country of the world; and if God gave variety to the seasons, and fruitfulness to the earth for the support of all its inhabitants, and if what is said here be true, as it is, within reduced extremes both of wealth and bounty, of all the

other nations of Europe, it is evident that there is a great and crying injustice SOMEWHERE—that the true relation of RIGHTS and DUTIES, extending all through the complicated elements of society, is not understood :—that the social machine has lost its equilibrium of right motion, owing to a vicious displacement of its essential weights and balances, and, in fine, that more than three hundred years from the period when in the transition of society they passed from the condition of feudal serfs to that of modern freemen, the condition of social servitude is in some respects less tolerable than it then was. In the first epoch they were slaves, dependent on the absolute will of their masters ;—in the second they were self-depending on the soil, to which they belonged, for their support, and on their feudal lords for protection ; in the third they have fallen under a new and undefined power, called capital. Neither can they remove their hardships through legislation—they may and must bear what is imposed on them, but they can have no voice, at least in those countries, in either the selection or distribution of the burthen. Is there any hope for the peaceful amelioration of their condition ? There are schools of speculation or social philosophy, who say that there is—and pretend to show how it may be accomplished. But for my own part, knowing that whatever amelioration has taken place in the history of the whole human race and of the world, in the condition of SOCIAL SERVITUDE, has been wrought out by the principles of Christianity, through its actions on the human heart, I have little confidence in any other power. Bring from the pages of the inspired volume, those lessons of Divine wisdom and goodness with which they abound—infuse their spirit into the hearts of the rich and powerful until you overpower the avarice and selfishness that have made them obdurate and insensible ; teach them to love money less, and mankind, that is, their own nature, more—and if they WILL learn the heavenly lesson, in practice as well as theory, Christianity shall again have occasion to exult in the triumph of her principles, and the world itself have occasion to exclaim, as in ancient days, "Behold! how they love one another."

THE NEW YORK CATHOLIC CHURCH DEBT ASSOCIATION.

SPEECH OF BISHOP HUGHES AT THE MEETING IN CARROLL HALL MAY 3, 1841.

A VERY numerous and highly respectable meeting of the Catholics of New York was held, pursuant to requisition, on Monday evening, May the 3d, in Carroll Hall. Gregory Dillon, Esq., was unanimously called to the chair. Mr. B. O'Connor was then appointed secretary.

The Right Rev. Bishop HUGHES rose to address the meeting, and was received with deafening applause. After reminding the audience that the meeting had been convened for the purpose of considering a plan for extinguishing the debt at present resting on the Catholic churches of this city, the Right Rev. gentleman proceeded as follows:—

I was disposed to wait until a large number might be present, as I am about to submit some measures of a general and important character, but as the evening is advancing, I deem it necessary to proceed to unfold to you the views I have to present. We have hitherto met in relation chiefly to subjects affecting interests which might be discussed without requiring any future action in relation to them, either on the part of the speaker or those whom they addressed. It is not so at present; for the subject to which I have now to invite your attention, is that of the heavy debts which oppress the churches and render the increase of suitable temples for worship altogether too slow for the wants of the people. I have a plan to propose which has in view the relief of those churches from the heavy burdens under which they labor, but that plan cannot have its proper efficiency unless it have scope and the determined will of those for whose benefit it is proposed. It is for this reason I should have wished that the meeting had been more numerous.

Before proceeding further, I shall allude to the progress of another subject which has an attraction to the meeting. It is the progress of our claim to the Fund to which we are contributors. Of the fate of the application to the Common Council in this City, all are aware, and we all know that the voice and tone of our first meeting after, was as spirited as the one before the *denial* but not the *defeat* of our claim [cheers], and that our sentiments were expressive of the sense of justice which must actuate the men who had yet to decide on that claim, who had the welfare of the people at heart.

Our confidence in them has not been disappointed. A Report has been made by the officer of the State to whom the subject was referred, and it is gratifying to know that every principle of justice, equality and fair play of the American Constitution has been sanctioned by this high authority of the American People. [Cheers.] Yet, as I have heretofore expressed to you, it is not always justice

which triumphs in assemblies, for there may be those within them who will cling pertinaciously to their own narrow views, and endeavor to effect what they conceive to be a great good, no matter how others should suffer. It is therefore necessary until success is assured, that we should have our minds fixed upon it, for as long as the human voice can be animated by the sound of justice we shall continue to cry for our rights. [Cheers.]. I shall now proceed to speak to you in detail, of the debt of the churches and the effect of that debt upon our interests, and the prospective interests of that rising generation which is coming forward, and to whom constant attention must be directed.

If we had our churches filled on Sunday there must still be one half that cannot enter the Temple of God. There is not at present sufficient room for those who would attend if they had the opportunity. Sometime ago this building was purchased, and, notwithstanding the churches in its neighborhood, there is no doubt that if provided with the necessary pastors, there would be more than enough to fill it; but then it has been found that opening this and adding another church for the accommodation of the people, would so injure the church immediately adjoining, that it must be left to some other more favorable time when such an effect is no longer to be dreaded. Such is the lamentable state of affairs in this respect, that the measure of responsibility is full to the brim, and if one drop more is put in, it overflows. If on account of the debts under which they labor, any of the churches should be sold or disposed of, it leaves a vacancy that cannot be filled, and will it be permitted that our churches shall forever remain under the dominion of creditors? This state of things would be entirely changed, if with united energy we could act upon some well-digested plan; we could then in a short time add church to church, and so keep pace with the wants of our increasing Catholic population.

We can never expect success unless there be concert and unity of action. Every man should feel that he has an individual interest in this cause, and act conscious of being engaged in a good work. For that was surely a good work which facilitated to mankind the means of their becoming acquainted with their God and his mercies, and enabling them to realize with greater certainty the end of their creation. [Cheers.] But besides all this, my friends, you know, or should know, that in diminishing the capital for which your churches stand indebted, you are relieving yourself of that continual drain of money which year after year comes out of your purses. Go on as at present, and at the end of ten years you will have paid an amount equal to two-thirds of the whole debt! That is, supposing the debt to be $300,000, the interest on that $300,000 will in ten years amount to $200,000, and, after all, at the end of the ten years the $300,000 of debt will be still staring you in the face as to-day! Consequently, then, this is not only a good work in a spiritual and religious sense, but it is—judging according to the wisdom of this

world—it is your interest and advantage; for the debt must be paid, and who must pay it but you, Catholics?

There is another point of view, too, in which the plan I am about to suggest will appear worthy of support and confidence. At present, whenever a pressure comes upon a church, and a creditor stands waiting for his money, the trustees must either borrow and displace him by another creditor, or they must address themselves to the congregation, and in the congregation there are some dozen or two dozen or three dozen of men more liberal perhaps, or more conspicuous, and to them every eye is immediately directed, while there are numerous other professors of their creed, who need the services of religion, and are perhaps willing to contribute if in a way available to the end, who are overlooked altogether. The burden falls on a few, and in these isolated efforts many are never called on at all. Now, my project would be made to extend itself, in such a manner that every Catholic in the city of New York, possessed of ability, should contribute, and that those unwilling, being able, should also be on record. [Cheers.] Not that I would force the matter, nor do I think that that would be at all necessary. But yet I do say that that man who is able to support his religion with a moderate sum, who has no fair pretext for not doing so, and who wishes the presence of his clergy in his family whenever necessary, and has the consolation of attending the public religious service of his church, and yet is unwilling to share in supporting his religion, fails in a moral and religious duty, and it should be known that such a man refused to support the church of his brethren. [Cheers.]

We spoke at a former meeting of two plans. The one recommending each of the churches, in its sphere, to try what it could do—the other, of a more Catholic nature, embracing all the churches on this Island, and in Brooklyn, if they choose to join us. As this latter view appeared to be received with the greatest favor, and as others speaking with me on the subject have expressed their opinion that it was the only available and efficient mode, I have arranged a plan which I shall presently have the pleasure of submitting to this meeting. [Cheers.] However, I mentioned then, what I have now to repeat, that in anything of this kind, men must take large views of the subject, otherwise it will not succeed as we anticipated. I may, for instance, happen to belong to a particular church—as a private member of the church, or even as a pastor—that happens to be in better circumstances than others, and I may say, "Oh! we are happy, well off, it is not necessary for us to exert ourselves." Now if any man say that, that man is not fit to appreciate my plan, for he is no Catholic in his feelings. The Catholic is of a large soul and a liberal mind—does not set geographical limits between this quarter of the city and that; and he who acts differently, why, I must say that a Catholic heart does not beat in his bosom. [Cheers.]

To make this plan efficient, then, you must be, not so many different congregations, but *one congregation* having a number of churches under its care, and possessed of that determination to go

in with that unity of effort which will alone relieve our churches. And, after all, even in point of reasoning the argument of the man I have just now supposed would not be a good one. Why? Because although he happens to belong this year to a church in affluent circumstances, next year he moves nearer to a church precisely in the state to which he was before indifferent, for there is no fixedness of residence, and men change their churches as they change their habitation, and even in this point of view he has no good reason for making the exception. But I will not suppose such a case at all. I shall rather suppose that if the plan be found practicable—worthy of your approbation, that nothing will be found to mar the harmony and beauty of its action until it has accomplished the end for which it is now about to be submitted. [Loud cheers.]

Another great object to be attended to, and which I have kept in view to the best of my power in arranging my plan, is *simplicity*. This undertaking is something on a large scale, as you perceive, and any plan for its accomplishment must be one in which the machinery shall be as simple as possible, so that a child may understand its working. If you were to make it complicated with a great many rules and regulations, you would find that these would overlay and obscure the principal object, and therefore I have studied the utmost simplicity in the arrangement of the present plan. With that simplicity, however, is combined adequate means for accomplishing the end in view, and, as I have said before, it will only require the action of each one in his particular situation and according to the duty we have all to perform, to realize all that we anticipate. Not at once, indeed, but with time, which is a powerful agent in all great undertakings. To give you an outline of my plan, it will bring every Catholic into action—every one. There is a division of action. There are those who are to be contributors who have their part of the plan to carry out, in giving either yearly or monthly what they feel able to offer, and what their generous spirit will prompt them to give towards this end, from those who may give a shilling a month to any higher sum. And I question if there be any one in health so poor as to be unable to contribute a shilling a month—I doubt if there be any such, and if there be, it is because they either do not husband the fruits of their industry, or are overtaken by sickness or some calamity which requires another direction of the means they possess. But whilst one may give a shilling, another may give a dollar, and another may make every member of his family contribute a shilling—another may contribute one hundred dollars, or fifty dollars, or ten dollars, according as God has prospered his undertakings. But then who are to call upon them for their contributions?

That is another branch of the division of labor. Those who will contribute will be called upon once a month by persons duly authorized for that purpose, and they are to meet periodically to make returns to another class of persons, and these again to a third; and every month there is to be a meeting in this Hall of all the Catholics, and to them will be presented, in the form of a synopsis, an

account of all the proceedings during the previous month of those officers referred to; and thus you may see that I have taken particular pains not to oppress any one with too much labor. If collectors were appointed and indefinite labor devolved upon them, they will go on with a little spirit for a short time, but never seeing the end of their work, they will get discouraged and remit their exertions. But if you divide their labor so that they may fulfill their task, then it is to be hoped that there will be found persons who for the merit of the work itself, and for the satisfaction of their being instrumental in relieving the churches from their present embarrassment, will go through with this labor. It will be also an honor to them. Because the books recording these proceedings will remain a monument to future generations, of the zeal and faith of the men who first built and worshipped in these temples of the living God! [Cheers.]

I have taken care, then, to divide the labor. So, here are two classes, one having to contribute periodically according to their means, another having to call for that contribution, and their accounts to be inspected by another class again. Then, again, the subject is to be kept constantly before the public—it is not to be lost sight of. It will not do for us to be actuated by a lively spirit of zeal for once or twice or thrice at a public meeting, and then to allow the undertaking to sink from our view. In such a case it would be useless to proceed. But in order to keep it constantly before the public, there will be meetings monthly in this hall of all the collectors, and of all the superintendents of districts into which the city is to be divided, and they will compare their returns, and lay before you an account of the progress and success of their labors from month to month. Thus the subject will be kept constantly before the public, and, at the same time, encouragement will be afforded to those engaged in the work. [Cheers.]

But there is another point also, not unimportant. And that is the exactitude and security with regard to the disposal of the moneys received; and, accordingly, I have taken pains in arranging my plan, for the observance of the greatest precision and exactitude in reference to the amount received from its first collection from the man who gives his one dollar, or ten dollars, or fifty or a hundred dollars, up to the Trustees, who shall see to its appropriation to the specific object for which it was contributed, and by which means every man shall have his voucher for the proper distribution of the money.

These are the outlines of the plan. There is nothing required but understanding the subject, and zeal and perseverance, and with that understanding, and that zeal, and that perseverance, I have not the slightest doubt, that, incredible as it may now appear, at the end of four years from this time the debt on the Catholic churches would be next to nothing at all. [Loud cheers.] If you saw that event accomplished, then how easy would it be, whenever a church was wanted, to erect one—I do not say magnificent churches—I do not speak of splendid ones—but I speak of those that would be sufficiently respectable for the design to which they would be appropri-

ated, and in harmony with the means and wants of the people for whose use they are to be erected. Now I know that all the churches are not equally in debt. But, then, if you made a collection merely for the churches most in debt, others would not feel the same interest. The effort would cease to be general, and the moment it ceases to be general, that moment the principle of its success is lost.

To succeed, then, the effort must be general—it must reach to all who appreciate the value of religion, and possess the means to aid its progress. [Cheers.]

Before reading to you the plan which I have drawn out, I have to state that I have taken a precaution, which you yourselves will see to have been at once necessary and proper. That precaution consisted in calling the clergymen of the city together, and submitting the matter to them, precisely as I do to you, and as it must strike every man who is solicitous for the welfare of the Church—told them what is obvious, that if they did not take the matter to heart, as I do, it would be entirely useless for me to proceed further. I can do but little without their help. But with them, each one in the centre of his circle, a great deal can be done. And I therefore thought it essential to the success of the plan that they should hear it, weigh it, understand it, and that they should adopt it willingly. And I must say they did so, not only willingly, but with a zeal worthy of their sacred vocation. [Loud cheers.] The plan has been unanimously adopted by them, and they have pledged themselves by their written signatures, to act by its requirements, and labor for the attainment of the end proposed by it so long as there yet remains anything to be accomplished for its attainment. [Continued cheers.]

But all this will not suffice, unless you also enter on this undertaking with the same spirit. For it is not altogether the place of the clergy to be talking of financial affairs—of money, interest and so on. This is not our calling—God has called us to a spiritual calling; nevertheless, placed in our present circumstances, and bound to labor in every way calculated to give efficiency to our spiritual labors, why should we not embark in this undertaking with the same zeal as we would in any other good work. But it would be odious and useless in us to put ourselves forward to an unwilling people. You must be a willing people. You must be ready to assist us. You must be ready to open your doors for us as soon as you see us, though perfectly aware of the object of our visit. It could not be supposed that we would force ourselves on you, in a matter in which you are far more deeply interested than we. We are but insignificant persons--our wants are few, and will always be supplied—and we could easily pass through the short period of our labors in this life without taking on us the toil and trouble necessarily attending a work of this kind. But we do engage in this work, in the confidence that we are doing a good work for you, and your brethren who are here and who are to come hereafter—for your children and your children's children, to endless ages. [Loud ap-

plause.] For work connected with religion is everlasting work. It is not like all temporal works—completed to-day and perished to-morrow!

It is not then enough that the plan has the approbation of the clergy without exception. It is necessary that it should be adopted by the people, and if not adopted by them, certainly we will not present ourselves to a people unwilling to see us. [Cheers.]

I will now read to you the title, preamble and rules of an association, which it is proposed should embrace the clergy and whole Catholic population of the cities of New York and Brooklyn. [Cheers.]

THE NEW YORK CATHOLIC CHURCH DEBT ASSOCIATION.

Whereas, the indebtedness and embarrassed situation of the Catholic Churches of New York is attended with two principal evil consequences, viz.:—the one making it a matter of great difficulty and exertion to meet the *interest* and *expenses* of churches already erected; the other making it almost impossible to erect new ones, even when they become absolutely necessary to meet the religious wants of our rapidly increasing Catholic population. And, whereas, it is a religious duty incumbent on us to provide that temples erected by ourselves, and now dedicated to the service of Almighty God, should be rescued from the danger of profanation by passing, like secular property, into the hands of creditors. And, whereas, even in a temporal point of view it is not only just that we should pay our debts, but it is also advantageous to ourselves that we should be relieved from the exhausting drain of annual interest, by the extinguishment or diminution of the capital for which our churches are indebted. And, whereas, it is the opinion of those who have examined the subject that this most important and desirable end can be attained within the space of three or four years, by a hearty, zealous and general co-operation of all the Catholics of the city through the means of a well-devised organization for that purpose. Therefore,—The following plan is submitted for approval:

1. As the object is to unite all the Catholics of New York in a general effort to relieve the churches by voluntary contribution, according to the means of each, the city shall be divided into districts, corresponding with the number and location of the Catholic churches; and the Pastor in each district, aided by the assistant Pastors and Trustees, shall be charged with carrying out the system of contribution within the limits of such district.

2. The Pastor with his assistants shall subdivide his district into sections—each section so small that an active collector may be able to visit every Catholic house or roomholder in each once in the month by giving an average of one hour a day for that purpose.

3. The Pastor shall appoint two collectors over each section in his district. They should be persons of good moral and religious character, who having only a given amount of duty to perform, will enter on it with zeal and discharge it with faithfulness and assiduity

as a work of charity done for the glory of God, and the promotion of our holy religion.

4. The Pastor shall supply them with a book, specially prepared for that purpose, and adapted to the easy record of names, residence and contributions.

5. The collectors shall first find out and record the name and residence of each head of family (with the number of persons composing the family) occupying a house or rooms in the section, and make returns of the same to the Pastor and Superintendent of the district. It will then be their duty to wait on each Catholic resident in their section and receive for the purposes of this association, yearly or monthly contributions.

6. These contributions the collectors will set down opposite to the name of each contributor; and during the *first* week of each month, they will hand over to the Pastor of the district the amount collected during the month previous. They will receive in the same book and on the same page his receipt for the amount, which they may show to the contributors on their next monthly visit. This will go to inspire the people with that confidence on which the success of the undertaking so much depends.

7. The Pastors will in the *second* week of each month hand over the amount received by them from the collectors of sections, to the Bishop as head of this association, or to some other person who shall be accountable for the same at the end of each quarter. He shall give a receipt in the book of the pastors, in the same manner as they do in the books of the collectors of sections.

8. On the fourth Monday of each month there shall be a public meeting of the President, the Superintendent of districts, the Collectors of sections, and the Catholic public generally, in Carroll Hall, at which the collectors shall report the amount received in their various sections—the superintendents of districts the amount received from their several districts, and the President the amount received from the several superintendents during the month previous.

9. There are a very great many of our Catholics who are not householders, and, of course, do not come under the foregoing classification. They are among the most able and willing to contribute to this object. They are unmarried mechanics, domestics and working men. Now, as the object of this association is to include every Catholic in the city, in an effort which is for the benefit of all, some mode must be adopted by which these persons will have an opportunity of contributing. It will be for the pastors and superintendents of districts to arrange the means necessary to obtain their contributions. A good plan would be to have a table and books in the vestibule or some other convenient place of the church on Sundays, where they could subscribe their names and make their offerings.

10. All such moneys shall be set down under a separate head and be accounted for by receipts from one to another, the same as that returned by collectors of sections.

11. The President shall preserve the moneys handed over to him, and for which he shall have given receipts, until the quarterly meeting, at which time the general quarterly report shall be read, and if expedient printed. All the moneys collected during the quarter shall be distributed to the Trustees of the churches, for the sole purpose of diminishing by so much the capital of the debt on the church of which they are Trustees, and *for no other purpose whatever.*

12.—Distribution. The President shall within the first month of each succeeding quarter pay over the proceeds of the previous quarter's collection share and share alike to the trustees of the several churches, and receive their receipts for the same.

13. But as new debts might be contracted as fast as means could be collected, if no precaution were taken against it, the several boards of trustees shall give a statement of the amount of their indebtedness, with the understanding that no new engagement shall be entered into by them whilst they continue to receive anything from this association.

14. In order to give more efficiency to this association, no private collection, fair, oratorio, or other expedient, shall be had for any of the churches for the benefit of which this association is organized.

15. But as the religious wants of the people may require additional churches in some localities during the existence of this association, if the clergyman to be appointed over such a work can raise among the population desiring or requiring such new church, one-fourth of its cost in cash, then from the proceeds of the burial ground attached to the Cathedral this fourth shall be increased to one-third, provided the amount do not exceed three thousand dollars in any one year. As no church shall in future be consecrated which shall be indebted for more than one-third its entire cost.

16. The President and Pastor shall sign their names; the Trustees of the churches shall affix their corporate seals to these rules of the association. They shall likewise be adopted by the vote of this public meeting as representing the different congregations of the city, and such signature, seal and adoption shall be as a solemn pledge of Catholic Union and Catholic Honor; by which as one people, we bind ourselves to each other to adhere to this association and to discharge faithfully the duties assigned respectively, until every church in the city shall be, if not entirely out of debt, at least out of all danger of being profaned by passing under the dominion of creditors. Then, indeed, with the blessings of God our religion shall prosper, and new temples unencumbered shall spring up as rapidly as they shall be required. All this we *can* accomplish, and the day of its accomplishment will be a glorious day for the Catholics in New York and in America.

The Bishop having read the above preamble and rules for the association, said,

Now, connected with all this there are at least a thousand questions that might be asked, the discussion of which would be perfectly useless, because you have there the bone and muscle of the

plan, and it only remains for those who will have embraced it to clothe it with what is necessary to make it perfect symmetry and and perfect beauty. For instance, it might be said that a church—suppose one of the German churches, or one lately built,—one that owes $1,600 will have an equal share with one that $30,000. Now, I will try, if possible, to explain a little, how this, notwithstanding any apparent disadvantage, comes in reality to promote the common interest of all churches, no matter how situated. Suppose that there are ten churches that will derive benefit from the funds, then the first division of money may pay the debt of one and accordingly on the next periodical division of the funds, the share of that one will be distributed over the others. The people in the church thus freed from debt it should be recollected, too, do not cease to contribute to the funds of the association. Their honor is pledged that they should continue to contribute until the debts of all the churches be paid.

And now, if every Catholic had adopted this plan and carried it out, how much do you think it would cost to pay off the debts of the churches? Why, only $300! I say when the question comes to me only $300. Is there any individual who, by the blessing of God, is in circumstances enabling him to do so, would be so indifferent in the matter, as to refuse to give $300 for this purpose? Well, then, it is only for one man to give $300, or $100, or $50, or $10, or a shilling a month! That is all the burden on the individual. And is it to be supposed that we shall labor with such an incubus as at present presses us down, when the means of obtaining its removal are so easy of attainment?

By my plan will be presented the means of obtaining the offerings of one class of Catholics, who hitherto have not had the opportunity so readily afforded of contributing. I mean the pious and virtuous young women who are living at service. [Cheers.] The same with the working men. Who of those could not contribue a shilling a month? Who of them will not do so, when he recollects that often before he turns the corner he spends twice as much [Laughter], but who would readily contribute to this good cause if the opportunity were presented?

I am persuaded that difficult as it may appear, if you adopt this plan—persevere in this plan—each in his own sphere of exertion, that in a very short time the heap that is now a mountain threatening to crush us down, will be seen sinking and disappearing like a snow-rift in the warm sun of May-day. [Loud cheers.]

Without saying a word more I submit the plan for your adoption, looking on you, after the notice given in all the churches, as representing all the Catholic churches of the city of New York. Without your adoption of it I would conceive that I had done my duty, and might retire in the consciousness of having done so. But now that the clergymen have done their duty, I am confident that the people will not be found wanting. [Deafening applause.]

The Chairman then rose and said that the objects and principles

of the proposed association having been so fully and ably explained by the Rt. Rev. Prelate, he would merely put the question of the adoption by the meeting of the preamble and rules, which had been just read. The motion was then put, and they were adopted by acclamation.

The Bishop then said:

There is but one observation more which I shall make, and that has reference to a circumstance that occurred since our last meeting. A poor man called at our house the other day and sent for me, and with a very great deal of feeling said, "I have read, sir, in the newspapers that our churches are liable to be sold for debt, and it has afflicted me very much that any person should take interest from the house of God." I replied, that men who loaned money fairly could not be expected to do without receiving interest for it. "Well," he said, "I am a servant in a family, a waiter, and I am going out of town to see my family, who live in Boston, but here is my mite;" and on so saying he laid down a two and a half dollar gold piece. [Great cheering.] I regret that I do not now recollect this man's name, but it has been placed on record by Rev. Mr. Starr. And now, as I cannot be first, and not wishing to be the last, in this good work—for I do not think there is any necessity of concealing what we do,—I would authorize the secretary to record my name for $100 for my yearly subscription. [Deafening applause.]

[The amount collected at this meeting was $2,432.50.]

Meeting of the New York Catholic Church Debt Association.—May 10, 1841.

A meeting of the New York Church Debt Association was held in Carroll Hall. The attendance was numerous and respectable. John Quinn, Esq., was unanimously called to the chair.

Bishop Hughes spoke as follows:—It might probably be anticipated by the meeting that I have something special to submit this evening to its consideration. This, however, is not the case. I had hoped when it was moved last evening that there should be an adjourned meeting this night, to be able to have some further details of the means by which our plan is to be carried into execution—that is to say, that books prepared expressly for the purpose, making it as easy as possible to record the names and the residences and the amounts of subscriptions, might be prepared, so that when the time, now approaching, shall have arrived to place these books at the disposition of the different superintendents of districts to be by them given to the collectors of sections, it should be found that they should all correspond, and obviate as much as possible the necessity of arranging them, each collector for himself. I have not, however, owing to other occupations, been able to have these books as yet prepared. I gave them in charge to a gentleman, who would, I have no doubt, bestow as much time as possible in preparing them, and I trust that by the end of the week it will be in our power to furnish the clergy with them to be by them handed to the collectors.

There is another step; for I think that in this matter the great security of success depends upon the understanding of the subject by all the parties concerned; and whilst there may be general rules for all the collectors in the various districts to conform to, I think that it will be of great advantage to prepare something like a copy of rules, to be furnished to every family, so that they should have it by them, and they, entering into the undertaking in the same spirit that actuated us, should be prepared to delay the collectors as brief a period as possible. Indeed I would expect from the zeal of the Catholic community, that when they will have understood this, knowing that the collectors will call once a month, the head of the family—and if you trust it to the pious mother you will seldom be disappointed—should have the contribution of the month, and of all the members of the family who may be contributors already prepared so as to hand over at once to the collector the offering of the household of charity. [Cheers.] Then, indeed, the business of a collector would be a light and not an unpleasant one, because his visit would be anticipated—he would be received cordially, and instead of having to beg and plead as in some cases, he would find that that offering had been set apart after the manner of the first Christians, and was already waiting for him, and he would pass on in his mission of zeal and charity to the next contributor.

Now, I think, it will be at once seen that these rules will greatly facilitate the work of the collectors, and it will be an easy matter for each family to have a copy of the rules in a conspicuous place, and knowing that monthly they will have an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the manner in which the money is appropriated, they will labor in the full consciousness that they are laboring for God,—that is to say, as much as man can, by promoting his glory on earth, and making his name adored, and his knowledge more widely diffused amongst his people—and that the little offering which his means have enabled him to make has been rendered sacred to that object. Thus you will find that perfect harmony amongst all parts of the scheme will be effected. It is true, as the gentleman said just now, that our churches are in a lamentable condition, for so long as that which is consecrated to the Almighty is in danger of being revoked and transferred to any other use that the spirit of speculation may suggest to those having claims against it, so long is the Church in a state of bondage. And yet there is one remark that I cannot omit making, which is, that notwithstanding the comparative poverty of the Catholic community—notwithstanding the embarrassed state of the Catholic churches—notwithstanding the hesitation which is felt at the idea of loaning money to churches of other denominations similarly circumstanced, there is one thing exceedingly glorious for our reputation, that, so far as I know, no man that ever had a just claim against a Catholic church ever lost one farthing by it. [Loud cheers.] This has been our character hitherto, and if we succeed in our present undertaking, it will be the crowning of our history. [Cheers.]

As I observed before, I have nothing special to offer for your consideration; at the same time I cannot conclude without expressing the gratification I felt at the spirit manifested at our last meeting. I said then that if you were not willing to embark in this undertaking, it would not only be odious but useless in me to press it on your attention. But you yourselves anticipated all that I could say on that subject, and instead of its being necessary for me to urge you on, I found that unless I took care I should myself be left behind! [Laughter and loud cheers.] I have had, from the necessity of circumstances, oftentimes to interest myself for the accomplishment of public undertakings connected with our religion, and I can say with safety, that I have never seen any, connected with which there was so little that was unpleasant as the one proposed on the occasion of our last meeting here. Because in other cases the effort was—that of a part out of the whole—those immediately interested thinking that their neighbors should be so too, and when they were not found so, yielding to the discouraging influence, and sometimes perhaps feeling a rising reproach against them, for not having charity enough, or feeling sufficient interest in that in which they themselves were concerned. But when it was proposed that we should all be one congregation and contribute according to our means,—in a word, when the undertaking was placed on the broad Catholic principle, all the difficulty vanished, and there did not appear to be, I will not say a dissenting voice, but, a dissenting feeling in the large audience assembled here.

Now, then, there is one other remark to which I will refer, and I do so because it has its effect not only in attaining our object, but in a moral point of view. You are aware from experience, and that experience multiplying lately, that there are in this community those who secretly cherished the pretension of taking your children to educate them according to their own notions and intentions. That is no longer a secret; and in proportion as that secret—if secret it may be called—became known to you, in that proportion you became aroused to a conviction of your duty to apply every means to bring your children up to mature years under the influence of that religion to which you trust your own eternal welfare. Well, what has that to do with the present subject? I shall just now let you see that it has a great deal to do with it. If a man, for instance, who was able to contribute five dollars for himself, and unable to contribute any more for his family, were to divide that sum, giving so much for himself, and putting the remainder into the hands of his children—those old enough to feel the honor and pleasure of contributing—that single circumstance, occurring in the childhood of life, would make an impression on the mind of that child that would always remain, and sink deeper, perhaps, than the learned lesson of pastor or parent in their most ardent zeal. That child as he grows up will feel that these are no strange edifices for which from his childhood he had had the honor and satisfaction of contributing, and he will thus become still more firmly attached to that

religion for the redemption of whose temples this association has been formed. Now I would suggest that and much more in the formulary, or rather prospectus of the whole plan, which I would wish to see distributed in families, and the plan being thus completely organized, and the people willing to contribute, and all in their several situations discharging their duties, three years will not have passed away until your church, and your churches and all connected with them shall be as you are yourselves, FREE AND INDEPENDENT. [Loud applause.]

[The whole amount subscribed at this meeting was $969.02.]

Meeting of the New York Catholic Church Debt Association.—May 26, 1841.

A meeting of the New York Church Debt Association was held on the above date in Carroll Hall. The large building was filled with a highly respectable auditory. On the platform were the Right Rev. Bishop Hughes, Very Rev. Dr. Power, Rev. Dr. Pise, Rev. Mr. Starrs, Rev. Mr. Quarter, the Rev. Mr. N. O'Donnell and Rev. Mr. Walsh, of Brooklyn. Robert Hogan, Esq., was unanimously called to preside, and took the Chair amid the loud applause of the meeting.

The Right Rev. Bishop HUGHES then rose and was received with enthusiastic applause. He addressed the meeting as follows:—You must not be discouraged, gentlemen, at seeing us meet so frequently without having yet put into execution almost any part of the plan that has been adopted for the end which we now propose to ourselves. There is a great deal of delay in getting things ready. Certainly I have urged expedition, as much as in my power, on those to whom I have entrusted some part of the preparations—for instance, the books that are to be all uniform, and prepared so as to be most easily kept by the Collectors. And whilst many are impatient in their zeal to see the work going on, we have deemed it better rather to wait until we should understand perfectly the whole of the plan, and have all engaged in it to conform to it. It is on this account that these meetings, though they should have no other effect, are advantageous—they give a similarity of idea. The persons who meet here go abroad all understanding the thing in the same manner. And we have delayed the execution of the plan precisely in order that this effect may be obtained. The last time we met I spoke of the importance of its being well understood in families, because the anticipation now is that every one who calls himself a Catholic will do his duty—that the Superintendents of Districts, and the Reverend Clergy, will themselves take charge of the collectors of sections in their districts, that they will see them—encourage them—direct them—and that these then in their several sections will call upon the people, and that the people themselves will be prepared, and understanding the thing perfectly will diminish as much as possible the trouble and the labor which these Collectors are kind enough to undertake.

In a mass of people such as ours, scattered and lost as it were in the great multitude of this city, it is not in one day that you can have a thing generally known. It requires a little time. It will penetrate but gradually, and you may be sure that the success of this undertaking will be great just in proportion as it is uniformly well understood, and cordially approved of in the hearts of the people.

In several of the churches they have called meetings and received subscriptions, and there the most encouraging will and disposition were manifested. This would be all well if for a brief effort and a single object. But it is not so. It is to set a system into motion and activity—to attend to it patiently and perseveringly for one year—and if that be not long enough for a second year—and even for a third if necessary, and I have dreaded that the effect of these meetings if continued, although they seem to contribute to the amount and to the good will displayed—would be two-fold—first, that they could not continue with the same animation; those who were disposed to give, would give at the first meetings, and then they would become so sparse that they could not avail. Then, again, the Collectors would meet with the same people, and in answer to the request for contributions they would reply that they had already subscribed elsewhere. True it amounts to the same thing, but it would be so much of a discouragement to the Collectors. Because it will be an encouragement to the Collectors, if all the members in their sections shall understand that they are contributors, and that they shall receive something as they pass from house to house. I have therefore thought it best to organize the system and let it descend step by step till it reach every member of the families. And I have thought it well to procure something like a circular, or an address or explanation, which the Collectors in their several sections shall leave in every family on their first visit. Then it is to be trusted that the zeal of our people, and that explanation of the plan to be preserved in the family, reminding them of their duty, will accomplish our undertaking. I shall read a copy of the circular. It is brief, it is easily preserved, and I have no doubt that in every family it will be carefuly kept as a memento of the great work that is now going on:—

THE FAMILY CIRCULAR OF THE "CATHOLIC CHURCH DEBT ASSOCIATION" OF NEW YORK.

The object of the above Association is to pay the debts which are now oppressing the churches, and by annual interests draining the resources of the Catholics of New York.

The Bishop, the Clergy, and the Laity have all concurred in the *absolute necessity* of the measure, and in the united determination to carry it into effect.

For this purpose the City has been divided into districts; the districts into sections; the sections into families; the families may further be divided into the members of which it is composed.

Now, the object of this division is, that every member of our communion, male and female, young and old, married and single, who is willing and worthy to be known as a member of the Catholic Church, shall become a Member of this Association by paying one shilling a month, or upwards, towards freeing our churches from debt—unless he or she be excused by poverty.

What a glorious spectacle of union, charity, and zeal will be exhibited, when each Member of the Church will thus set apart, voluntarily, his monthly offering for the ransom of the temples of his God!

But one shilling a month is the sum for those who are least able to contribute. Others, to whom God has given more of this world's goods, will be givers in proportion to their means. Many have already given their names; half a dollar, a dollar, three, five, and even eight dollars a month;—who can doubt but this will be generally imitated, according to the means of each?

The Bishop, Pastors of the churches, Trustees, Collectors and others, besides Contributors themselves, will discharge the duties and perform the labors which are assigned them. These are all regulated and pointed out.

It remains to point out the duties of families and the members composing them. It is taken for granted that all will subscribe, and pay monthly, or even for the whole year. But we have now to speak of the mode of contributing, and the help which may be given by a little attention in this respect.

The duties of the Collectors of Sections will become tiresome and unsupportable, unless they are cheered in their labor by the good-will and co-operation of the families and individuals in their sections. You must be as ready to receive them as they are to call, as prompt to give your monthly contributions as they are to ask it. Then you will spare their time, and make their work lightsome and even pleasant.

In order to do this, the mother—for who has more zeal for the glory of God, or works of Charity, than the pious mother of a Catholic family?—the mother, or the female head of each, might have the *names* and *contributions* of the several members of the household, ALL READY, from the first week of the month, waiting for the Collector's call.

Now we recommend and request most earnestly, that this may be done, in all families where it is practicable. A little book also might be kept in each family, with the names of the children, who should by all means be enabled to contribute something, *as of their own*, and their *own free offering*. When they grow older, they will remember this, and the little family book will remind them that from childhood they loved their faith; it will be an heir-loom.

We wish the collectors to leave in every family a copy of this Circular. Let it be preserved, hung up in some safe place, where it will remind the members of the *noble work* which is going on, and of the means by which they can promote it. It should also be

brought under the notice of single persons, who either live in the employment of others, or are boarding in families not Catholic. This can be done by frequent announcement of it from the pulpits, and a public notice in the porch of the Church, where opportunities will be given to such persons to contribute and have their names enrolled as Members of the Association.

Finally, there will be a General Meeting of the President, Superintendents of Districts, Collectors of Sections, and the Catholic public at large, in the Carroll Hall, on the 4th Monday of each month, when a synopsis of the labors and success of the previous month shall be made known.

In order to obtain the blessing of Almighty God for the work itself and those engaged in it, the Holy Sacrifice of Mass will be offered up in each of the Catholic Churches for the benefit of all the contributors, on the fourth Tuesday of each month, that is, on the day next following each of the general monthly meetings.

✠ JOHN HUGHES, Bp., &c.

New York, May 24th, 1841.

[Loud cheers.]

It seems to me that one of these left by the Collectors in every family as they go round for the first time, will do a great deal both to make known the nature and object of this work, and to facilitate their labors in the discharge of their duties. There is also a little formulary of rules for the Collectors themselves, which, however, it is not necessary now to read, but which will enable them to introduce method and good order into every part of this otherwise complicated and difficult undertaking. There is another document which I have been requested to lay before you. It contains the name of a gentleman who could not attend this evening, but has desired to have his own name and those of several of his family recorded as subscribers, and that in a very generous way. The following is his communication: "At the meeting this evening Bishop Hughes will please have the names of my family entered for the following sums:— Andrew Carrigan $100; James Carrigan $10; Andrew Carrigan $10; Catharine Carrigan $10; Francis Carrigan $10; Mary Carrigan $10." [Loud cheers.]

[The meeting was afterwards addressed by Rev. Dr. Powers, Rev. Dr. Pise, Rev. Mr. Quarter, and others. The total amount collected was $515.]

Letter to Bishop Hughes, With His Reply.

New York, June, 3, 1841.

"You are engaged in many noble enterprises for promoting the welfare of religion in your diocese, any one of which successfully carried out, I have no doubt they all will be, will be sufficient to make your name revered and loved by every lover of our holy religion. But as it is not the object of this communication to express my admiration of your character and undertakings, I will abstain

from expressing my sentiments, on those subjects, and proceed at once to my object.

"You are probably aware that there are many individuals, who, feeling an interest in the success of your plans, watch very closely the manner in which they are managed; and you are probably *not aware* that there are those who are commencing already to shrug their shoulders and hint that affairs are *not* properly managed. I have heard it insinuated, though not distinctly charged, that part of the money collected for paying church debts, has been used towards paying for Carroll Hall, and I *know* that many of our most sensible and influential Catholics consider that purchase, to say the least of it, a most extravagant one, and that they would consider themselves aggrieved by any such application of their contributions to that fund.

"I am informed that you have charge of the moneys collected for that association, and that you are to take upon yourself the principal management of its fiscal affairs, and my object in addressing you is most respectfully to recommend to you to have nothing to do with the custody and management of its moneys and accounts. Do not suppose, for a moment, that I doubt your capability of managing such business, but my experience in the care of accounts causes me *to fear*, that you, who have duties so heavy and multitudinous, could not bestow upon such accounts the time and attention they will require—and that you would hereafter find cause to regret having taken upon yourself so onerous and burdensome a task. It appears to me that as large sums of money are to be raised and expended, and years required to complete the undertaking, the accounts will become ultimately more or less complex, and if they be not kept *systematically*, error and confusion will creep in, and cause trouble and perhaps chagrin. My fears of inaccurate accounts are based upon the belief that few men, no matter what their intelligence and and education, who have not been brought up to business, can make accounts intelligible to others; and I would least expect to find in our ministry the necessary intimate acquaintance with the details of business operations. I am urged to address you by my desire to see you retain the esteem and affection of the whole Catholic population—that unanimous popularity you have deservedly won and so wisely use; and to see you *ever* remain free from imputations or suspicions of error.

"Permit me to repeat that I would most respectfully suggest the propriety of having the treasurer's accounts of that association under the care of a practical accountant.

"I am aware that in addressing you anonymously I adopt a very unpopular and suspicious mode, but as I have not the pleasure of being personally known to you, and have no right to expect that you would complacently receive oral counsel from a stranger—if I had arrogance so to give it,—I choose this method as being most convenient, and trust to the honesty of my desire to promote your happiness to shield me from any imputation or suspicion of unworthy motives."

The foregoing letter came to me through the post-office. My usual practice is to burn anonymous letters without reading them, the moment I discover what they are. This one is indebted for a different destination to the circumstance that there was no fire near at hand.

I regard its contents as proceeding from a spirit of friendship towards myself, and as deserving some notice which I cannot bring under the eye of its author, except through the columns of your very respectable journal. Who the writer is I do not know, and have not the least curiosity to learn.

He will perhaps be surprised when I tell him that I had reflected on all that is said in his letter, before I broached the plan of the association of liquidating the debt of the churches. I knew the difficulty of keeping complicated accounts, and that I am for such a task one of the most unfit persons that could be selected. It was precisely for this reason that I made the plan so simple. The collectors of sections mark "paid," the sums which they receive. They pay over to the pastor of the district the monthly aggregate, *and take his receipt for the amount.* The superintendent of districts pays over to me the monthly aggregate, returned to him by the collectors in districts, *and takes my receipt for the amount.* The amount received by me from the superintendents, and for which the receipts given by me are evidence, is to be distributed every three months to the trustees, and *their receipts taken by me for the same.* At the quarterly meeting these receipts are to be exhibited as vouchers, at every step of the proceeding; so that the contributor can track his money from hand to hand, until he sees it applied to the liquidation of the debt on the churches. Now, it seems to me that my part in this is exceedingly simple, and does not at all require that I should be acquainted with the arts and science of banking and of business.

But my correspondent would say—"but why not leave it to some one else? your office is too sacred and your reputation too dear to us, to be exposed to our suspicions and you know how apt we are to be distrustful and uncharitable."

Yes, I know all this, and am very sorry for it. And now I will give my reasons for having anything to do with the receiving and disbursement of this fund. 1. I am satisfied in my own mind that the fact of my doing so inspires the people at large with a confidence in the safety of the money, and the ultimate success of the plan, which no amount of business knowledge could inspire. 2. If I had not done so, we should be already divided into *parties*, about the person who should be Treasurer. 3. This division would mar and destroy the success of the collection. 4. If any other person can be named in whom the people will put the same confidence, I will most cheerfully approve of the appointment, and put him in my stead. 5. If suspicion *must* be, I can bear it as well as any one else, and better than a great many others. 6. And the reason why I am willing to bear it is, that it is, if it exists at all, confined to so few, and those few so insignificant, compared with the thousands and

thousands of those who have unbounded confidence in me, that their apprehensions do not weigh a feather in the scale of comparison. But in all this I may be mistaken, and if the person to whom my kind correspondent alludes will point out any one whose appointment as Treasurer, in my place, will not be an injury to the undertaking, I shall most cheerfully allow him to assume the office.

My unknown correspondent has not reflected as much on this subject as I have—or he would understand that something more is necessary for a Treasurer in these time than a knowledge of keeping accounts correctly. Hundreds of worthy men could be found among us, but the difficulty would be to obtain for them that general and unwavering confidence which the Catholics place in their Bishop, and which is *essential* to the success of the "Church Debt Association."

It now only remains for me to speak of Carroll Hall. This was a purchase which I never authorized. It was made in my absence, but without any authority from me. To remove a difficulty connected with the purchase of it, I consented to take the transfer of it, for the "benefit of the Catholics of New York." I did believe then, and I believe still that it would be to their great benefit to keep that property for uses to which it can be applied, for the unexpired term of the lease on it—19 years. But if they should think otherwise, they are by no means obliged to accept of it. At a proper time they shall have the option to accept, or not, the lease of that property. In the meantime it stands utterly clear of, and unconnected with, the "Church Debt Association." For the moneys that were taken at the meetings of that association, I have given receipts to those who collected it, and handed it over to me. This is as much as self respect permits me to say about it.

In fine my correspondent is mistaken in supposing that I would not receive his suggestions because he is not acquainted with me. I have nothing in view but the general good of the Catholic community; and if any one can point out an improvement in the means for attaining that good, not only will I receive and hear his advice, but be thankful to him for having offered it. I am sorry then that my unknown correspondent did not make the experiment, and save me the time which it has taken to write these remarks, as well as you the trouble of publishing them. I am very sincerely your obed't serv't,

✠ JOHN HUGHES, Bishop, &c.

[The meetings of the Church Debt Association were held every month for a year, and at nearly all the meetings Bishop Hughes was present and made short addresses, which were, however, only imperfectly reported, therefore it is not deemed advisable to publish them here. The last meeting was held on June 13th, 1842, when Bishop Hughes stated that the business of that meeting completed one year since the origin of the association. Its results would be published in a general Report, which would be an evidence of what can be done in this way. The Right Rev. Bishop alluded to the many circumstances of the past year, disadvantageous to the result

of the experiment. He did not seem disposed to press the continuance of the work in its present form, unless it should be generally insisted on by the people themselves. The same end might be obtained by each district appropriating immediately to the relief of its own church the amount of its contributions. The success of the present method, he said, depended on the fidelity and perseverance with which *each separate portion* should accomplish its part. The indifference of one section would chill the ardor of the other sections, and it was through reasonable apprehensions of this, that he did not deem it advisable, unless urged by the general wish, to continue the association in its present form beyond the close of the year from its origin. He concluded his remarks by expressing his thanks to all who had taken a zealous part in this work so essential for the relief of the churches and the advancement of religion. The total amount received by the association was over $20,000.]

INTRODUCTION BY THE RIGHT REV. BISHOP HUGHES TO MR. LIVINGSTON'S BOOK ON "IMPUTATION."

Within the last forty years, there has been, in the public mind of almost all Protestants nations, a growing disposition to reconsider the grounds of the great schism of the Sixteenth century, in consequence of which so many have been separated from the unity of the Christian Church. During this period, numerous conversions to the Catholic faith have occurred, among men high in rank and station, and eminent in the walks of science and literature. England, the Low Countries, Switzerland, and the different States of Protestant, as well as Catholic Germany, have all furnished remarkable instances. These examples, appeared, at the time, to have had no effect on the general feelings of the nations in which they occurred. Nevertheless, it is almost impossible, in the good providence of God, that they should not have had great influence in predisposing the minds of others remotely, and perhaps without their own consciousness of the fact, to take a more calm and sober view of the whole controversy. The new religions had been undergoing the experiment of practice, for nearly three hundred years, side by side with the ancient faith. The results were before men's eyes; and it required only a dispassionate and sincere mind to judge of them. On the one hand, the Catholics were seen held together, under the most adverse circumstances of civil and social relations, in the universal communion of one church. On the other side, Protestants always disagreed among themselves. Every effort made towards attaining unity, resulted, among them in fresh divisions. The Catholic Church was seen moving onward, amidst the convulsions and disorders of the times, in the same undeviating course which had been traced out for her from the beginning;—the Protestants, on the other hand, exhibited the new system of religion as resting on no permanent or immutable

basis; but dependent on temporal circumstances, and the vicissitudes and uncertainty of human opinion. Under the former, reason recognized the dominion of faith in all matters of revelation; under the latter, reason was made the judge of faith itself; and the practical consequences could be traced, from the wild and fitful outbursts of religious feelings, which marked the first days of the great schism, especially in Germany, down to the cold and Christ-denying speculations of its rationalism in our own times.

The individual instances, to which we have alluded, of a return to the ancient faith, must have served as occasions for bringing these comparative results before the minds of serious and reflecting men of both communions. But they must have done more. The Catholic religion had been represented as suited only to ages of ignorance and mental darkness; and *this* prejudice must have been confounded, as men of the purest character, and most powerful intellects, were seen, from time to time, passing over to Catholicism, in the full light of the nineteenth century. Such examples, and in increasing numbers, are witnessed from day to day. But within the last fifteen or twenty years, the controversy between the two communions has assumed new features, altogether favorable to Catholicity. Among the Protestant clergy on the continent, several distinguished authors have come forward to vindicate certain portions of ecclesiastical history as well as the character of certain Popes, from the foul aspersions and misrepresentations of the earlier Protestant writers. In England, on the other hand, the venerable *dogmas* of the Catholic faith have been, to a great extent, vindicated in the writings of the Oxford Tractarians. In both cases, it is to be remembered, that the testimonies in favor of truth are those of adversaries; but it is this circumstance that gives them additional weight, on the general bearing and issue of the great question. Protestants would not receive, generally, the testimony of Catholic witnesses on these subjects; but when some of the first men in their own ranks bear similar testimony, the effect is calculated to shake, to its very centre, the foundation of their prejudices against the ancient faith.

Accordingly, these writers are no longer to be regarded as individuals merely, but as leaders, representatives of whole classes; organs, giving utterance, with a faltering voice, to the uneasiness, doubts, and struggles that agitate the breasts of thousands of their Protestant countrymen. If there be one impression that has seized on the minds of all sects and parties, except themselves, with the grasp of a *conviction*, it is, that the Oxford movement must lead its votaries into the bosom of the Catholic Church. There is but one other alternative possible; and that is, that they should abandon the ground they have taken, retreat to the point from which they started, and rest satisfied with the religion which the laws of their country have prescribed for them. It is, however, a painful contest, between the spirit and the flesh. May Almighty God strengthen them by his grace, to accomplish the sacrifice which will best promote his glory, and secure their own salvation.

But the social as well as religious condition of England, at the present time, is enough to convince wise men that the country requires a spiritual renovation, which the barrenness of Protestantism is incapable of producing. The moral sympathies, that should knit and bind together all classes, have been ruptured or dissolved. The wealthy aristocracy, the poor, and the middle classes, which should blend into each other at a thousand points of social and religious contact, are as distinct and separate, except in the material relations of self-interest, as the castes of Hindooism. Pauperism, unknown in that country during Catholic times, is now universal throughout the land. The domains of the monasteries, and of the Church, were formerly the patrimony of the poor, of which the monks and clergy were as the administrators for their benefit; now these domains belong to the princes of Protestantism; and for the poor, *work-houses* have been constructed from the ruins of the abbeys. In Catholic times, the clergy, by their state of voluntary celibacy, left the resources of the poor almost undiminished; now, the whole church-livings are hardly sufficient for the extravagant modes of life and domestic ambitions of the married clergy. The extent of ignorance among the working classes, respecting the first principles of Christianity, would be incredible were it not attested by Reports of Parliamentary Committees. So that whether you regard the gilded corruptions of excessive wealth on the one side, or the squalid depravities of extreme destitution on the other; or contemplate the ignorance of religion, the infidelity, and desperate confederations of those who occupy the middle ground between them, it will appear evident, that the regeneration of such a people, even under the social aspect, requires the presence and the action of a religion which can infuse into its masses the warmth and vitality of the Christian virtues reduced into daily practice.

In alluding to these things as betraying, to the eyes of discerning Protestants themselves, the evidence of a moral and religious want, which the established church is obviously, through its own intrinsic deficiency, unqualified to supply, we would by no means present them as the only, or even a prominent cause, of the general movement which is now going on in England, in the direction of a return to the Catholic faith. No; we would rather believe, humbly, that the progress of this movement is directed through the operation of that Grace which is invoked by the united prayer of millions, for the conversion of the English nation. But neither is it to be forgotten, that God, in his designs of mercy, may make use of outward things as well as interior convictions, to hasten the period of their accomplishment. He must be but a superficial reader of *things*, who does not see, in the actual condition of England, what a powerful vindication of the Catholic faith, has been wrought out by the silent progress of human events—and what a deep stamp of failure has been fixed on Protestantism, as a social and religious experiment, by the same unspeaking, but intelligible test. It can hardly be supposed, that it was the mere learning or piety of the Oxford divines, that has

won for their views the sympathy and approbation of high secular powers in the state. Statesmen, no less than theologians, have advocated, and continue to advocate their views; and although these views do not yet avow the adoption of the whole Catholic truth, still, they are manifestly adverse to the essential principles of the entire Protestant system. Now, it is worthy of remark, that in every defence of these views which they have deemed it expedient to put forth, the moral and social, as well as religious condition of the country, entered into their grounds of justification. Indeed, so much is the case, that it is avowed in the brief title prefixed to the writings by which they have become so celebrated, "TRACTS FOR THE TIMES."

It is remarkable, under this view of the subject, that the Oxford divines should have overlooked the matter which is treated of in the following pages. Among all the errors owing their birth to the innovations of the sixteenth century, there is not one so subtle as that which the Reformers adopted on the subject of justification by faith alone. It lies at the root of the whole system of Protestantism. It pervades, with but little modification, the doctrines of all the various sects, comprised under that comprehensive term. To it may be traced the peculiar and distinctive moral, as well as social features, that characterize every community or nation in which it has prevailed. It has chilled every generous emotion of self-sacrifice, and Christian heroism, which the charities of the Christian religion are wont to excite in the human breast, and which the ancient faith knows so well how to cherish, and ripen into the means of temporal and eternal benedictions to the whole human race. Why is it that Protestantism has produced no institutions for the welfare of mankind, which can be traced to the inward efficacy of any of its principles, acting on the human heart and soul? no universities, no hospitals, no churches, no asylums for the poor? Some of all these, it has unquestionably produced; but there is not so much as one, that can be traced to the inward power of any principles of Protestantism operating silently and secretly in the souls of men. Human legislation will be found to have intervened in all the Protestant countries of Europe; whereas those same countries had been almost paved with such institutions resulting from the inward operation, without the aid of human laws, of the Catholic faith, in the hearts of men, before Protestantism began. Why has the latter system never produced a Xavier, an order for the redemption of captives, a Vincent of Paul, or even a Sister of Charity? No one could fill the place of either of these, without being prepared to offer himself a daily sacrifice, or if need be, once for all, for the good of his neighbor, which is only the second part of the LORD'S commandment, carried to its point of heroism; and why is it that Protestantism has never been able to inspire this heroism into a single member of its communion? Who has ever heard even of a Protestant Sister of Charity?

We know, indeed, that such works have a place in the theory of

the Protestant system; but in that theory itself, their sphere is restricted; within it, too, they are controlled by an arbitrary rule of divine economy; and even then, they are pronounced utterly unprofitable to the soul of him who performs them! How, then, can the Tractarians realize, in the Anglican communion, so long as this doctrine is not repudiated, those practical results which religion, operating internally on the hearts of men, is constantly producing in Catholic lands? Do men gather figs of thorns, or grapes of thistles?

Still, it must be admitted, that the idea of justification by faith alone, as it presents itself to minds trained up in the Protestant system is plausible and seductive. As this subject, however, is seldom treated of in a popular way, it may be well to give a brief statement of the question and a definition of the terms involved in it.

"Justification" is that action or operation of divine grace on the soul, by which a man passes from the state of sin; from an enemy, becomes the friend of God, agreeable in the divine sight, and an heir to eternal life. This act of transition from the one state to the other, with its operating causes, is called "justification." From the circumstance of its being a spiritual and interior operation, it is evident that it affords an opportunity for theological subtleties, to those who would make use of it; and at the same time, renders it difficult to expose the error which those subtleties may be employed to foster. The Church, therefore, has always preserved her ancient and orthodox teaching under the form of sound words—which heresy has ever betrayed itself by refusing to adopt.

Thus, in both communions, justification is acknowledged to be, as to its efficient source, from and through and by Jesus Christ, alone. But in the Catholic system, this justification, occurring in the modes of the Saviour's appointment, is not only the imputation, but also in the interior application of the justice of Christ, by which guilt is destroyed, pardon bestowed, and the soul replenished by the inherent grace and charity of the Holy Spirit.

According to the Protestant principle, justification is when a man believes with a firm and certain faith or conviction, in his own mind, that the justice of Christ is "imputed" to him. This is that "faith alone," by which they profess to be saved. The sacraments, for them, have no other end or efficacy, except as signs to awaken this individual and personal faith, so called, and as tokens of communion. Neither is it, that any intrinsic or interior operation takes place in the soul, by this, in which she is changed by a transition from the state of sin, now remitted and destroyed, to a state of justice wrought for her and in her, by the application of the merits and infusion of the grace of Christ. No; this is the Catholic doctrine. But, according to the Protestant principle, no such change takes place. According to that principle, the impious man is not made just, even by the adoption of God, or the merits of Christ. But leaving him in his injustice, it is conceived that his sins are no longer imputed to him, but that the justice of Christ *is* imputed to him. Thus a criminal is under guilt and condemnation; but in considera-

tion of a powerful and innocent intercessor, the chief magistrate pardons him. It is only by a certain fiction of thought and language that such a person can be considered innocent; or that his intrinsic guilt can be conceived of as still existing, but as imputed to the one who interceded for him, and the justice of that intercessor imputed to him. Such is the exact likeness of justification as taught in the theology of Protestantism. But it is to be observed, that the sphere which is assigned as the seat of this species of fiction, is the mind of God himself! The sinner is not intrinsically, or really justified, in this system, but we are told that God, on account of the merits of Christ, is pleased to regard and "repute" him as such; that is, God "reputes" him to be, what, in reality, HE knows him not to be!

St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans, speaks of the faith of Abraham as having been reputed to him unto justice. And Luther, to meet the exigencies of his case, seized on the letter of this passage, and distorted its spirit and meaning. God had made rich promises to Abraham and his posterity. The hope of this promise was in his son Isaac. And God, to try the faith of his servant, directed Abraham to immolate this, his only son, as a sacrifice to his name.

Such an order, under such circumstances, was calculated to throw deep and impenetrable mystery over the previous promises, treasured up in the mind of the patriarch. Nevertheless, he falters not in his confidence, but obeys without a moment's hesitation. He sinks all the apprehensions arising from the suggestions of flesh and blood, and in the simplicity of his confidence, prepares to execute what had been commanded. And it is only when his hand is uplifted to strike, that God manifests his acceptance of the will, which, however, embraced the work itself, that he is no longer permitted to execute.

Such was the faith of Abraham. But it is evident that it embraced the works, and that so far as obedience, will, intention, purpose, and even feelings, were concerned, Abraham had already completed the sacrifice. This, the same Apostle writes in the Epistle to the Hebrews, ii. 17. "By faith Abraham, when he was tried, *offered Isaac;* and he that had received the promises *offered up* his only begotten son."

As, however, the outward immolation was not actually or physically consummated, Luther was pleased to exclude it altogether from the faith of Abraham, contrary to the express words of St. Paul himself. The error of Luther has been incorporated, with but slight modifications, into the theology of all the other Protestant denominations. Hence the doctrine of salvation by "faith alone." By faith, to use their own phraseology, the sinner "seizes" on the merits of Christ—by believing firmly that they are "imputed" to him. It is not that by this, he is made just or innocent, but God is pleased to *declare*, to *suppose*, to *repute*—let us say it with reverence—to *imagine* him as such. It is all God's work, he has not the smallest share in it—and then, the seductive boast of the system, that thus, "all the glory returns to God, and nothing to man." Under the same plea, good works were decried as hindrances, rather than helps, in the matter of justification. It was supposed, indeed,

that by a necessary consequence, they would appear in the life of the believer, as the fruit and evidence of his faith. But, even then, they could be of no advantage to the soul. Neither could sin, except that of unbelief alone, defeat its salvation. To such a point of of insanity did Luther carry his doctrine on this subject, that he declares, that "if adultery could be committed in faith, it would not be a sin." "Si in fide fieri posset adulterium, peccatum non esset."—*Luth. Disput.* t. 1, b. 523.

This doctrine is the root of all those distinctive features of Protestantism, which place its moral, as well as dogmatical code, so much in opposition to the ancient teaching of Christendom, and of the Catholic world. Calvin moulded it into his own system of Election, Predestination, Reprobation, and Inamissible Grace. The different confessions of faith have mitigated somewhat the harshness of language with which it was first set forth in the writings of the two great Continental Reformers. But its substance pervades them all. The extent to which it has prevailed in the Anglican Church, which is supposed to have departed least from the ancient faith, will appear in the little work which is now presented to the public. And humanly speaking, there is no hope for the Protestant world, even through the piety and learning that are represented by the Oxford divines, until they themselves shall have burst through the intricate and subtle meshes of this elaborate net of primitive Protestantism. They seem to repine at not beholding among themselves those fruits of religion, which they witness among their Catholic neighbors. But how could they expect it, while they teach that man's righteousness is solely by the mere imputation of the righteousness of Christ—and that this imputation is by *faith* ALONE, to the utter exclusion of good works, either before or after justification? Do they not see that this system leaves them no ground whereon to place the fulcrum, or apply the lever of either a moral, religious, or social regeneration?

We would not be understood by these remarks, to assert or insinuate, that the moral virtues are not attended to in the practice of Protestant communities as well as elsewhere. Far from it. But it is seldom that the conduct of men is in strict consistency with their creed, and in the present instance it is well known, that Catholics living up to the principles of their holy faith, would be infinitely better than they are; Protestants, on the same grounds, would be immeasurably worse.

In the Catholic Church, every age witnessed the spectacle of thousands of individuals rising by the power of Grace, above the ordinary range of righteous living, and devoting themselves by a perpetual sacrifice of all that is selfish, for the good of their neighbor; and this for God's sake. Protestantism, after three hundred years of existence, cannot point out even one such example! Why is it? Now, the true type of the faith and the grace of the Catholic religion, is to be found in those higher examples to which we have just referred, —whilst, if you seek a corresponding type, something that will exemplify the essence of Protestantism, you must be satisfied with

the concentration of it in the coarse uncharitableness and unchristian exhibitions of it in Exeter Hall, and in kindred assemblies on this side of the Atlantic. It is true, and honorable as true, that the vast majority of Protestants, in both countries, look upon such exhibitions with regret, and virtuous indignation; but it is not less true, that for this, the genuine interpreters of their creed, regard, and denounce them as only half Protestants, and half "Papists." There is more of truth in this uncourteous statement than either side is aware of. Truth, and charity, and meekness, and patience, and all good works, are contemplated as implied conditions of justification in the Catholic system; whilst they are as implicitly discarded from the Protestant justification, except, indeed, as consequences which, it is supposed, must necessarily follow.

But the stumbling-block, with many, is the idea that according to the Catholic doctrine, man is himself the author, in part, at least, of his own justification, through the supposed efficacy of good works, and human merits; and that thus Christ is robbed of the glory which belongs solely to Him. Having stated briefly the Protestant doctrine, we shall now exhibit, with equal brevity, the Catholic teaching on the subject of justification.

The Catholic Church teaches, also, that Christ is alone the author and finisher of our salvation—that of ourselves we can do nothing without his grace—that all grace is the pure gift of God—that to Him belongs the whole and undivided glory. This is the faith of the Catholic Church. But from this point the two systems begin to diverge.

Supposing the existence of faith in the soul, which is regarded in the Catholic system as the "root of our justification," God imparts additional grace, by which it is increased and developed into the tree of a holy life, laden with its proper fruits of Christian charity. The operation of this grace is in the soul itself, renovating its powers, impaired and decayed as they had been by the contagion of original and actual sin. The sacraments are appointed channels by which Christ communicates this grace, and applies now, individually, to those who receive it, the merits of its own infinite sacrifice, once offered up on the Cross. He may communicate grace otherwise than by the sacraments, but however communicated HE is its source and author. One of the effects of this grace, is to enable the soul to *co-operate* with the inspirations which it communicates. Thus it disposes itself to receive further aid from heaven; and being still faithful in its correspondence with the new grace, it goes on in a progress of holiness, by which it approaches nearer and nearer to the perfect and adorable Author of its being.

In all this, what are termed good works, must necessarily enter. Sin must be avoided; for sin would displease God, and destroy his grace in the soul. Charity, the love of God, becomes the impulse by which such a soul is actuated. She will endeavor to keep the commandments, for this is given as the test of love. Nay, more, she will sometimes, for his sake, resolve on the sacrifice which is always necessary in order to accomplish those things which He has counseled,

—without having reduced them to the rigor of a universal precept. She will sell all that she has, and give it to the poor, in order to have treasures in heaven. Here the Catholic doctrine of the "merit of good works," comes in. Is it, that according to our faith anything that man can do, even with the aid of grace, creates a *right* in virtue of which he may claim a recompense from God? Certainly not. Is it that any works of his can enter, as a portion, into the price by which he was redeemed? By no means. Nevertheless, the Church teaches, founding her doctrine on the express word of God, and the excess of his goodness and mercy, that He himself bestows on works thus performed through his grace, for his sake, and his love, a merit which He will recompense with eternal rewards. But are these rewards on account of any instrinsic merit in the actions themselves as the mere works of men? Surely not. Long before Luther began to pervert the writings of St. Paul, St. Augustine declared in two words what had ever been, and still is, and ever will be, the faith of the Church on the subject, viz.: God in *rewarding* his saints, but crowns in them the effect of his own grace. Where, then, is there room for that calumny which the *radical* error of the sixteenth century put forth against the Church of God, viz.: that she robbed Christ of his glory in the justification of sinners, by making it partly the work of man himself? This calumny is still propagated, and by it thousands are prevented from returning to the fold of Christ.

We have exemplified the Protestant doctrine of justification by a human comparison; we shall endeavor to represent the Catholic tenet by another.

A man gives capital for trade to a number of persons who are utterly penniless and starving—more to one, less to another. He places them in a sphere of commerce, in which, if they are attentive, industrious, and prudent, they will acquire much wealth; but in such a way, that the measure of the increase is also owing to the goodness of him who gave the original capital. In this, two things concur to the same end—his liberality, and their co-operation; but can they glory on this account, as if their fortune was owing to themselves, or their works? Certainly not; and yet the same goodness of their patron, may induce him to reward, as merit in them, that industry with which they employed his money. And what is this, after all, but the lesson of our Lord's teaching in the parable of the talents—and for the proper use of which it was said, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant, *because* thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will set thee over many; enter into the joy of the Lord."

This is the doctrine of justification, as taught in the Catholic Church; the grace of Christ, which is his gift, is the capital, renovating the powers of the soul, and enabling her to enter into the commerce of charity, which has God and the neighbor for its objects, and by which "treasures," in the language of Scripture, may be laid up in heaven. See how this commerce has been carried on in the Church from the beginning! See the apostles, the martyrs,

the confessors, the virgins, the missionaries, the teachers of the ignorant, the friends of the poor, of the sick, of the captives, even buriers of the dead, give up the world, renounce their own ease, embrace voluntarily the mortifications of the Cross, and by a perpetual sacrifice of self, become the living, and, not unfrequently, the expiring victims of their love for their fellow beings, and of Him who died for all! The world has always been full of wickedness, and always will be; but, notwithstanding this, amidst its social convulsions, and its hereditary corruptions, see, how in every age since the beginning of Christianity, men rose and girded themselves up for Christ's sake, to battle in the armor of faith, and with the weapons of holy charity, against the peculiar disorders of the times. The infidel corsair sweeps the sea, carrying Christians into slavery. But the grace of Christ has inspired other Christians with the heroism of charity, by which they bind themselves in a solemn vow, to seek the captive in a barbarous land, to redeem him with money, or, if need be, to take on their own limbs the chains of bondage which they have stricken from his! Plague and pestilence are desolating the land, and thousands of delicate and tender virgins are ready to rush into the atmosphere of death, and ministering at the bed-side of the sick and dying, occupy the place which the cowardice of mere flesh and blood had caused even relatives to abandon! But all this, again, is through Christ, who inspires this supernatural courage, and crowns as merit in the members of his mystical body, the fruits of his own grace. Now, if such things occur at all times, and in all places of the Catholic Church; and if, on the other hand, the world has yet to witness the first example of them in the Protestant communities, does it not follow that there is, *there must be*, some deep and radical cause to account for the difference? Unquestionably, there is. The Protestant dogma of a forensic imputation of the merits of Christ, and of justification by "faith alone," explains it all. No other key is necessary.

It is not pretended that in the ordinary virtues of social and domestic life, Protestants are inferior to any others. Still, even these, it is manifest, derive no support from their doctrine of justification, and must be accounted for on other grounds. But above the range of every-day duties, performed in a genteel and respectable manner, where is there a name that stands prominent on the page of self sacrifice for the good of others? We have sometimes heard the names of Howard and Wilberforce mentioned as instances. They, certainly, especially the former, were above the ordinary standard in the reformed ranks; but yet how immeasurably below any corresponding type in the Catholic church! The one visited the institutions for erring and suffering, or destitute humanity, which had been founded by the spontaneous charity of Catholic lands, or the civil laws of Protestants states—and recorded the reflections of his mind, and the sympathies of his benevolent heart. Even this was much. The other poured out his eloquence, and his gold, if you please, to meliorate the condition of an afflicted portion

of his fellow men. But neither of them showed anything like a willingness to undergo themselves, for their Maker's sake, a portion of the sufferings they would mitigate or remove.

The Oxford school is the only one in the history of Protestantism that seems to have caught a ray of the light and warmth of Catholic faith on the subject of justification. Neither is this so manifest in what are called their principles as in the tone of a deeper spirituality, piety, meekness, and a desire to foster more the love of God, and of man. These feelings appear under the surface of their writings as if struggling for an issue, and a right direction. Hence the innovations with which they are charged. Fasting, confession, and most of the practical devotions of the Catholic Church, are reported to have found favor in their sight. But, alas! so long as the fundamental error of the Anglican system on justification remains, what *practical* progress can they make with the masses of their people? It is said they would establish Protestant monasteries; but who will be the monks? That they would have *daily* service in their churches; but who will attend the worship, except a few devout females whose hearts unconsciously obey the instinct of that Catholic faith against which their understandings have been so perversely instructed? That they would rid the churches of pews, so that, as in Catholic times, the rich and poor may worship together; but do they imagine that the haughty lords of England, who, fenced round in their exclusive boxes, will hardly kneel before their Maker, albeit they are tempted by soft and velvet cushions to do so,—will mingle in any direct contact of equality with the poor? No, no! such results cannot be anticipated, so long as both are taught to believe that justification is by "faith alone." But going beyond the precincts of the temple, how will the Oxford divines be able to infuse into the Anglican system any principle of spiritual fruitfulness, whilst *this* tenet prevails? How will they go forth to their rich and proud countrymen, preaching, like St. Paul, the "chastisement of the body," and the "crucifixion of the flesh?" How will they meet the dark, sour discontent of religious, as well as civil chartism, in the millions of their countrymen, with the words of the Saviour Himself, "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of God." How will they reduce to the simplicity of faith, and the obedience of Christ, the spiritual haughtiness and double-dealing of their middle classes? How, in a word, can they renovate their church, or distill a healing balm into any of the wounds, religious, moral, social, or physical, of their suffering land, so long as they and their countrymen remain alike paralyzed by the frozen grasp of the fundamental error of their system to which we have alluded? They may, indeed, preach and write with the force and eloquence, and even unction of a Chrysostom or a Paul, but yet so long as the present system of the Anglican Church remains, their words will return on them as feathers cast against the wind. Still, however, all these things are in the hands of God—who can employ the things that are not, to confound the things that are.

LECTURE BY THE RT. REV. BISHOP HUGHES ON "THE MIXTURE OF CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL POWER IN THE MIDDLE AGES,"

DELIVERED IN THE TABERNACLE, NEW YORK, DECEMBER 18, 1843, ON BEHALF OF THE IRISH EMIGRANT SOCIETY.

One of the largest and most intelligent audiences ever collected within the walls of any public building in this city, assembled in the Tabernacle to hear the Lecture of the Bishop. Some time before the hour specified in the advertisements, every seat in the house was taken up, and by the time the Lecture commenced the standing places on the floor and galleries were occupied in like manner. Probably no lecture ever before delivered in New York was so well attended, there must have been at least 3,500 persons present. On the platform, and among the audience were several of the leading divines of the Episcopalian and other Protestant denominations.

At half-past 7 o'clock precisely, the President of the Irish Emigrant Society, Robert Hogan, Esq., made a few introductory remarks.

When at length the applause had subsided the Bishop commenced his lecture as follows:

The mixture of Civil and Ecclesiastical power in the Governments of the Middle Ages—in other words, a blending or union of Church and State—a theme which has extended over the whole of Christendom, for the last 1400 years; a theme having its origin at the very root of modern States; which has grown up with their growth; which has, it must be confessed, produced much of the improvement that distinguishes the legislation of Christian countries;—but a theme, also, in the use or abuse of which tears and blood have been made to flow in mingled torrents.

A hundred folio volumes would not be sufficient to develop the origin and history, to analyze the connections and philosophy, to detail the benefits, and to point out the evils, which have resulted from this system. How, then, shall I be able to compress any adequate idea of it, into the lecture of a single hour? Success is more than I can promise; but I shall make the attempt, notwithstanding.

The reproach of having first sanctioned, or tolerated, this union of Civil and Ecclesiastical authority, in the government of mankind, is laid at the door of the Catholic Church. And some persons may suppose, that, for a Catholic Bishop to treat a question in which his Church and his order are so deeply implicated, is at once a bold and delicate undertaking. I have not myself any such feeling on the subject. First, because it is the genius of that Church to conceal nothing of her doctrines or of her history; since the scandals, as well as the good, which have marked her progress in the world, are woven up in the annals of her history, by her own best writers,

with the same impartial fidelity. And, secondly, I have no such feelings, because admitting that the Catholic Church was the *first* to tolerate or sanction such a union, I do not know the name of any Protestant, or other Christian denomination, that has hitherto practically discovered the error and repudiated the connection. As regards denominations, therefore, if this be a sin, we have all sinned alike. The doctrine is maintained with more dark and desperate determination in Russia, than it is in Italy. It finds more numerous, more obstinate, and, I will add, more able advocates, both among Statesmen and Churchmen, in England, than it does in Austria. It is cherished with as unrelenting a tenacity in Holland, in Sweden, and Prussia—indeed in all the Protestant States of Europe—as it is, or ever was, in any Catholic State. In fine, to show what a powerful hold this doctrine, as a principle, seems to have on the human mind, I may mention, that, while the majority of the clergy and people of Scotland go out from the Church-and-State dependencies, on a matter of fact, still they maintain the rightfulness of the union, as a true, and indisputable principle. If, therefore, this is the condition of Christendom in the meridian light and high civilization of the nineteenth century, there is no reason to blush for the Catholic faith, for having tolerated, or approved of the principle, in the rude and uncivilized condition of mankind in former ages. It is supposed, however, that such a union is a necessary doctrine of the Catholic Church. This is utterly false. It is no more a doctrine of the Catholic Church, than the destruction of the old Roman Empire —or the incursions of the barbarians, by which its fall was precipitated. It is simply a historical *accident*, in the annals of the Catholic Church. It happened so; but if Providence had arranged the outward affairs of the world differently, it would have happened otherwise.

I have said, that to this rule of union between Church and State, there is one—and only one—exception. This may surprise some of my hearers; but you may take the history of the whole human race, in all times, in all nations, under all forms of government, and wherever you find men living under any social organization, there you will find the Church and State united:—save and except the United States of America. That union, or, at least, the spirit of it, had been imported into these colonies, while they were in subjection to the English Government. It had been planted, had taken root, and had already yielded its bitter and bloody fruit, even in this virgin hemisphere. England withheld from these colonies those privileges of civil liberty, of which her people were so jealous at home. This led to resistance; resistance led to strife; and in the ranks of strife, men forgot their religious differences; Catholics and Protestants of every denomination stood shoulder to shoulder, until British authority was totally annihilated within their boundaries. Here, then, was an interruption of all hereditary legislation, the link of connection, in the whole social organization, had been broken; and a *new* State was to be formed, happily, at a period when civiliza-

tion was in a high state of advancement! The same men who had achieved the independence of the country, were equal to the task of forming a Constitution for its government; and the wisdom of that Constitution is as just a subject for our admiration, as the valor by which the right to make it had been won. It was framed for the government and guidance of a free people, who claimed to be free in their civil rights and opinions. It was framed to secure, at once, order and equality of rights; and, considering the purpose which it was intended to accomplish, I regard the Constitution of the United States as a monument of wisdom,—an instrument of liberty and right, unequaled—unrivaled—in the annals of the human race. Every separate provision of that immortal document is stamped with the features of wisdom; and yet among its wise provisions, what I regard as the *wisest* of all, is the brief, simple, but comprehensive declaration, that, "CONGRESS SHALL MAKE NO LAW RESPECTING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF RELIGION, OR PROHIBITING THE FREE EXERCISE THEREOF.

This event—forming an epoch in the history of Governments—took place more than half a century ago. It has hitherto found no imitators, among either the Protestant or Catholic States of the world; and the only nations that have hitherto followed the example even by the approach of remote imitations, are Belgium and France.

The subject on which I have to speak, is obviously too ample to permit that I should enter either into detail, or indulge in the critical business of citing historical authorities. In truth, it is rather the spirit and the philosophy of history, in regard to my subject, that must engage attention; but, at the same time, I would not have it to be imagined that I am about to draw a picture of fancy. On the contrary, I hold myself responsible for the historical correctness of what I shall advance, and am prepared with dates and facts, and special authorities from cotemporary historians, whenever it may be necessary to use them.

There is another remark, also, which it is important to keep in view, in considering the subject; and this is, that, in examining any complex historical question—especially a question which is connected with the development of civilization—we should not read the subject backward. If we were to ridicule or criticize Columbus and his associates, for not having made the discovery of America in steamers, this would be what I call reading history backward. His gallant little squadron was composed of almost open boats; and if he had not been able to accomplish such a discovery, even so, it is quite probable that the ocean would never have felt the power of steam.

There is an infancy, a growth, and development of the public mind, analogous to that of the individual understanding, with this difference, that, in nations, the progress counts by centuries, which, in individuals, is numbered by years. To judge the *past* by the the *present*, therefore, is absurd. The benefit of studying history at

all, consists in the wisdom which may be gleaned from it—and the wisdom can only result from the truth which it furnishes—and the truth can be discovered only by studying it in the proper manner. In fact, there is another great difference between the individual and public mind. The former is trained up by other minds, already ripened; but the latter has no senior tutor. The aggregate mind, in its largest sense, moves forward on the mysterious point, dividing two eternities—the past and the future. It has a certain measure of experience—a certain general idea of the ground over which it has travelled; but of its direction or tendency, in reference to the future, all is, at all given times, uncertain and unknown. There is a mysterious veil, at all times, hanging over the future, which moves onward in exact keeping with the advance of the present, so that men may preserve a vague recollection of what *has* happened; but no man is able to tell, with certainty, what is to come. Thus, looking back at the history of civilization, we can *now* discover that society has made many a curve, and many a pause, while those of whom it was composed imagined themselves to be always in motion, and always moving on a straight line. We suppose *this* to be the case in our own regard; but it is quite possible that the five-and-twentieth century, looking back to the nineteenth, will perceive how divergent from the straight line were the leading impulses and directions of our age. In fact, the public mind, in its progress, is like the course of a vessel at sea. It is obliged to tack on the one side, and on the other, sometimes even to recede, by the force of circumstances over which the pilot can have no control. To judge of its action at any given time of history, we ought to assimilate our own mind to the condition of the public mind, *at such a period.* We ought to *forget*, if possible, the experience which has been, since then, acquired; but taking our stand at the *origin* of any historical question, to travel downward with the current of its development, instead of absurdly rowing our shallow boat of criticism against its mighty stream.

The first period of the Christian Church was a period in which she knew the State only as the source of her sufferings and her triumphs. Almost all her pontiffs, from St. Peter downward, during three hundred years, sealed their mission by a glorious martyrdom. Her missionaries had extended themselves throughout the length and breadth of the Roman empire. They had penetrated countries where the Roman eagles had never been known or heard of. Her converts were numerous in all the provinces—in the capitol—in the army—in the Senate—and even in the houses of the Cæsars themselves. Still, the frown of the State was upon her; and to escape it she found a hiding-place in the catacombs of Rome. If she met the State at all, it was only at the tribunal of some consul or governor—or on the scaffold, to witness the triumph of some glorious member of her body, against whom the sword of the State was uplifted, for no other crime save that of belief in Jesus of Nazareth. At length, Constantine is triumphant over his rivals and his enemy.

He embraces the Christian religion; and the Cross, which had hitherto been the emblem of all that is vile, is now set in the imperial diadem as the most precious of its ornaments, and the most expressive type of its duties. The condition of the world, even the civilized world of the Roman empire, was lamentable in the extreme; and, unless it should be derived *from the Cross*, there was no hope of its renovation. Every department of society was depraved, not only by the natural depravity of man's heart, but that depravity itself was incorporated in almost all the legal and social institutions of the degenerate times. In the family, the father alone was under the protection of the law; the wife, the children, the slaves—or rather all were then slaves—had no protection beyond the caprice of the husband, the father, and the master. His order was enough to consign these, or any of them, even to public prostitution; against which, neither the laws of the empire, nor the morality of Paganism, opposed a barrier. Now, to allow, thus, disorder and corruption in the family, was to vitiate and corrupt the whole of society in its very root. Hence, the public crimes which history has recorded of that age, and those immediately preceding.

The people plundered by every petty officer of the government—the oppression and impotence of the rural and provincial populations—the licentious and unpunished conduct of the Roman soldiers—the debaucheries and cruelties of the imperial court, and all connected with it, present a picture which causes the heart to sicken at the condition of humanity at that period—the setting sun of old Roman civilization. As one fact, to give an idea of the times, I will mention that, during the hundred years which preceded the age of Constantine, the average reign of each emperor was but two and a half years; that, out of forty emperors, more than one-half had perished by a death of violence; that the Prætorian Guards and their prefect had put up the throne of the great empire, at public auction, to the highest bidder; and that the purchaser had scarcely time to wear off the novelty of his elevation, when he was murdered to create an opportunity for a new sale. Constantine moved the seat of empire to Byzantium, now Constantinople. His successors in the empire, with a few exceptions, fell infinitely below him in every attribute of talent, capacity, and virtuous greatness. Of his successors, it is sufficient to say, in general, that, with some few exceptions, they were lost in luxury and effeminacy; showing always a greater disposition to meddle in the metaphysics of theological disputation, than either to govern or defend their empire, according to the better morals of the law they professed. There is not a single dispute of the subsequent ages, in which they did not interpose their sovereign will, on one side or on the other. By joining with the Iconoclasts, or image-breakers of the eighth century, they prepared the way for the Greek schism; and the Greek schism, in its turn, prepared the way for their utter annihilation, by wrenching from their feeble hands, to be transferred to

the disciples of Mahomet, that sceptre, of which they were unworthy. When such weakness and such imbecility were at the head and heart of the Imperial Government, the events which occurred throughout its extremities ceased to be surprising. The barbarians of every name, and of no name, from the East and North of Europe, from the shores of the Baltic and the interior of Tartary, rushed into the empire, as if by concert, and inundated it with their savage and ferocious habits. Huns, Burgandians, Goths, and Vandals, all came in mingled confusion, to take possession of the undefended provinces, as of a rich but abandoned prey. Not by a single irruption—though even that would have been sufficient to extinguish the feeble remains of Roman institutions; but, wave after wave, from this inexhaustible ocean of ignorance and barbarism, rushed with destructive fury over the length and breadth of the Roman empire.

It would be wrong to say, that they had not brought with them certain rude elements, from which a *future* civilization might, under a propitious culture, be matured, and ripen. But their code of police was suited rather to the common good, in their common condition of a banditti of robbers, than to any state of settled, peaceable, and social life. The type of the civilization which they came to overthrow and extinguish was, in their mind, with all its developments and accidents, a type of effeminacy, which they held in the most sovereign and unutterable contempt. Of this type, they looked upon Roman legislation, Roman habits, architecture, books, learning, arts and sciences, as the pernicious offspring. Hence, they regarded them as things to be destroyed, with the same determination which had vanquished the authors of them. Lombardy, Gaul, the southern coasts of the Mediterranean, Spain, and other portions of Europe, the choicest of Imperial Rome, became the seat of their ravages and future habitations. Other hordes may have come subsequently to disturb their residence; but, finally, the whole remnant of Roman government, Roman laws, and usages, and institutions, are made to give place to the crude and barbarous habits of these ignorant, but warlike invaders of the North.

It would seem that, under such a catastrophe, there was no hope for the renovation of the human mind. The only models of government, which the ancient world had left, would seem to have perished.

Government and society, upon a large scale at least, must result from the exercise of *power* somewhere. But here were men, who acknowledged no power on earth, and hardly any in heaven; they may be said to have had no law, but their *own will;* and, it may further be said, that it was not in *their nature* to submit to any other.

Out of this chaos—not the deliberations of men, but the irresistible force of necessity, brought about, slowly, something like Civil Government. This government is stamped with all the rude prejudices of those on whose will its formation depended. Privilege,

distinction, power, were supposed to be the prerogative of the bold, the daring and the few; submission, obedience, degradation, were conceived as resulting from the natural distribution of things, in reference to the weak, the timid, and the many. Hence the formation of what, at a later period, when it became better organized, is known as the Feudal System.

In a period of social disorder, and the absence of all laws, except the laws of physical strength, *life* and *protection* are the first necessities of man. The common people, therefore, for the sake of life and the protection of it, attached themselves to the train of chieftains from whom these first claims of human existence might be expected. The chieftain was bound to provide for their subsistence and protection. They, on their part, as an equivalent, were bound to go to war with him; and to fight for him, in every quarrel, aggressive or defensive, which he might be pleased to undertake. They were his vassals; and he was, in the first stage, their *baron* or lord; afterward, when the system refined and developed itself more, this order was extended and diversified into lords and earls, and marquises and dukes. In this system, framed in such circumstances, it is hardly necessary to add, that the desire of extending their several territories, or of defending them, as it might happen—where all claimed the right of assailing his neighbor, when he found himself strong enough for the undertaking—must have produced incessant warfare. Those who were barons or lords, in reference to the vassals who were *dependent* on them, became themselves vassals, in regard to others, on whom they, in turn, felt dependence. Thus, the king might be regarded as the *head* baron of the nation; and yet, there are instances in which even he held his fief, as if he were a vassal to some of his own subjects. Naturally, this condition of things, wherever it prevailed, was calculated to retard civilization. It shows that the only thing held in high estimation was, not justice, nor arts, nor learning, nor moral rights of any description, but a brave heart, a strong bow, and stout arm. It is not surprising, therefore, that Europe should have been, then, as one great universal camp of war. Every castle was a fortress—every peasant a soldier—every baron a species of monarch, who could summon and sound to battle, whenever he pleased. The only spot that was neutral, was the Church and its sacred precincts. Nothing can prove this better than the institution of those times which is called, "Tréve de Dieu," or the "Peace of God." This was a rule, forbidding them to go to war from Wednesday evening till Monday morning, of each week. This was the first inroad made upon the determined martial, or rather predatory habits of those ages.

The first great variation from the monotony of interior confusion was the Crusades. The enthusiasm which that enterprise inspired, appears to us like a moral contagion. Like other great events, it produced its evil and its advantageous consequences. It tended to destroy serfage—that species of temperate slavery which prevailed in the Middle Ages. It exhausted the barons, and directed

against the foreign enemy those fighting propensities which they had hitherto indulged against each other. It enlarged the public mind, and imbued it with some notions of navigation, commerce, arts, and learning. After this period had passed away, literature begins to revive; universities are founded; the State begins to come out of the social relations, with features of greater distinctness. Order, at least of an imperfect kind, begins to take the place of brute force. The features of Feudalism begin to fade away; and, as we rise into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, we discover the public mind, as if gazing on the bright dawn of civilization such as, unhappily, the day has not realized. The East Indies, which had been lost from the map of the world during the Middle Ages, are re-discovered by Portuguese navigators. An Italian sailor plucks up a new hemisphere, from the untravelled waters of the Western ocean; printing is invented; architecture and the arts are all revived. Greek and Roman literature become a very passion; and the public mind seemed to enter upon a new career, with a young energy, an enthusiasm, a capacity, a ripeness for improvements, such as the world had never seen before.

Such is a general, but imperfect outline of what Christendom had passed through, up to the beginning of the sixteenth century. During the course of that century, a new species of warfare interrupted, as I would say (leaving to others the same right to hold a different opinion), the onward progress of the human mind. Hitherto the Christian commonwealth had preserved its unity; and if there had been wars, they had had for their object the things of the present world. Now, however, humanity is to be afflicted with the wars respecting the world to come. The question divided States as well as individuals; and each took the side which its conviction of principle, or its political interest, seemed to determine. Since that period, the progress of the public mind has not been proportionate to the advantages that had been acquired, and to the time that has since elapsed.

In the hasty view which I have taken, as to the condition of the State, during these ages, you will not suppose that I have purposed to exhibit anything like the *general detail* of society, or of the principles and feelings, which formed its inward and daily workings. For it happens, in history, that the things which are least honorable to human nature, are those which are most conspicuously displayed. Thus, to have an idea of our own times, of the state of morality in our country, or even in our city, future ages may have recourse to our laws, the records of our courts, and systems of police. All the rest will have sunk away and be forgotten, or remembered only in the institutions which private virtue shall have founded for the relief of cotemporary destitution. Indeed, viewed in this light, the Middle Ages will present features altogether different from those which the truth of history, and the nature of my subject, required me to exhibit. And as a proof of this, a distinguished English writer has published a work on these same ages, in no less than

eleven volumes, in which he shows clearly and with a depth and variety of erudition that are perfectly astonishing—that every portion of our blessed Saviour's sermon on the mount, was reduced to practice during that identical period. What, then, does the whole prove? Simply, that there was then, as there is now, a singular mixture of good and evil; with this difference, perhaps, that in the Middle Ages, both good and evil were vigorously carried out; while the simplicity of those times knew none of the artifices, by which our superior advantages enable us to conceal the latter, and to display the former, as much as possible.

It is now time to consider the Church, descending to us, step by step, and day by day, with that order of things in the State which I have just attempted to describe. It is manifest, not only by reason but also by the experience of all nations, that if moral power is to have any place at all in the estimate of legislators, this moral power must necessarily be founded on religion. Civil laws regulate the external actions of men; but religion extends to the interior workings of those affections of the human heart, which precede the outward action. Hence, too, it has been said by a philosopher, that if religion were banished from the social relations of men, society itself would become little better than pandemonium. It is not, then, wonderful that the Church, descending side by side with the succession of events, in the order of things I have described, should, by choice or by necessity, have exercised a remarkable influence on the nascent institutions of every age. She was the depository of the Christian faith—she preserved its inspired annals, the sacred Scriptures—she had learned from the lips of its Divine Author, the high and holy truths which it was important for mankind to know, and which it was her special mission to preach and to propagate throughout "all nations." Her sphere of action was in the midst of the world and among men, whatever might be the culture or the confusion of their condition. It is time, then, to consider what the Church is in itself, and what it was, historically, in its connection with the States of the Middle Ages. In itself, the Church is essentially independent of all States, and of all forms of government. Its true and primary office is to preach the doctrines of our Saviour. It received direct and absolute power from Him for that purpose. As a divinely appointed society, the Church has the right to make laws for her own government, and for the proper guidance of her members, independent of any power on the earth. If she has at times interfered with the civil prerogatives of temporal sovereigns, her right to do so is not founded on her *divine* character; but resulted, either from the concessions of those states themselves, or from the absolute exigency of circumstances.

It was impossible that, during the periods to which I have alluded, the Church should not have taken a prominent part in the affairs of Christendom. This is explained by the very nature of the case. From the very moment Constantine became a Christian, he professed a new code of moral law, which denied him, though Emperor

of Rome, the right to do evil, either in his public or private capacity. Every attempt which he made to reform the corrupt laws, and the yet more corrupt administration of them, under Paganism—which he had just renounced—naturally excited the opposition of those who still adhered to the bloody spectacles of the Amphitheatre, and the worship of Olympus. The new and more humane elements, derived from the Christian religion, and infused into the ancient legislative code, required new officers for their proper administration. These, where they could be found, were naturally taken from among the Christians; and certain departments were, by usage, if not by law, consigned to the bishops of the Church. Thus the unfortunate portions of the human race were especially placed under their care. The case of the widow and the orphan were consigned to their protection; prisoners, in like manner; the poor, the ignorant, and the slaves. From that moment it became necessary for the civil legislator, in abrogating old, or in enacting new laws, to consider how far they were in accordance with the moral principles of the Christian faith. The laws touching marriage and divorce, and others—lying at the very root of social existence—were obviously of this description. Hence, intercourse with the clergy, the acknowledged interpreters of the Christian faith, became a necessary consequence of the imperial transition from the old to the new system. The laws which he enacted subsequently to his conversion, and which are still found in the code of Theodosius the younger, show the effects of his new connection with the Christian Church. The Emperors had hitherto been absolute and despotic in their power—he puts limits to his own authority. The slaves had hitherto enjoyed little more legal protection than the ox of the field—he makes laws to protect them, and to prepare the way for their gradual emancipation. He mitigates the cruelties of Roman punishment; he restrains the rapacity of magistrates; he checks the injustice of the rich against the poor; he repeals the laws which authorize concubinage; he puts limits to the avarice of usurers; he takes precautions against the destitution of poor children, and provides for their support at the public expense. In reference to the Church, he authorized and encouraged the erection of temples, and the solemnities of public worship. The immunities which he conferred upon the clergy, as a distinct body, were exceedingly limited. He merely exempted them from personal taxation, and from public service; and it is remarkable that he conferred the same exemption upon physicians, and the professors of Belles-Lettres.

It does not appear that there was any formal union of Church and State, either expressly or implied, during his reign. And the influence which was exercised by the clergy in civil affairs, from that period until the total destruction of the empire in Western Europe, was entirely of a moral nature. The sanctity of their lives, in most instances—the more elevated character of their virtue—their sympathies for the wretched, their works of charity and zeal,

must account, principally, for the influence which they exercised during that period. That they began to be regarded by the people with veneration and affection, as their best friends, is undeniable, and easily accounted for. The authorities of the State, also, found among them men of superior learning, whom they often took to their counsels in critical matters appertaining to secular affairs. It was the age of the Augustines, the Leos, the Chrysostoms, the Jeromes, and the other great writers and fathers of the Christian Church. Already had the Church framed such laws as were required for the order of her clergy and the government of her members. These laws were founded on the new principles of Christian equity, and adapted, as a code of discipline, to the situation of the faithful. They were as canons—rules—the authority necessary for the execution of which rested, as a spiritual authority, in the Church itself. The highest penalty known to the Church, then, or at any time, was excommunication. But this spiritual weapon acquired, in the lapse of ages, and from another source, civil consequences which did not belong to it as an instrument of ecclesiastical discipline. Successive Christian emperors, either from a zeal for religion, or with a desire to promote the welfare of their people, took portions of this ecclesiastical discipline, and incorporated them with the civil laws in the jurisprudence of the State, attaching to the violation of them civil penalties, which it was never pretended the Church had intrinsic power to inflict. It is in this gradual and almost imperceptible manner that the mixture or the union of the two powers seems to have occurred. In our first popular view of the subject, we are apt to imagine that the Church and the State were two great tyrants, who, if they had kept separated, could not have accomplished much to the detriment of mankind; and who, for this reason, agreed to unite for the purpose of more effectually enthralling their common subjects. No phantom of the imagination can be more false or delusive than this. The union took place in the manner I have described; and at the period of its occurrence, it is quite probable, that neither the heads of the State, nor the authorities of the Church, had the slightest anticipations of the ulterior consequences to which it has led. It thus became incorporated in the imperial code of public jurisprudence, as we see by the compilations of the Emperors Justinian and Theodosius the younger.

As an instrument of government, however, even this code (of the Emperors Justinian and Theodosius the younger) perished with the fallen power of the Empire. The barbarians laughed at written laws; and when civil order, and government, and everything appertaining to the habits of organized life, had been overthrown by them, in their several irruptions, there remained hardly a hope for the restoration of society, except in the living authority of the clergy and the Church. Whatever may be our judgment of the question, in the happier organization of modern times, it is doubtful to my own mind, whether in such a universal crisis, the Church

would not have been recreant to her duty, if she had not rushed to the rescue of humanity. It is clear, that if her own doctrine and constitution had not been, according to the intention of her founder, indestructible, they too would have been carried away by the deluge of ignorance and barbarism which overswept the world. When the turbid waters had settled, all that remained was chaos; and on the Church devolved the work of the new creation. She alone, in the midst of the ruins, preserved the memory and all that survived of the annals of the times that had passed away. Entirely destitute of physical power, she could exercise but a moral force, which the rude nations entirely disregarded. The first thing necessary, is to win them over to the religion of Christ; and though the self-destroying virtues of that religion were but little heeded by those martial proselytes, still it was an important point, even for their temporal melioration, that they should be believers in the Christian doctrines, which they did not always practice.

Three things are obviously necessary for the formation and well-being of society; order, liberty, and the power of defence. It is manifest, that liberty, without order, is licentiousness; and the difficulty in the conditions of those new populations was, first and most of all, the absence of order. They were to be civilized; and this could not be accomplished without subordination. To say, then, that the interference of the Church, at that period, was a meddling with civil government, as the term is now understood, would convey an entirely false meaning. Properly speaking, there was no civil state in existence. All was confusion, rapine, tumult, and disorder. Yet, in all this chaos and confusion, there lay the germ of all our modern States, which would have perished, in all probability, had not the Church provided, as best she could, for its culture and future development. The clergy became, to a certain extent, and of necessity, the defenders of the weak against the oppressions of the strong. The Councils of the Church are no longer exclusively employed in defining the great truths of the Christain faith. The moral and social condition of the people, as well as of the clergy, engaged their particular attention. The civil power is everywhere paralyzed and rendered impotent, by the turbulent independence of chieftains; and the people—that is, the whole mass of the common people—are crushed to the earth, by the power which those chieftains claimed to exercise over them. In the enactments of several of the synods, during those ages, questions appertaining to the State are treated and disposed of. The council is a kind of mixed assembly—a species of general European Congress—in which, after the ecclesiastical authorities have transacted what appertains to doctrinal matters, princes and the heads of States take part in forming regulations affecting their own subjects; and this, for the obvious purpose of giving those enactments a greater *moral sanction*, as if coming from the approbation and authority of the Church. This was particularly the case with the great Council of Lateran.

It is to be remarked, that even under the Empire, the bishops

sometimes discharged the office of civil judges, in case the parties were Christians, and by mutual consent appealed to them for their decision. After the events we have described, and in the new order of things, this was still more natural and necessary. They alone had some idea of the ancient jurisprudence; and the people naturally flocked to their tribunal, rather than to the barbarous ordeals, or proofs by fire, by water, and by duel, which the Northmen were accustomed to employ. But the part which the bishops took in civilizing the legislation of States, is too extensive to allow me to dwell upon it in detail.

We must rather, now, raise our eyes to those great events, in which the head of the Church on earth incurred so much censure of modern times. We must not forget, that the system of government which then prevailed, and the influence of the Church, as diffused among the people, made it the constant interest of those who were unjustly oppressed by superior force, to strengthen their cause by whatever support might be derived from the sanction of religion. Hence the frequent appeals from the princes to the Pope, to shield their rights against the unscrupulous invasions of rivals and enemies. It frequently happened, that as all property or rights under the protection of the Church were deemed more sacred and inviolable, princes, for their better security, became vassals of the Holy See; and hence, the origin of those claims, which many of the popes cherished and enforced, to be regarded as the first rulers of the temporal, as they were, in reality, of the spiritual kingdom. It is, indeed, quite true, that not only some of themselves, but also some writers of their times, disposed to flatter their views, have contended that they inherited the one right, no less than the other, in virtue of their succeeding to the special powers which Christ conferred on St. Peter, for the government of the Christian fold.

Having once conceived this notion, we know that in some cases it was carried to an extravagant length. On the other hand, the population of Europe, rude as was their condition, professed themselves believers and members of the Church. The same persons were, also, members of the State; and the laws for their government emanating from this double source, instead of acting on them separately, were blended, in many instances, by the authority of the State alone, into a complex code of legislation, embracing both civil and ecclesiastical law. Thus it was assumed, that, as all were of the same faith, the two powers—though having their separate existence, in themselves—might be so united as to produce harmony of results, and contribute to the general good. Instead of this, however, the mixture seems to have led to perpetual strifes and misunderstandings. It would not be possible to enter upon the merits of a single controversy between the pope and any of the sovereigns with whom he so frequently disputed. It is true, that at times, and in the case of individual popes, the claim to exercise authority over what would now be called the civil affairs of this world, reached to an extent at which we, judging it by the standard

of the present day, look back with astonishment and wonder; until at length such claims naturally died away, when the causes, and the system of those ages which had called them into existence, ceased to operate and to exist. We look upon them as a strange anomaly in the history of Europe; but we must not forget, that they occurred at a time when its whole civil and social condition was made up of systematized anomalies. It is quite possible, however, that were we able to appreciate the necessities and circumstances in which those claims originated, we should think them perfectly natural, and come to regard them as having been instrumental, not only in the establishment of civil order, but, also, in the first planting, the first remote preparation of the very liberties and security which Christian nations now enjoy.

Whenever a striking and extraordinary development of any single moral power has occurred in the history of mankind, we may be assured that it is the result of some *latent* principle, deeply, though perhaps, silently working in the mass of the people, which *thus* finds a vent and a medium of expression. So in regard to the civil authority exercised by the Pope. We must seek an explanation for it far more adequate than the superficial idea of priestly ambition, working on the ignorance of the popular mind. Besides the direct spiritual mission of the Church, the popes, as her visible head on earth, have ever felt a deep and profound interest in the happiness and moral improvement of the Christian people. It was in the direction to promote that happiness, that order should be made to rise out of chaos, after the breaking up of the Roman Empire. It was in the same direction, that simultaneously with the establishment of order, the elements of civilized liberty should be gradually evolved out of the rude form of savage freedom, which the invaders had brought from the forests of the North. How could these objects be accomplished, except by bringing them under submission to moral authority? And there was no authority under heaven, before which those iron-hearted warriors would have submitted, except that of religion—in other words, of the Church. The pillage, and strife, and turbulence of the times, pointed out the exercise of this spiritual power as the only principle of common safety. It became recognized, acknowledged—even popular, as a mighty source of God's providence, for the conservation of human rights, during a period that threatened to overthrow them all. The law of the State, so-called was, with the exception of a few barbarous enactments, the law of the strong against the weak. But the law of the Church, framed in its code of discipline, to meet the exigencies of the times, in regard to the morals, both of the clergy and of the laity, was a code to which *all* professed submission. That law was no respecter of persons; it was the same for the noble, the prince, the peasant, and the serf.

You will see accordingly, in the history of those times, bishops and popes employing the spiritual weapon of excommunication and other censures, with a directness and independence which, viewed

in the light of our age, appear infinitely extravagant and almost inconceivable. Now, the sentence denounced against the people, or some of their factious leaders, for their insubordination to their rulers; and now it is fulminated with the same stern impartiality against their sovereigns themselves. The merits of the quarrels between individual popes and princes, are variously judged of in history; but there is one conclusion, which forces itself on the mind of whoever reads history dispassionately, and in the light of philosophy; which is, that apart from the mere personal passions and feelings of these individual popes and princes themselves, the principle of ecclesiastical censures, as applied to the temporal concerns of the people, was to reduce them into civil subordination; while its principle again, when directed against their sovereigns, was that, in enforcing subordination, the rights and liberties of the people should be preserved and protected, according to the public laws and the oaths of office by which those sovereigns had bound themselves to rule. If, again, you find the popes encouraging, and sometimes almost heading those military enterprises or crusades for the recovery of the Holy Land, falling in with the paroxysms of enthusiasm which they themselves had excited, it was because neither subordination nor liberty could be of any avail, unless the Christian nations of western Europe combined for their common defence. Religion was the only social bond of communion, on which those nations could be rallied; and had not the Church interfered for the purpose of uniting them, we do not see by what human means the followers of the Arabian prophet would have been prevented from overthrowing the nations of Christendom, and leaving western Europe to be found, at the present day, in the same condition as the Turkish Empire.

The philosophical analysis of the exercise of ecclesiastical power, putting aside mere party views, will show that, whatever may have been the intention of the popes, their influence, in point of historical fact, was directed to forming and maturing the three great principles on which civilized society can alone rest securely; namely, order, liberty, and public safety. It is acknowledged, on all hands, that they were men in advance of the civilization of their age; and it is impossible to conceive that the pope—without any physical force at his command; oftentimes unable to govern his own petty territory; frequently obliged, when he had just launched his sentence against some tyrant, to fly and hide himself—should have been able to find so general an acquiescence in that sentence, if he had not been, in those ages, the personification of some great popular principle, or social want, working in the hearts of the people themselves; but which, in such times, could not otherwise find expression or produce effect. Neither should this appear wonderful. The Church herself, in all her own forms of government, was, as she still is, a model of modified and admirably well-regulated democratic jurisprudence. In the Church, the principle of suffrage and election has ever prevailed. It was by election or merit, that the

clergy themselves were taken from the ranks of the people; and even the humblest member of the clerical body, according to the constitution of the Church might, by that principle of election, be elevated from one grade to another, even to the highest dignity. Many of the popes, even to the present day, were taken from the ranks of the people. Now, this model of the universal Church pervaded civil society at all times. It was constantly in action, before the eyes of the people, and could not fail to give them those primary notions of order and of liberty, by which their respect for mere physical strength and brute courage gradually gave way to their reverence for moral force and intellectual merit. The councils, also, furnished them with a model of *deliberative* and *representative* assemblies. For, let it be remembered, that this principle of election and representation is unknown beyond the limits of Christianity; and, even within these limits, is not derived from any idea of a "social contract," but from the living, practical, daily working, and example, of the social principles of the ancient Church.

It may be asked, however, what right popes could have had to meddle with sovereigns at all? In addition to what has already been said; viz.: that this meddling was in accordance with the usages of the times—it is to be observed that it was *then*, the only means by which limits could be put to regal and imperial despotism. A Christian sovereign was, by this means denied, and abriged of, the right of being despotic. He was sworn to fulfill the obligations prescribed at his coronation: and he was sworn under the implied and admitted penalty of being called to an account by the Church, if he afterwards violated his oath and became publicly perjured. But not for this cause, exclusively; if he opposed his subjects, contrary to the laws; if he outraged some great principle of Christian morals; if he would have two wives, at the same time; or in any other manner, glaringly violated his duty as a Christian, or as a ruler;—the modern idea, that a sovereign has a right to govern as he thinks proper, would have been for him of no avail. The eyes of his own subjects, and of Christendom, in such a case, would be turned upon the common father of the Church—remonstrance from the Pope would follow—after remonstrance threats; and if these proved fruitless, then came the celebrated "thunders of the Vatican;" the mere imaginary echoes of which, conjures up hobgoblins in the minds of grown up children, down to the present day.

Thus the Church, or rather the people, vindicating their rights through the head of the Church, tolerated no despot, no tyrant, on the thrones of Europe. Far be it from me to assert that this accidental power was not sometimes exercised in an arbitrary and improper manner, in mere passionate and personal quarrels, in which, beyond the personal motive, there is not a shadow of principle involved. But, at the same time, I have myself no hesitation in declaring the conviction, that it is to this power, rightly or wrongly exercised, that we are indebted for the advantage of re-

sponsible governments in modern times. The truth is, that the king or emperor, under this system, came to be regarded as only the supreme officer of the whole people; and that, while this system prevailed, even in its mitigated form, which has also long since passed away, the idea of an absolute government in Christendom was utterly unknown. Under it the representation of the public wants and public will grew up, in the form of Diets, General Assemblies, Cortes, and Parliaments; and the object of these assemblies was to circumscribe and regulate the power of the sovereign, no less than to define or enlarge the rights of the subject. The Cortes of Spain, while this jurisprudence was at least theoretically in existence, still were accustomed to tell their sovereign, at the opening of the assembly, "that each of them was equal to himself, and all united were more than his equal." We know what rights were exercised, and what limits were prescribed, for the royal authority in the Diets of Germany, and in the parliaments of France and England.

In those days, the "divine right of monarchy" never entered into the heads of men. Even in the eighth century, Pope Zachary, writing to the people of France, says: "The prince is responsible to the people, whose favor he enjoys. Whatever he has—power, honor, glory, dignity—he has received from the people. . . . . The people make the king, they can also unmake him." St. Thomas Aquinas, one of the greatest divines of the Church, in any age, lays down in his principles of theology, that Civil Governments are not by "divine right," but by "human right;" and that, "when anything is to be enacted for the common good, it ought to be done either by the whole multitude of the people, or by their representative." Even Bellarmine says, "it is false, that political princes have their power from God only; for they have it from God, only so far as he has planted a natural instinct, in the minds of men, that they should wish to be governed by some one. But whether they should be governed by kings, or by consuls—by one, or by many—by a perpetual, or temporary magistrate, depends upon their own wishes." In fact, so far as the Church had power to influence the thoughts and ideas of men, in regard to the responsibility attached to the exercise of power, this was the doctrine perpetually inculcated, and the working out of this principle, in the middle ages, was only different in form, but essentially the same in essence as at the present day. Then, it was accomplished through the medium of an excommunication; now, through that of revolution.

This doctrine was not a theory only, but reduced to practice. Bracton, one of the judges of Henry III. of England, writes, that "the monarch is called King (Rex) from governing well, and not from reigning; because he is king while he reigns well, but a tyrant when he violently oppresses the people intrusted to him." And he adds, that "*he* is not a king who rules by his own will, and not by the law." In the Council of Lyons, held in the reign of the same Henry, the English proxies, both of the Church and of the realm, pro-

tested against King John's grant of tribute to the Pope, as a nullity, and called on the council for redress—precisely because the King had made the grant WITHOUT THE CONSENT OF THE NATION. The Magna Charta itself—the old well-spring of all our liberties—was but the *written* text of the liberties which had been preserved, in the customs and traditions of the people, from the time of Edward the Confessor; but which, now, are reduced to writing, "signed, sealed, and delivered, by the parties thereto." Particulars in detail, however, must be omitted, in a subject like the present. It is sufficient to observe, that the old common law of England contained all the elements of perfect civil freedom; that a custom, "time out of mind," "whereof," in the old phrase, "the memory of man goeth not back to the same," was as good a title for popular rights and privileges, as any statute of both houses of parliament. And whence did these customs, usages, and common law, derive *their* origin? Unquestionably, from the principles of canon law, engrafted on the nation and ingrained into the people, through the medium of the clergy and the Church.

Hence, the obscure origin of those rights which we prize most, in the improved civilization of the present day—the just organization of the courts of justice—the character and condition of witnesses—the equality of right between the humblest subject and the sovereign himself—the rights of the accused—the forms and order of deliberative assemblies, and the universal rights of representation in affairs, such as taxes, connected with burdening the people. Time, and the improvements of the public mind, have contributed, no doubt, to perfect all these great instruments and formularies of public and social right. But if the course of human events, through the lapse of the middle ages, had not compelled the Church to interfere in the temporal concerns of States and sovereigns, it is altogether improbable that we should ever be blessed with their enjoyment. They do not exist in Russia, nor in Turkey; and although the Chinese Empire has enjoyed a certain dwarfish civilization for more than two thousand years, there has been no increase —no development in her social institutions; and she preserves to this day, among other evidences, that universal type of unchristian and barbarous nations, namely, hostility to foreigners. [The applause here was very great.]

It would be, however, a mistake to suppose, that the Pope in launching excommunications for civil crimes, had no rule of guidance; or, that the people paid any attention to them when they were palpably against their rights. The principle of excommunication was recognized; but the justice of its application, in such cases, was a matter of individual judgment, according to the merits of *each particular case*. Thus, there are instances, and particularly in reference to the dispute between King John and his barons, in which the people, and the bishops, too, disregarded the Pope's judgment, and even his censures, with as much true independence, as they would at the present day; not because they rebelled against

his authority, but because that authority had been exercised through the false representations of the monarch.

Strange and confused as this state of society seems to have been —this working and fermentation of all the elements of civil and of social order—yet it was in such a state of things that the rights of humanity, the limits and the duty of government, and the laws of nations, were brought out and defined. Toward the latter end of the period, which may be still included in the Middle Ages, arts and sciences and general literature were revived. The discoveries which were made became, or ought to have become, new instruments of greater development—particularly the compass, the discovery of gunpowder, and the press. But it is quite certain that liberty, and the protection of laws, and the cultivation of science, have not made, within the last three hundred years, half the progress they had made during the three hundred years previous.

Among the *evils* resulting from the system of mixing Church and State, may be enumerated that persecution which the State, or the Church, or both together, exercised in case of departure from the established faith. It certainly never was a principle of the Church, to coerce men's religious convictions. One thousand testimonies in every age will show her teaching to have been, that man's conviction of Christian truth, in order to be acceptable to God, must be sincere and voluntary; and yet, the history of these ages shows the extent to which, authorized by laws growing out of the union referred to, governments punished religious errors with temporal penalties. But it so happened, in the actual condition of society, every error, or heterodox opinion in religion, became a crime against the State; and it is equally true, that, for the most part, the advocates of new doctrines, in those ages, trusted not a little to their swords for the propagation or maintenance of their faith. Thus, the Donatists, in the fourth century, are assailed by the State; but not till after they had thrown the provinces of Africa into confusion by their violence. In the same century, some of the Priscillianists, in Spain, were put to death. The most celebrated bishops of the Church, however, in that age—such as St Martin and St. Ambrose—pronounced their anathemas against the authors of those executions. In fact, they were directed by the avarice of the tyrant Maximus, in order to possess himself of their property.

In the fifth century, Pelagianism, another heterodox system of religion, passed, without however exciting bloodshed or civil discord. The Iconoclasts, of the eighth century, instead of being persecuted, became themselves the persecutors. The Albigenses, in the twelfth century, appear to have been the objects of the most severe laws and measures recorded in the annals of those ages. Cotemporary writers describe them as persons who could not be tolerated, even at the present day, by any civilized government in the world. They were entirely distinct in their doctrines, and in their history, from the Waldenses—who appear to have been of a

simple, patient, and tranquil character. All this, however, did not save them from the intolerant spirit of the age. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are more distinguished for the wars which were carried on, under pretence of religion, but which, it may be safely suspected, had their origin more in the prospect of political advantages on either side, than in the love of truth, or the pure zeal for its triumph. The struggle appears to have been, between Catholics and Protestants, who should persecute the most—for, as I remarked before, the mixture of civil and ecclesiastical power which, in the early ages, was, as I conceive, the result of circumstances or necessity, has been kept up in all the modern governments of Europe, of every religious name, down to the present day.

If the Catholics have sinned, on this subject, as I am ready to concede, it cannot be denied on the other hand, that, in their regard, the iniquities of the fathers have been visited on the children, to the third and fourth generation. There is certainly no denomination of Christians, that has so little reason to be in love with Church-and-State-Unions, as the Catholics. In most Catholic countries themselves, that union holds their religion in a species of degrading bondage. In Protestant governments, they are grateful for the privilege of worshipping God according to the faith of their fathers; but the good things of the State are not for them. But other denominations have been, equally, made to feel the oppressions of this system. And it may have been a special providence of God, that this great unpeopled hemisphere should have been discovered, precisely at a period, when it could serve as a refuge and an asylum for the persecuted of every name, and of every creed. It was this system of Church-and-State-Union, which caused the Puritan pilgrims to seek a landing place on the rock of Plymouth, in Massachusetts. It was this, which caused the tranquil waters of St. Mary's river, in Maryland, to be disturbed by the bark of the Catholic pilgrims; and from that period to the present, whenever civil or religious liberty have been rudely invaded throughout the civilized world, the eyes of the sufferer have wistfully turned toward the home of conscience and freedom in the west.

It will be recorded hereafter as a glorious circumstance, in the annals of this country, that the *solitary* pilgrim, on arriving at these shores, no matter from what nation, has been met by the humane and liberal genius of the land, which inspired even his own countrymen to form societies for the purpose of his relief; and that these societies are sustained by the generous spirit and approbation of the whole country. It is now more than seven hundred years since Pope Adrian IV. made a present of Ireland to King Henry II. It is true, that the authenticity of the document has been been denied; but taking it for granted, it could never have entered into the mind of his holiness, that he was remotely preparing the necessity for the humane and charitable work, in which you, gentlemen of the Irish Emigrant Society, are engaged. It was not, however, the document, real or pretended, of the Pope, which transferred Ireland's

sovereignty to a foreign government. Even in that age, the Irish would have looked on such a document as so much blank parchment. But their own internal divisions made them an easy prey for the sword of the invader. During these seven centuries, they have been crushed and trampled to the earth. While both countries were Catholics they were denied the benefit of English laws. When a new religion was adopted in England, and when the monarch of that country—as those of most other countries, that embraced the change—made himself the single and only source, both of civil and ecclesiastical power, Ireland felt the benefit of English laws only in the bitterness of their proscription. She, however, for the most part, adhered to her first convictions; remained constant and faithful to her first love. Penalties have been inflicted; but they have produced no change. If penalties were still threatened, we should have no dread; but there is something else, which is now spoken of, and which comes within the legitimate range of my subject. The State, or its organs, are throwing out hints, as if the intention were now to effect an indirect union with the Irish Catholic, no less than the Irish Protestant Church. This, should it ever be attempted, will be presented as a measure of kindness. And we know, that in the treatment of the Irish Catholic people, by the British Government, kindness is the only temptation that never was tried. That it will be as unavailing as the rest, I have no doubt.

The people and their clergy—and above all, their faithful and vigilant hierarchy—will never, at this late day, permit the ministry of their religion to be polluted, or even brought into suspicion, by the touch of government gold. I have great confidence in all this. But I have greater still, in the mercies of God toward a long-suffering people. Still, if in the inscrutable counsels of Providence, such an event be yet in reserve, I should bow down in submissive adoration; but, while bowing, I should pray Him as a humble member of the Universal Hierarchy, that the day which should witness such humiliation, might be postponed until after I, at least, shall have been gathered to the sleep of my fathers.

STATE OF THE DIOCESE OF NEW YORK IN 1841.

"We feel much pleasure," says the *Freeman's Journal* of October 23d, 1841 "in laying before our readers the annexed highly interesting communication from the Right Rev. Bishop Hughes, on the state of the Diocese of New York:"

Dear Sir,—As a review of the state of religion in this Diocese cannot but be interesting to a large number of your readers, I purpose to furnish you with a brief sketch of the result of my observations during the recent episcopal visitation of the churches. It is to be regretted, that the limited time at my disposal did not

allow me to stay in the several places sufficiently long to become acquainted with the details of matters pertaining to this subject. But one thing gave me great consolation, as a general remark, that the congregations manifest a decided improvement in attention to their religious duties, and, in many instances, in their external appearance and the prosperous condition of their churches. This, I have reason to believe, is, in a great measure, to be ascribed to the temperate habits, which now almost universally distinguish the churches of the State of New York. The Clergy, with commendable zeal, have urged upon their flocks the advantages to be derived, not only in a temporal, but more particularly in a spiritual point of view, from a strict observance of that sobriety which is enjoined by the precepts of religion, but unhappily too often violated in the practices of men. In Albany, Schenectady, Utica, Rochester, and, with only one or two exceptions, in all the other congregations of the Diocese, there are Temperance Associations established, which include nearly the whole of the Catholic population. Wherever this change has taken place, the Clergy have given me assurance of the happiest results, even in cases in which there had appeared to be no ground of hope. The peace of families has been restored and remains unbroken—prosperity has been the reward of industry—and industry itself but the child of improved habits—and, as a matter of course, more of the comforts of life are enjoyed—more order prevails—and means which had been before wasted, or worse, are now applied to the clothing and education of children, whose neglected state, in the unhappy course of former times, was enough to excite pity in any breast. Thus much with regard to temporal consequences. But the Clergy have also assured me of the increase in the numbers of those who frequent the Sacraments, and that instances have occurred in which persons, who for years had been estranged from the consolations of religion, in consequence of intemperate habits, have returned, and, with an awakened sense of duty, have become edifying members of the flock, and patterns in their own families. Independent of these testimonies, my own eye was witness—in the general appearance of the congregations—the decorum and order, and external aspect of the people—to the blessed results of a return to the temperance which religion enjoins, and which no Christian ought to violate. There is but one thing connected with this reformation, to which I would direct the attention of the Pastors and their flocks—it is the remark that wherever Temperance Societies have proceeded on the ordinary principles of social organization they have not produced these unmixed sources of consolation. That is, when they have began their organization in the appointment of Presidents, Vice-Presidents, and other officers, and conducted their meetings as is usual under such organization, then, although temperance, as to abstinence from liquor, may have prevailed, yet intemperance in language—bitterness of feeling, and divisions, have but too frequently accompanied it. I would therefore recommend to the Clergy, and to the people of the differ

ent congregations, that wherever temperance Societies are to be established, the form should be as simple as possible. That which prevails so happily in Ireland under the auspices and untiring zeal of the great Father Mathew, is that which I would uniformly recommend—namely, that each member will receive simply the pledge, whether in one form or another, from the hands of his Pastor, and know no other duty, in consequence, than to keep it with fidelity. There is no necessity for external banding together for this purpose; and, wherever it has been attempted, by such banding and organization the evil consequences just alluded to have uniformly followed.

In a brief sketch, such as that which I now propose to furnish, it would be impossible for me to enter upon the improved condition, and increasing numbers of the several congregations. I have observed with pleasure the fidelity with which the Clergy in general discharge their duties to the utmost of their ability. Complaints have been rare—indeed, with one single exception, no such thing has occurred during the whole course of the visitation, and in that exception I was happy to find that the complaint was founded, not in any neglect of duty, or other ground of reproach on the part of the Pastor, but rather in unreasonable expectations and caprice on the part of those who had felt dissatisfaction towards him. During my tour I visited the churches of Albany, Troy, Schenectady, and the other principal towns, excepting those in the Northern District. In Albany, there are now two large and commodious churches, and it is found that these are not sufficient to contain the numbers of the faithful. An effort is being made by the German Catholics of Albany, who number from one hundred to one hundred and sixty families, to erect a church in which they also may enjoy the consolations of religion, through the medium of their own language. At present, however, I have no priest to send. But I am in the expectation that some missionaries from their native land may come to sympathize in their condition and administer to them those sacred rights which they were accustomed to frequent in the country of their birth. But, besides the church for their accommodation, another would be necessary for the members who speak the English language. In Troy there are also two churches; whilst in West Troy an additional church is much wanted. In the village of Lansingburgh, a church is also wanted for the number of Catholics residing there; and in the neighboring town of Waterford, Mr. Tracy has purchased a site, which he generously offers for that purpose; and the venerable Mr. Rawson, an aged and zealous convert to the Catholic faith, has promised a donation of five hundred dollars so soon as the undertaking is commenced. Still, at present, partly through want of means, and partly because there is no clergyman to be placed at their head, it would not be prudent to commence its erection. We may hope, however, that in a short time a clergyman will be found who will organize this congregation, and one or two others that might be attended from the same place.

In Schenectady—where but a few years ago, there was divine service only once in the month, by a priest from Albany—there is now a neat brick church, and a flourishing congregation, too large to be accommodated within its walls. Nearly every member of this congregation has joined the Total Abstinence Association. Between Schenectady and Utica, there is but one clergyman, whose principal station is at Little Falls. At present, the laborers on the enlargement of the canal constitute the largest portion of his flock, and amongst them also, I am happy to state, that improved habits, in consequence of temperance, prevail, and are rapidly gaining for them the regard and kind feeling of the neighborhood in which they are employed. In Utica there are two churches—one purchased recently by the German Catholics of that city and neighborhood, for whom I am, as yet, unable to procure a clergyman. This effort, however, made in the hope of obtaining a pastor, is an edifying proof that these emigrants have not waxed cold in their attachment to the faith. The other portion of the Catholics is under the care of the Rev. Mr. Martin—whose labors for their welfare are the theme of every tongue. There are in this neighborhood two churches, with their congregations, at present without a pastor. These vacancies we may also hope soon to supply from those who are now preparing in the Theological Seminary at Rose Hill. The next station westward is Rome. So few were the Catholics in that village but a short period since, that the idea of erecting a church was deemed extravagant, and the proposed building quite unnecessary. Yet it was undertaken, and we were delighted to see, standing on an eminence that overlooks the railroad and the town, a beautiful church of Grecian architecture, erected on ground that was gratuitously given by Jasper Lynch, Esq., the original proprietor of the village. Not only did this gentleman give the site, but he also most generously contributed towards the erection of the building, the beautiful portico of which was entirely at his expense. Here also, the congregation is so large as to make it probable that in a short time even this building will not suffice for its accommodation. There are, besides, in the neighborhood of Rome, a very large number of German Catholics and Canadian emigrants, who, on account of the difference of language, cannot be so well provided for in their spiritual relations even if the pastor were able to attend to so many.

From Rome—so expeditious is the travelling by the great Western railroad—it was the business of but a few hours to reach the next station, that of Salina. Here the congregation is less fluctuating, as the numbers and the increase, though perhaps not as large as in other places, are more permanent owing to the steadiness of employment afforded by the extensive salt works. Of the two villages of Syracuse and Salina, it was long doubtful which was destined to become the more important; but for some years past events have determined in favor of the former. A very large number of Catholics have settled in Syracuse, and they are now engaged

in an effort to erect a church in that place. In the mean time they form part of the congregation of Salina, for which the church, originally conceived to be too large, has been found entirely inadequate to afford the requisite accommodation. The worthy and zealous clergyman in this place has not deemed it necessary to establish a temperance association, inasmuch as without it, his flock has become remarkable for sober and abstemious habits. From Salina, the next station was Auburn, where I had not time to make such delay as I could have wished. The congregation here is very small and does not appear to increase. It is visited but once a month by the pastor, who has to attend to two other congregations, those of Seneca Falls and Geneva. In this mission the only increase at present apparent is in the congregation at Seneca Falls. This is to be accounted for principally by the encouragement there afforded for manual employment, and the inducements which extensive improvements going on in that neighborhood, hold out to mechanics or laborers. The church at Geneva has, however, had but little prosperity. It has now been erected ten years, yet the number of Catholics connected with it now are not greater than they were at the time of its erection. The state of the pecuniary affairs of this church may be quoted as an instance of that mismanagement which is but too general, unfortunately, for the interests of our religion and our people. This church was originally constructed at a cost of about two thousand dollars, of which twelve hundred were raised by subscription, and paid at the time. Since then we are not aware of any improvements requiring further expenditure having been made, yet, strange as it may appear, the church now stands indebted to the amount of nearly three thousand dollars—a sum more than double its actual value! The management of the affairs of this church has been in the hands of persons appointed in the ordinary way as trustees, whose intentions have doubtless been good, but who have, nevertheless, been so unhappy in accomplishing their designs, as to present the unfortunate result just stated. There can be no doubt that some measures are absolutely essential to correct the evils of the present system of managing church property. The idea has been extensively cherished that the clergy of the Catholic Church should not interfere in the management of its temporal concerns. For my own part, I believe the idea has been the cause of much detriment to religion, both as regards its spiritual progress and the temporal means that are dedicated to its support; for, the consequence has been that the clergy have naturally declined all interference. They have not chosen to incur fatigue, and labor and annoyance, which would earn for them, not the gratitude of those apparently most interested, but which would bring down their censure. And yet it has been found that these same clergymen who are not deemed competent to have even a voice in the distribution or economy of the church funds, have always been looked to as the persons whose duty it was to provide these funds. But on themselves, the effect has been that they have become less interested in propor-

tion as they were deprived of their rights of interference and power of doing good. The trustees of this church were enabled to show to their own satisfaction how the strange accumulation of debt has been effected, but I confess that I could not comprehend the explanation. But neither do I for one moment entertain any other opinion than that these persons had undertaken a task for which they have been by no means qualified, and without intending to mismanage the affairs of the church, that those affairs have been most unaccountably mismanaged. The very lot, or rather one of the two lots on which the church stands, and which had been paid for years ago, was allowed to remain so implicated in the general property of the individual of whom the original purchase was made, that it became subject to sale by a mortgage held by him. This lot was actually permitted to be sold, and now the additional sum of two hundred and fifty dollars will be required for its release. This is, perhaps, a strong case in illustration of the evils of a system which requires correction. But other cases, more or less to be regretted, are to be found in almost every part of the diocese. Even in one case so far had these men carried their pretentions that they determined in opposition to the will of the clergyman, that the altar should stand in the west instead of the east end of the building because it pleased them to think it would look better there! The result of my observations in reference to this subject it is my intention to make known as soon as I can find leisure to arrange the notes I have already prepared. It is most important for the Catholics that a more concise, and responsible mode of managing the temporal affairs of their churches than that which has hitherto prevailed should be introduced.

The short period of time that I was permitted to spend at Geneva was necessarily occupied in examining into this melancholy state of the temporal affairs of that church, and as my engagements required my presence at Rochester on the following Sunday, it was not in my power to meet the assembled congregation of Geneva. There is, perhaps, no city or town in the Diocese in which there is a prospect of a more permanent increase in the members of the Catholic Communion than in Rochester. There are at present two churches, both large and commodious. For those who speak the English language the erection of an additional church has been deemed of pressing necessity, and measures have been taken for that purpose; whilst the numbers of the German Catholics, in and about Rochester, equally require that new provision should be made for their accommodation. Accordingly, two respectable members of the Ligorian Society, who have at present charge of the congregation, have purchased ground, and are making arrangements for the erection of a new church suited to the wants of the people. It may be remarked that Rochester was one of the first cities to introduce the principle of the temperance association. Long before it had been spoken of in any other Catholic congregation in this country, and even before it had been taken up by Father Mathew in Ireland, it

had been introduced in the congregation of the Rev. Mr. O'Reilly of Rochester, with the happiest effects, which are still visible. Besides these congregations already established, the large and increasing numbers of Canadian and French Catholics in Rochester and its neighborhood encourage them to solicit the presence of a clergyman, who could speak to them in their own language. It is not in my power at present to send them one; nevertheless, their good dispositions, and zealous efforts, shall not be forgotten, and as soon as the opportunity offers of engaging for them a clergyman of their own nation, it shall certainly be taken advantage of for that purpose. Seven miles from Rochester is the township of Greece, settled to a very considerable extent by Catholics. They have not had at all times the undivided attention of any clergyman, although one of the first measures adopted by them after the settlement in the place was to secure the erection of a neat and appropriate church, in which now they have regular service every Sunday. The members of this congregation are for the most part agriculturists, some of them owning highly improved plantations, and all the others possessing some portion at least of the soil on which they reside. During my visit, and at their pressing solicitation to have a clergyman permanently residing amongst them, I appointed as their pastor the Rev. Dennis Kelly.

It will be seen by these hasty remarks that my time did not allow me to visit the many interesting and important congregations which are in the neighborhood of all these principal stations, both between Geneva and Rochester, and the latter place and Lockport. Not only on the main *route*, but also back from it, there are many scattered members of our Communion, cut off, unhappily, by their isolated position from enjoying the consolations of the public exercises of religion.

EXTRACTS FROM BISHOP HUGHES' JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE ACROSS THE ATLANTIC.

Mr. Weed, in one of his letters from London in 1843, to the Albany *Evening Journal*, says:

I stated in a former letter that I should have occasion to speak of Bishop Hughes again, and if I now say less of him than I then intended, it is because a longer and more intimate acquaintance with him, has imposed restraints that may not be disregarded. Nor will I, with the Atlantic between me and the country, the friends, and the home of my affections, willingly say aught to wound those who hold my views upon the public school question as erroneous. Waiving these topics, therefore, I shall now content myself with saying that Bishop Hughes is destined to exert a powerful influence over the minds of men. He is in the prime of life, with tastes and habits and aspirations which will not rest while there are treasures of

knowledge unexplored; and next to the sacred office to which he has been consecrated, he is desirous of promoting the general welfare of his fellow citizens. He believes it to be not less the privilege than the duty, of classes of men, to dedicate their whole time and talents to the enlightenment of the mind, and the alleviation of the sufferings, and the elevation of the pursuits of their countrymen. He believes that the spirit of the age, scarcely less than the genius of our institutions, eminently demands this service from the gifted men of a Republic which is becoming the "seat of Empire." That he is a CATHOLIC who will exert his utmost efforts to vindicate and extend his religious principles, is most true; but that he is also a patriot and philanthropist in the broadest and most enlightened sense of the terms; and that he will devote a clear head and a warm heart to the advocacy of rational freedom, of universal education, of pure morals, and those true Christian virtues, Charity and Peace, is equally true.

Four years ago, in crossing the Atlantic, Bishop Hughes encountered a heavy gale, an account of which he then committed to a journal kept for the eye only of his sister. On our passage, while I was conversing with him on a sermon he had that day preached on board, in which he had dwelt very eloquently on the power and wisdom of God as displayed in the "mighty deep," the Bishop referred to the storm he had once witnessed, and on a subsequent day read to me the account he then wrote of it. This struck me as one of the most graphic and beautiful descriptions of a gale that I ever met with. Believing that this extract from the Bishop's journal will interest others as it did me, I obtained his reluctant consent for its publication, promising to state the fact that it was hastily written on board ship, in obedience to a request of a sister that he should keep a journal of his tour for her, and without the slightest expectation that it would ever come in contact with types and printing press:

* * * * OCT. 20.—Oh, what is there in nature so grand as the mighty ocean? The earthquake and volcano are ever sublime in their display of destructive power. But their sublimity is terrible from the consciousness of danger with which their exhibitions are witnessed—and besides, their violent agency is impulsive, sudden and transient. Not so the glorious ocean. In its very playfulness you discover that it *can* be terrible as the earthquake; but the spirit of benevolence seems to dwell in its bright and open countenance, to inspire your confidence. The mountains and valleys, with their bold lineaments and luxurious verdure, are beautiful; but theirs is not like the beauty of the ocean; for here all is life and movement. This is not that stationary beauty of rural scenery, in which objects retain their fixed and relative positions, and wait to be examined and admired in detail. No, the ocean presents a moving scenery, which passes in review before and around you, challenging admiration. These gentle heavings of the great deep, with its unruffled surface—these breaking up of its waters into fantastic and varied forms;

these haltings of the waves, to be thrown forward presently into new formations; these giant billows, these sentinels of the watery wilderness—all, all, are beautiful—and though in their approach, they may seem furious and pregnant with destruction, yet there is no danger, for they come only with salutations for the pilgrim of the deep, and when they pass her bows or stern retiring backwards, seem, as from obeisance, to kiss their hands to her in token of adieu.

Oct. 31.—This day I was gratified with what I had often desired to witness—the condition of the sea in a tempest. Not that I would allege curiosity as a sufficient plea for desiring that which can never be witnessed without more or less of danger to the spectator; and still less, when the gratification exposes others to anxiety and alarm. Let me be understood, then, as meaning to say that my desire to witness a storm was not of such a kind as to make me indifferent to the apprehension which it is calculated to awaken. But aside from this, there was nothing I could have desired more. I had contemplated the ocean in all its other phases—and they are almost innumerable. At one time it is seen reposing in perfect stillness under the blue sky and bright sun. At another, slightly ruffled, and thence its motion causes his rays to tremble and dance in broken fragments of silvery or golden light—and the sight is dazzled by following the track from whence his beams are reflected—whilst all besides seems to frown in the darkness of its ripple. Again it may be seen somewhat more agitated and of a darker hue, under a clouded sky and a strong and increasing wind. Then you see an occasional wave, rising a little above the rest, and crowning its summit with that crest of white, breaking from its top and tumbling over like liquid alabaster. Now as far as the eye can reach, you see the dark ground of ocean enlivened and diversified by these panoramic snow-hills. As they approach near, and especially if the sun be unclouded, you see the light refracted through the summit of the wave, in the most pure, pale green, that it is possible either to behold or imagine. I had seen the ocean, too, by moonlight, and as much of it as may be seen in the dark, when the moon and stars are veiled. But until to-day I had never seen it in correspondence with the tempest.

After a breeze of some sixty hours from the north and northwest, the wind died away about four o'clock yesterday afternoon. The calm continued until about nine o'clock in the evening. The mercury in the barometer fell, in the meantime, at an extrordinary rate; and the captain predicted that we should encounter "a gale" from the southeast. I did not hear the prediction or I should not have gone to bed. The "gale" came on, however, at about eleven o'clock; not violent at first, but increasing every moment. I slept soundly until after five in the morning, and then awoke with the confused recollection of a good deal of rolling and thumping through the night, which was occasioned by the dashing of the waves against the ship. There was an unusual trampling and shouting—or rather

screaming on deck, and soon after a crash upon the cabin floor, followed by one of the most unearthly screams I ever heard. The passengers, taking the alarm, sprang from their berths, and without waiting to dress, ran about asking questions without waiting for or receiving any answers. Hurrying on my clothes, I found that the shriek proceeded from the second steward, who had, by a lurch of the ship, been thrown, *in his sleep*, from his sofa, some six feet to the cabin floor. By this time I found such of the passengers as could stand at the doors of the hurricane-house, "holding on," and looking out in the utmost consternation. This, I exclaimed mentally, is what I wanted, but I did not expect it so soon. It was still quite dark. Four of the sails were already in ribbons. The winds whistled through the cordage; the rain dashed furiously and in torrents; the noise and spray scarcely less than I found them under the great sheet at Niagara. And in the midst of all this, the captain with his speaking trumpet, the officers, and the sailors, screaming to each other in efforts to be heard, and mingling their oaths and curses with the angry voice of the tempest—this, all this, in the darkness which precedes the dawning of the day, and with the fury of the hurricane, combined to form as much of the *terribly* sublime as I ever wish to witness concentrated in one scene.

The passengers, though silent, were filled with apprehension. What the extent of danger, and how all this would terminate, were questions which rose in my own mind, although unconscious of fear or trepidation. But to such questions there were no answers, for this knowledge resides only with Him who "guides the storm and directs the whirlwind." We had encountered, however, as yet, only the commencement of a gale, whose terrors had been heightened by its suddenness, by the darkness, and by the confusion. It continued to blow furiously for twenty-four hours; so that during the whole day I enjoyed a view which, apart from its dangers, would be worth a voyage across the Atlantic. The ship was driven madly through the raging waters, and even when it was impossible to walk the decks without imminent risk of being lifted up and carried away by the winds, the poor sailors were kept aloft, tossing and swinging about the yards and in the tops, clinging by their bodies, feet and arms, with mysterious tenacity, to the spars, while their hands were employed in taking in and securing sail. On deck the officers and men made themselves safe by ropes; but how the gallant fellows aloft kept from being blown out of the rigging was equally a matter of wonder and admiration. However, at about seven o'clock they had taken in what canvas had not blown away, except the sails by means of which the vessel is kept steady. At nine o'clock the hurricane had acquired its full force. There was now no more work to be done. The ship lay to—and those who had her in charge only remained on deck to be prepared for whatever of disaster might occur. The breakfast hour came, and passed, unheeded by most of the passengers; though I found my own appetite quite equal to the spare allowance of a fast-day.

By this time the sea was rolling up its hurricane waves; and that I might not lose the grandeur of such a view, I fortified myself against the rain and spray, in winter overcoat and cork-soled boots, and in spite of the fierceness of the gale, planted myself in a position favorable for a survey of all around me, and in safety, so long as the ship's strong works might hold together. I had often seen paintings of a storm at sea, but here was the original. These imitations are oftentimes graphic and faithful, as far as they go, but they are necessarily deficient in accompaniments which painting cannot supply, and are therefore feeble and ineffective. You have, upon canvas, the ship and the sea, but as they come from the hands of the artist, so they remain. The universal *motion* of both are thus arrested and made stationary. There is no subject in which the pencil of the painter acknowledges more its indebtedness to the imagination than in its attempts to delineate the sea storm. But even could the attempt be successful, so far as the *eye* is concerned, there would still be wanting the rushing of the hurricane, the groaning of the masts and yards, the quick shrill rattling of the cordage, and the ponderous dashing of the uplifted deep. All these were numbered among the advantages of my position, as firmly planted, I opened eyes and ears, heart and soul, to the beautiful frightfulness of the tempest around and the ocean above me.

At this time the hurricane was supposed to be at the top of its fury, and it seemed to me quite impossible for winds to blow more violently. Our noble ship had been reduced in the scale of proportion by this sudden transformation of the elements, into dimensions apparently insignificant. She had become a mere boat to be lifted up and dashed down by the caprice of wave after wave.

The weather, especially along the surface of the sea, was thick and hazy, so much so, that you could not see more than a mile in any direction. But within that horizon, the spectacle was one of majesty and power. Within that circumference, there were mountains and plains, the alternate rising and sinking of which seemed like the action of some volcanic power beneath. You saw immense masses of uplifted waters, emerging out of the darkness on one side, and rushing and tumbling across the valleys that remained after the passage of their predecessors, until, like them, they rolled away into similar darkness on the other. These waves were not numerous, nor rapid in their movements; but in massiveness and elevation they were the legitimate offspring of a true tempest. It was this elevation that imparted the beautifully pale and transparent green to the billows, from the summit of which the toppling white foam spilled itself over and came falling down towards you with the dash of a cataract. Not less magnificent than the waves themselves, were the varying dimensions of the valleys that remained between them. You would expect to see these ocean plains enjoying, as it were, a moment of repose, but during the hurricane's frenzy this was not the case. Their waters had lost for a moment the onward motion of the billows, but they were far from being at rest. They

preserved the green hues and foamy scarfs of the mighty insurgents that had passed over them. The angry aspect they presented to the eye that gazed, almost vertically, upon their boiling eddies, wheeling about in swift currents, with surface glowing and hissing as if in contact with heated iron; all this showed that their depths were not unvisited by the tempest, but that its spirit had descended beneath the billows to heave them up presently in all the rushing convulsive violence of the general commotion. But mountain and plain, of these infuriated waters, were covered, some on the very summit, and on the lee "side" of the waves, with the white foam of the water against which the winds first struck, and which, from high points, was lifted up into spray; but in all other places, hurled along with the intense rapidity of its motion, until the whole prospect, on the lee side of the ship, seemed one field of drifting snow, dashed along furiously to its dark borders by the howling storm.

In the mean time our ship gathered herself up into the compactness and buoyancy of a duck—and except the feathers that had been plucked from her wings before she had time to fold her pinions—she rode out the whirlwind without damage, and in triumph. It was not the least remarkable, and by far the most comfortable circumstance, in this combination of all that is grand and terrible, that, furious as were the winds, towering and threatening as were the billows, our glorious bark preserved her equilibrium against the fury of the one, and her buoyancy in despite of the alternate precipice and avalanche of the other. True it is, she was made to whistle through her cordage, to creak and moan through all her timbers, even to her masts. True it is, she was made to plunge and rear, to tremble and reel and stagger; still she continued to scale the watery mountain, and ride on its very summit, until, as it rolled onward from beneath her, she descended gently on her pathway, ready to triumph again and again over each succeeding wave. At such a moment it was a matter of profound deliberation which most to admire, the majesty of God in the winds and waves, or His goodness and wisdom in enabling his creatures to contend with and overcome the elements even in the fierceness of their anger! To cast one's eyes abroad in the scene that surrounded me at this moment, and to think man should have said to himself, "I will build myself an ark in the midst of you, and ye shall not prevent my passage—nay, ye indomitable waves shall bear me up; and ye winds shall waft me onward!" And yet there we were in the fullness of this fearful experiment!

I had never believed it possible for a vessel to encounter such a hurricane without being dashed or torn to pieces, at least in all her masts and rigging; for I am persuaded that had the same tempest passed as furiously over your town, during the same length of time, it would have left scarcely a house standing. The yielding character of the element in which the vessel is launched, is the great secret of safety on such occasions. Hence when gales occur on the wide ocean there is but little danger; but when they drive you upon

breakers on a lee shore, when the keel comes in contact with "the too solid earth" then it is impossible to escape shipwreck. I never experienced a sensation of fear on the ocean—but the tempest has increased my confidence tenfold, not only in the sea but in the ship. It no longer surprises me that few vessels are lost at sea—for they and their element are made for each other. And the *practical conclusion* from this experience of a gale is encouraging for all *my* future navigation. I shall have confidence in my ship now, as I have ever had in the sea. Ever since my eyes first rested on the ocean, I have cherished an instinctive affection for it, as if it was something capable of sympathy and benevolence. When calm it is to me a slumbering infant. (Your own Moses, for instance.) How tranquilly it sleeps!—no trace of grief or guilt is on its forehead—no trouble in its breast. It is a mirror in which the clear blue sky beholds the reflection of its brightness and purity.

LETTERS ON THE MORAL CAUSES WHICH PRODUCED THE EVIL SPIRIT OF THE TIMES.

BISHOP HUGHES TO MAYOR HARPER, IN REFERENCE TO ATTACKS MADE ON HIM BY EDITORS OF CERTAIN NEWSPAPERS.

To the Hon. James Harper, Mayor of New York:

Sir,—I am in the receipt of a letter from a young "Native American," signed with his proper name, in which he advises me that he has provided himself with a "poignard," by which I am to "bite the dust." If he had not put his name to this document, I should have destroyed it, as my rule is with all anonymous communications, without even glancing at its contents. I cannot answer such a correspondent; but placing his letter in your hands, if you wish it, I shall pursue the tenor of my way, and be found wherever my duties as a Catholic Bishop and a citizen of the United States require me to be. I hope that I am at peace with God; I know that I am at peace, so far as in me lies, with all men; and thus I am ready to yield my life into the hands of its adorable Author, when and as He may dispose.

But if my correspondent should execute his own prophecy as he says, I deem it proper to have put on record such matters as are due to my own reputation, and to my country, at a moment like the present. I shall be somewhat tedious; but I bespeak your patience—for I wish to say to all, and it may not be so convenient at another time. I shall use no term of reproach or bitterness in reference to matters of recent occurrence, on which too many have already been uttered. No man deplores more deeply the melancholy results of intemperate discussions, whether on one side or on the other, in a sister capital, than I do; and for months past it has been my study to avert similar scenes in this city. From the moment when a new party was commenced, based on the principles of hostility to a particular religion, and to foreigners, even though naturalized, I anticipated the results with the deepest apprehension for the peace of the community and the honor of the country. Not that I dispute the right of men, in the abstract, to form themselves into combinations on any principle which their duty to their country sanctions; but topics of this description were, as I conceived, too exciting in their nature. From a very early period, I prevented the only papers that affect to represent Catholic interests from opposing either of the principles in the progress of the new party. When the private interest, or enterprise of individuals, urged them to establish newspapers, intended expressly to oppose the progress of "Native Americanism," and to uphold the constitutional rights of foreigners of all religions, I peremptorily refused to give either patronage or approbation—foreseeing, as I imagined, to what point such antagonism must lead. I even caused certain articles to be published, which should fall under the eye of a large portion of my own flock, and which might caution them against the temptation of retaliating insult in arraying themselves in opposition to the principles of this new party. I caused them thus to be reminded that, if those principles were wrong, time and the good sense of the community would be the best remedy; whilst Catholics, and, above all, the Irish Catholics, were entirely unfitted to apply a corrective. I had the consolation to witness the good effects of this advice, so that boys and young men could march even in the night, through streets almost entirely occupied by Irish Catholics, with fife and drum, with illuminated banners, bearing such inscriptions as that of "No Popery" as a public and political device! It is not for me to say whether the Native American party had, or had not, a right to adopt such devices, and display them through such a population. But even supposing they had the right, was there not some-

thing due to the weakness of poor human nature? to the religious rights and feelings of men, under our Constitution? to the peculiar susceptibility of the Irish, and especially in reference to this identical subject, which reminded them of the hereditary degradation from which they thought to have escaped when they touched these shores?

I am grateful to Almighty God, that notwithstanding these injudicious exhibitions, no accident or disturbance has occurred during the progress of the movements which have placed you in your present honorable station. And I would to God! that under all provocation, a similar forbearance had been practiced in Philadelphia. Yet, notwithstanding all my solicitude and efforts, so feverish and morbid, so bewildered and diseased, had the public mind become, in certain quarters, on the subject of POPERY, that a lie of not more than five lines, circulated through any of our papers which might desire to create riots, would have been sufficient to have produced the most fearful results.

My name and character were assailed in every public meeting of your special constituents. I was abused as a politician;—as a meddler with the laws;—as an intriguer with parties; and a man not only capable, but actually designing to invade the liberties of the country. The fearful crisis, which I claim the merit of having prevented, in this city, but which has left its melancholy stigma in another city, equally dear to me, has rendered these calumnies against my character so important, that I now meet my accusers in the triumphant manner which you will see, before the close of this communication. But before I enter further upon my subject, I must tell you a few words respecting myself, which, being of so little importance to the public at large, I shall make as brief as possible. It is twenty-seven years since I came to this country. I became a citizen, therefore, as soon as my majority of age and other circumstances permitted. My early ancestors were from Wales; and very possibly shared with Strongbow and his companions, in the plunder which rewarded the first successful invaders of lovely but unfortunate Ireland. Of course, from the time of their conversion from Paganism, they were Catholics. You, sir, who must be acquainted with the melancholy annals of religious intolerance in Ireland, may remember that, when a traitor to his country, and for what I know, to his creed also, M'Mahon, Prince of Monnaghan, wished to make his peace with the Irish Government of Queen Elizabeth, the traitor's work which he volunteered to accomplish was "*to root out the whole Sept of the Hughes.*" He did not, however, succeed in destroying them, although he "rooted them out;" proving, as a moral for future times, that persecution cannot always accomplish what it proposes. In the year 1817, a descendant of the Sept of the Hughes came to the United States of America. He was the son of a farmer of moderate but comfortable means. He landed on these shores friendless, and with but a few guineas in his purse. He never received of the charity of any man; he never borrowed of any man without repaying; he never had more than a few dollars at a time; he never had a patron, in the Church or out of it; and it is he who has the honor to address you now, as Catholic Bishop of New York.

I am aware that a certain lady, who writes for one of the Boston papers, has given both her own name and mine, in connection with the statement that I "entered the service of Bishop Dubois as a gardener, and that he having discovered in me the stuff which bishops and cardinals are made of, with intellect enough to have governed the Church in its most prosperous times, educated me on the strength of this discovery." I would just remark, with all respect for this amiable, but as I must say, silly lady, that she is mistaken, and exhibits only the "*stuff the Boston papers* are made of." My connection with Bishop Dubois was in virtue of a regular contract between us, in which neither was

required to acknowledge any obligation to the other. I, however, felt that the kindness of that venerable and saintly prelate, and the friendship which included me with so many other young men to whom it was extended.

I entered the college the first day, an utter stranger to Bishop Dubois until then. I was to superintend the garden as a compensation for my expenses in the house, until a vacancy should occur by which I might be appointed a teacher for such classes as I should be fit to take charge of. I continued in this way, during the first nine months of my stay at college, prosecuting my studies under a private preceptor. The rest of my time, between seven and eight years, I continued to prosecute my own studies, and, at the same time, to teach the classes that were assigned me. At the end of that period I was ordained priest, and stationed in Philadelphia. Here my public life commenced. After eleven years from this time, I was sent, not by my own choice, to be the Assistant-Bishop of New York. I had formed, during these years, friendships ever to be cherished in many of the most respectable families, Protestant as well as Catholic, in Philadelphia. I refer to them, without distinction of creed, for what was my character as a clergyman and a citizen.

If, sir, you will weigh all these circumstances, you will perceive immediately that, were I a person of the character assigned to me in the late denunciations of those who assail me, it is hardly probable that I should be now occupying, by the judgment of others, the situation in which I am placed. I am a citizen. I understand the rights of a citizen, and the duties also. I understand the genius, the constitution, and history of the country. My feelings, and habits, and thoughts have been so much identified with all that is American, that I had almost forgotten I was a foreigner, until recent circumstances have brought it too painfully to my recollection. This, and other matters yet to be treated of, must be my apology for bringing into public notice anything so uninteresting as my personal history or private affairs. The retrospect, however, has brought back to my mind the recollections of youth. I perceived, then, that the intolerance of my own country had left me no inheritance, except that of a name which, though humble, was untarnished. In the future, the same intolerance was a barrier to every hope in my native land; and there was but one other country in which I was led to believe the rights and privileges of citizens rendered all men equal. I can even now remember my reflections on first beholding the American flag. It never crossed my mind that a time might come when that flag, the emblem of the freedom just alluded to, should be divided, by apportioning its *stars* to the citizens of native birth, and its *stripes* only as the portion of the naturalized foreigner. I was, of course, but young and inexperienced; and yet, even recent events have not diminished my confidence in that ensign of civil and religious liberty. It is possible that I was mistaken; but still I cling to the delusion, if it be one, and as I trusted to that flag on a *Nation's faith*, I think it more likely that its stripes will disappear altogether; and that before it shall be employed as an instrument of bad faith towards the foreigners of every land, the white portions will *blush* into crimson; and then the glorious stars alone will remain.

Since my arrival in New York, my public and private life has been devoted sedulously to the duties of my station. One of the first things that struck me, as a deplorable circumstance in the condition of my flock, was the ignorance and vice to which the children of Catholic and emigrant parents were exposed. I had the simplicity to believe that, in endeavoring to elevate them to virtue and usefulness through the means of education, I should be at once rendering a service to them, and discharging a duty to my country, the latter of which, especially, would be appreciated by good

men of all creeds. I intended to take such measures as might be necessary for this purpose on my return from Europe, in the year 1840, without, however, having exchanged, so far as I recollect, opinions with any one on that subject. But I found, on my return, that it had been sufficient to attract the attention of the public authorities, and had become a public topic in the annual Message of the Governor of this State. I found, also, that like other topics of that date, it was instantly turned into a political question, even by the people who had not—though most interested—the discernment to understand the patriotism and humanity by which it had been dictated. Meetings had been held upon the subject; intemperate language had been used; disorder, and almost amounting to violence, had characterized those meetings; and for these reasons I resolved to attend them in person—expressly for the purpose of keeping out an unfortunate class of political underlings, who had been accustomed to traffic in their simplicity. In these meetings, held from time to time, the question was discussed—the imperfect education afforded by our own charity schools—the vast numbers that could not be received at them, and would not be sent to the schools by the Public School Society—on account of the strong anti-Catholic tendencies which they manifested, through the medium of objectionable books, prejudiced teachers, and sectarian influences. This was followed by a respectful petition to the Common Council of the city. Before that Council I was permitted to state the grievances complained of. A discussion took place, growing out of remonstrances against the petition, and it was finally rejected by almost a unanimous vote. This the portion of the people who considered themselves aggrieved in the matter had anticipated. But this was necessary — before submitting the case to the Legislature of the State. In due time, however, petitions were forwarded, signed by a large number of citizens, both Catholics and Protestants, natives as well as foreigners. The prayer of this petition was received favorably, because it seemed to be but reasonable and just. A bill to remedy the evil was drawn up, I think, by the Superintendent of Schools, and, if I am not mistaken, passed the House of Representatives. It was at the close of the session, and lost in the other House. Of the fitness of its provisions to remedy the evil I am altogether unable to speak; but it was believed by all that the Legislature, as soon as it could understand the nature of the grievance, and the necessity for a remedy, would not fail to remove the one and provide for the other. Accordingly, the question, notwithstanding the many folds of misrepresentation and prejudice in which its numerous opponents endeavored to involve it, was making much progress in the public mind. Meetings continued to be held from time to time, with open doors and free admission. Protestants as well as Catholics attended, and sometimes took part. I attended them all, expressly for the purpose of seeing that politics should not be introduced. Matters thus progressed,—the advocates of the measure being divided, according to their predilections, between one party and another. But the opponents of the measure, in the meantime,—numerous and zealous as they were,—had not been idle, but had presented the question to the public in every false light that ingenuity could devise, as may be seen by referring to whole pages of their calumnies, at that time, about an "Union of Church and State," &c., which have been refuted and forgotten. Just previous to the election, when, as it appears, parties had made their nominations for the Legislature, the opponents of education (except with infringement of conscience) called upon the voters of both parties to send no one to Albany unless such as should give a pledge, before election, to refuse the prayer of the petitioners. For this fact, I refer to the editorials of that date of the *Commercial Advertiser* and the *Journal of Commerce*,

among other papers of the city. This plan was acted upon instantly, and to an extent which left the petitioners no alternative but to vote for men pledged in their face to refuse what they regarded as simple justice. Hence, in spite of all my efforts to prevent, the question forced itself in a political form on the attention of the people, who claimed one thing—namely, education—without another thing—namely, the violation of their conscience,—but which the *Commercial Advertiser* and its allies would not allow to be separated.

The very last meeting of the friends of education, previous to the election, was the moment when this unworthy stratagem came under public attention. A number of individuals, who were versed in these matters, had, however, taken the precaution to ascertain, that certain candidates had refused to sign the pledge; and were ready to go to Albany free to vote for the prayer of the petitioners, or against it, as their own sense of justice towards their constituents might dictate. Others had already given their promise against it. These persons then suggested that names, without any hopes of election, but simply to exercise the right of voting on, should be substituted to make up the deficiency. I claimed it as my right. I regarded it as my duty, on that occasion to urge those who were friendly to a large portion of the neglected children of New York, to vote for no man who had pre-judged their case, in the hope of being elected; and who had bound himself to refuse them the protection of the laws, whatever might be the justice of their case. My argument was this—urged with all the limited powers of reasoning that I possessed—that they deserved the injustice and degradation of which they complained, if they voted for judges publicly pledged beforehand to pass sentence against them. Of course, in a speech of some twenty minutes, I must have developed this argument, and presented it in every variety of form, capable of making it understood, and pointing out the more liberal attitude of those who, as not being pledged in favor of either side, were left free, to do impartial justice in the premises. If this was a political speech, then have I made one political speech in my life. There were high-minded, well educated, and honorable Protestant gentlemen present, and to whom I appeal with confidence, that — twisted or turned by perverse ingenuity as it might be, my speech amounted to the principle just laid down—to the development of it, and nothing more. But there was a reporter of Bennett's there, who made such a speech as he thought proper—which was afterwards, as I have reason to believe, fitted up for the purpose of producing one of Bennett's "tremendous excitements," and making the "'Herald,' always the first and most enterprising paper in New York." Having taken this report—having studded it with the gems of his own ribaldry, and made some half a column of editorial comments, in all that mock gravity of which Bennett is capable, the "Herald" of the next morning became the *basis* and *fountain* of all the vituperation, calumny, and slander, which have been heaped on "Bishop Hughes," through the United States, from that day until this. From the "Herald" the report was copied into the "Commercial Advertisers" of that afternoon—the editor, Colonel Stone, taking special care to substitute the words a "morning print," instead of Bennett's "Herald," lest his own views of the question might be injuriously affected by the character of his authority, if that authority were known. Then followed the commentaries and columns of abuse which filled the other papers, and ran throughout the country, each editor adding (particularly while the delusion lasted) his own editorial for the benefit of his readers.

I must, however, do several of the city papers the justice to say, that either they are more honest or better informed, than their colleagues of the press; they understood the question, and declined to take any part in the

hue and cry that was so malignantly raised about it. It is equally due to truth to say also, that several others after they had discovered their mistake, retreated from the position which they had first assumed. But the occasion was too good for the purpose of certain parties, not to be improved for their ulterior designs. Accordingly, as the occupants of many of the pulpits of the city had entertained their congregations with political sermons on the School Question, for months before,—so also, for months after, whatever might be their text from the Bible, the abuse of the Catholic religion under the nickname of papacy, together with all the slang, and all the calumnies furnished by the *New York Herald*, the *Commercial Advertiser*, the *Journal of Commerce*, and other papers of that stamp, was sure to make the body of the sermon. By this process the minds of the people were excited, their passions inflamed, their credulity imposed upon, and their confidence perverted. Then came the new party. It is impossible that the training of the pulpits should not have predisposed a large number of persons to join in the movement, which they had been taught to believe as a duty of their religion. Who can read without horror the denunciations, the slanders, the infuriated appeals, which have been spoken and written; in which Heaven and earth have been mingled together in a confusion of rhetoric and passion, to promote the objects of this new combination. It has succeeded in our city, and I for one am not sorry at it. But at the same time, if that portion of the citizens who have been so atrociously abused, had not had the good sense, the patriotism, the love of order, which enabled them to restrain themselves, even under the greatest insults that can be offered to the feelings of men, it is impossible to tell what might have been the consequence. Closing, then, this sketch of the question in so much as it relates to others, I shall now call your attention to something which is personal to myself.

Sir, I pretend, and I think I shall be able to prove to you, that these slanders, originating in Bennett's *Herald*, the *Commercial Advertiser*, the *Journal of Commerce*, the *New York Sun*, and for a moment, (but for a moment,) the *Evening Post*—that these slanders,—repeated, embellished, enlarged, and evangelized from many of the pulpits of the city—that these slanders, re-echoed in the public lectures of the Rev. Mr. Cheever and other clergymen of his spirit—that these slanders forming the staple of political excitement in the association which placed you in the honorable chair you occupy, and which, I am happy to say, as far as I know, you are worthy to fill,—I think I shall be able to prove that all these slanders, I say, were, and are, and will be to eternity, slanders, and nothing more. You, of course, will be astonished at reading this declaration. You will think it impossible that so many respectable editors, so many eloquent orators, and, above all, so many grave and reverend divines, should have united in deceiving the people of New York,—from the press, from the rostrum, from the pulpit,—by denouncing Bishop Hughes as an enemy of the Bible—as an intriguer with political parties—as a blackener of the public school books,—if Bishop Hughes had not given them cause to build such accusations in the foundations of truth,—and yet, sir, there is no truth either in the foundation or the superstructure. I now call upon these editors, orators and clergymen to stand forth and furnish the facts, proving the truth of one single charge against me. I am aware that, tracing up these falsehoods to their foundation, the public, who have been so long deceived, will refer to the testimony and the denunciations of certain clergymen, who are zealous for the Bible, but unfortunately little acquainted with the charitable and mild spirit which the Bible inculcates. If I ask *them* why they misled, possibly without intending it, their flocks to such an extent, they will refer me to the public newspapers. If I call on the editors of the public

newspapers, it will be found that they copied one from another, until you reach the second link, who is Colonel Stone, of the *Commercial Advertiser*, and he will tell me that he took it from a "morning print," that print being no other than Bennett's *Herald*. Of course this does not touch the original articles in the *Commercial Advertiser*, less scurrilous, but more injurious than those of Bennett himself, inasmuch as Colonel Stone is looked upon as a highly respectable man. Of the *Journal of Commerce* I shall say nothing, as its editor appears to me laboring under a weakness or duplicity of moral vision, for the effects and defects of which he is, perhaps, scarcely accountable. But I have traced these calumnies now to their primary witnesses—James Gordon Bennett and Wm. L. Stone.

It may be asked—in the supposition here made—why I submitted in silence to these slanders for so long a time. My answers are, in the first place, that my duties left me but little time to attend to them. Secondly, that if I refuted one calumny to-day, I should have to refute another to-morrow. Thirdly, that one class of my editorial assailants was what men usually call too contemptible, and another class too bigoted, to make it worth while. But I confess that the principal reason in my mind was the very honorable philosophy of an observation which I heard many years ago of the late estimable Bishop White, in Philadelphia. His remark was to this effect, that such is the character of the American people, that no man, who takes care to be always in the right, can ever ultimately be put down by calumny—whatever may be its temporary effects. This was his answer, and his plea for the licentiousness of the press in its attacks upon individuals. And hence he inferred that, owing to the love of justice and fair play, which he conceived to be a strong element of the American character, every honest man can easily afford to "live down" a calumny. This remark struck me very much at the time; and wherever the question became merely personal to myself, I have invariably acted on the principle—whilst my own experience, of now nearly twenty years, of public life, has only confirmed its soundness and its truth. These are my reasons for having allowed the calumnies against Bishop Hughes to remain so long uncontradicted; whilst I never let an opportunity pass of meeting, and exposing and refuting, the misrepresentations which were directed against the civil and religious rights of that portion of our citizens to whom I wished to see extended the blessings of education.

It has been a matter of speculation among many in this city, to solve the motive for the constant, the varying, malignity of Mr. Bennett against Bishop Hughes. Some have supposed that he was kept in bribe for the purpose;—others have ascribed it to revenge;—which, though strong, is said to be in slavish subjection to avarice—in that man's breast. But of all whose opinion has reached me upon the subject, there is not one who believes it to be gratuitous. I express no opinion on the subject myself. I shall enter no abuse of this unfortunate man; but as those who are inclined to believe that he is actuated by revenge, have told me that he ascribes the reception he met with from Daniel O'Connell to my agency, and as I do not deem it necessary that even he should be under a mistake on that subject, I will assign what I look upon as the key of explanation to the somewhat rude treatment which he received in a land celebrated for its hospitality, and where every decent man, from America especially, is received with a full heart of Irish welcome. I will make a little episode in this communication, but I have no doubt that this fact, at least, will be interesting not only to the public in America, but also in Great Britain, and all Europe. Four years ago I was introduced to Daniel O'Connell, in London. This was at my own request, for I wished, having then the opportunity, to see a man of whom there was more of good and evil said than of any other in

the world. A few minutes after I sat down, and whilst the conversation was on mere common-place topics, a silence ensued on his part, sufficiently long to make me think that I ought to retire. I observed his eyes swimming in tears. This astonished me still more, and I was about to withdraw, when he addressed me; as nearly as I can remember, in the following words—but in a voice which, though almost stifled with grief, yet sounded as the softest and tenderest that ever struck upon my ears: "Dr. Hughes, I have been forty years a public man—I have been engaged in political strife with men of every party and of every creed—I am, by all odds, the best abused man in the world, but through all this time neither Tories, nor Whigs, nor even Orangemen themselves, ever made an attack on the mother of my children. She was mild and gentle; she was meek and charitable. She was loved and respected by friend and foe. My bitterest enemies would have spared me, if they could not reach me, without hurting the lamb that slept in my bosom. The only attack that ever was made on Mrs. O'Connell, came from your side of the water and from your city, in a paper called the '*New York Morning Herald.*' Some mistaken friend, I suppose, thought to do me a service by sending me the paper. It reached me just after Mrs. O'Connell's death. Of course, the poisoned arrow missed the gentle heart for which it was intended, but it reached and rested in mine." Mr. Bennett was not married when he wrote this attack on the amiable wife and mother; but those who are husbands and fathers can best judge, whether Mr. O'Connell's reception of him at the Corn Exchange was merited or not. Whether O'Connell's is the only heart that has been wounded, by the "poisoned arrow" aimed at the domestic peace of mankind, from the same quarter, it is unnecessary for me to say. But, at all events, I think this will satisfy Bennett, that I, at least, had nothing to do with the kind of reception he met with in Dublin. What the motive, then, of his hostility towards me is, I am of course still at a loss to comprehend; but in truth it has given me very little uneasiness. In the hypothesis that he has been bribed to abuse me, I presume that a counter-bribe would at once double his profits, diminish his labor, and secure his silence; but I cannot afford it, and even if I could, it should not be given. Now, however, I am going to meet Mr. James Gordon Bennett, not in abuse, but as my accuser, and with Mr. Bennett as my first accuser, I associate Colonel William Stone as my second. Let these, by name, represent the whole class of editors, orators, and Rev. Divines who have assailed me, and now I am prepared to meet them all.

Either Bishop Hughes has entered into a collusion as a politician, with political agents, or he has not.

Either he has driven or attempted to drive the Bible from the common schools of New York, or he has not.

Either he has organized a political party in New York—or he has not.

Either has blackened, or required to be blackened, the public school-books of New York, or he has not.

Finally, either he has done actions and expressed sentiments unworthy of a Christian bishop, and an American citizen, or he has not.

These are propositions which the plainest capacity is competent to understand. And, now, taking Bishop White's estimate of the American character, I am about to constitute the American people, Whigs, Democrats, Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Gentiles, citizens both of native and foreign birth, as judges between James Gordon Bennett, and Colonel William L. Stone, on the one side, and Bishop Hughes on the other. I shall not anticipate the judgment of the public. I shall merely say that I believe it will be just, and justice is all that I require. Happily the dispute is one in which sophistry and misrepresentation cannot find place. It is a question

of facts, and against facts, reasoning is useless. Every fact, to be susceptible of proof, requires witnesses who can bear testimony to its truth. Wherever there are witnesses in a case, the thing testified to can be established as having occurred at some given time and place. In a court of justice, if a man swore that he witnessed the occurrence of a fact, and yet could not tell either the time or the place of the occurrence, he would be set aside either as perjuring himself, or as being deranged. Let my case then be judged by these established rules of common and public justice. I will state my own conduct, as far as it has any bearing on the case, in a series of propositions and in the form of FACTS.

1st Proposition.—I have never, in my life, done an action, or uttered a sentiment, tending to abridge any human being of all or any of the rights of conscience which I claim to enjoy myself under the American Constitution.

2d.—I have never asked nor wished that any denomination should be deprived of the Bible, or such version of the Bible as that denomination conscientiously approved, in our Common or Public Schools.

3d.—I have never entered into intrigue or collusion with any political party or individual; and no political party or individual ever approached me with so insulting a proposition.

4th.—I have never requested or authorized the "blackening of the public school books" in the city of New York.

5th.—In all my public life in New York, I have done no action, uttered no sentiment, unworthy of a Christian Bishop and an American citizen.

These are all *negative* propositions; and I am not bound to prove a negative; but I assert these propositions as *facts*, and if they are not true, James Gordon Bennett, Wm. L. Stone, and the other assailants of my character, must be in possession of the positive facts which prove them false. Let them state the time, and place, where the facts which prove them false occurred; and the witnesses of those facts—and then, I join issue, and pledge myself to refute their witnesses. I shall now continue my propositions, not in the *negative*, but in the *affirmative* form.

6th Proposition.—I have always contended for the right of conscience, for all men as universally as they are recognized in the American Constitution.

7th.—I have always preached that every denomination—Jews, Christians, Catholics, Protestants, of every sect and shade—were all entitled to the entire enjoyment of the freedom of conscience, without let or hindrance from any other denomination, or set of denominations, no matter how small their number, or how unpopular the doctrines they professed.

8th.—I have always preached, both publicly and privately, the Christian obligation of *peace and good will towards men*, even when they hate and persecute us.

9th.—I have been accustomed to pray publicly, in our churches, for the constituted authorities of the United States; for the welfare of my fellow-citizens of all denominations, and without distinction; whilst James Gordon Bennett and Wm. L. Stone were, from day to day, exciting the hatred of my fellow-citizens against me, and, so far, attempting to deprive me of the protection of my country.

These affirmative propositions I am bound and prepared to prove, if Mr. Bennett and Col. Stone deny them. All the propositions are FACTS, and are to be overthrown, if assailed at all, not by sophistry or argument, but by other facts, with witnesses, which will prove them untrue. Now, therefore, James Gordon Bennett, Wm. L. Stone, and ye other deceivers of the public, stand forth and meet Bishop Hughes. But, then, come forth in no quibbling capacity; come forth as honest men, as true American citizens,

with truth in your hearts, and candor on your lips. I know you can write well—and can multiply words and misrepresent truth: this is not the thing that will serve you now. Come forth with your FACTS. Bishop Hughes places himself in the simple panoply of an honest man, before the American people. He asks not favor—but he simply asks, whether the opinion of Bishop White is true, that with the American people no man can be put down by calumny. Bring, therefore, your facts to disprove the foregoing *negative* propositions. Bishop Hughes pledges himself to prove those that are *affirmative*, if you, or any decent man, with his signature will deny them.

You may, indeed, say that what Bishop Hughes found it his duty to do, produced, at the time, *disturbance* among politicians; you may pretend that, therefore, Bishop Hughes is a politician. If you think so, it only proves that you are bad logicians. As well might you say that the man who has a purse is morally guilty of the crime of robbery which deprives him of it, on the plea that if he had either stayed at home or gone out with empty pockets, the robbery would not have taken place. I never was, I never will be, a politician. I am the pastor of a Christian flock; I am a citizen of a country whose proudest boast is, that it has made the civil and religious rights of *all* its citizens *equal*. As a pastor, I was bound to see that the religious rights of my flock should not be filched away from them, under pretext of education, and against the constitution and laws of my country. I attended the meetings in reference to that subject, not as a politician, but to exclude men of that class from turning a simple question into a base object. When, in the prosecution of that purpose, no alternative was left to the people long deprived of the rights of education but to vote for candidates bound by pledges to deny them justice, and even refuse them a hearing—and this on the very eve of the election—I urged them, with all the powers of my mind and heart, to repel the disgusting indignity of this stratagem. I told them to cut their way through this circle of fire, with which the opponents of the rights of education narrow-mindedly and ungenerously surrounded them. I told them that they would be signing and sealing their own degradation if they voted for men pledged to refuse them the chance of justice. But then no party—no individual of any party—had anything to do with the prompting of this advice, but myself. It sprang from my own innate sense of duty—my own conception of the rights of constituency in a free government.

Even if it had been political, I should have done nothing more than is done by clergymen of other denominations without exciting the least censure or surprise. Let a stranger drop in, accidentally, to some of our religious conventions, composed almost entirely of clergymen, and, listening for an hour to the debates, he will be tempted to imagine them a committee of Congress deliberating upon the deepest and most perplexing topics of a political character, involving even the integrity of the country. Let him sit beneath one of our pulpits, and, with the omission of a few party names, he will suppose himself listening to some political leader, whose solicitude for the welfare of the country is so great that the virtues of the Christian religion, and man's relations towards God and eternity, are forgotten in the higher importance of promoting the interests of the nation. If he turn his steps in another direction, he will imagine that religion, driven from the pulpits, has fled to the political rostrum for protection; and he will see the Holy Bible itself erected, or, I should say, rather, degraded into a party ensign! These things are going on in the midst of us and around us. I do not take upon me to say whether these things are right or wrong; but I do say that if these things are lawful in the ministers of one denomination, I, as the minister of another, ought to stand ac-

quitted of blame in merely defending the rights of conscience and of education, by means which the laws of God sanction, which the laws of my country authorize and approve. These things, sir, I have written whilst under the threat of assassination. These things are true. They may assail Bishop Hughes in the public press; they may assail him in the pulpit; they may assail him in the public assembly; they may proscribe and persecute him as they please: but neither living nor dead, I trust, will they be able to fix upon his name the stigma of one act, or of one sentiment unworthy of what he claims to be,—a minister of the Christian and Catholic religion, and a citizen of the United States. In entering upon the discussion of education, I supposed that I should be supported by the countenance of all good men, as the friend of my country. You said that the Catholics, particularly those of Irish birth, were ignorant, and, as a consequence of ignorance, disorderly. I wish them to become educated, and as a consequence, orderly. Was this wrong? Do you say they have no right to be educated? The laws have more honorably thought, and more wisely, too, decided that they have a right. Do you say that in being educated they must give up their religious convictions? The laws sanction no such dangerous principle.

A few words more in reference to those who have so long and unjustly assailed me, and I shall have done. And first of all, I can say with truth, that there is not an unforgiving thought in my mind in reference to any of them. Many of them may have been deceived; and, although, in the melancholy events which have occurred, an awful responsibility rests upon those who have been guilty of the deception—still even them I leave to the merciful but just judgment of the Creator. Of them all I have not deemed it necessary to mention more than two—and toward these I have not an unkind feeling. But this shall not prevent my saying what is necessary to put myself and them right before the public. These two are James Gordon Bennett and Wm. L. Stone. Of Mr. Stone I have little to say. It is not for me to enter into any analysis of a character so well known as his, and so generally respected. Neither shall I enquire into the motives which could have prompted him, through apparent zeal for his own religion or hostility to mine, to have put himself in the company and in the position in which this letter exhibits him.

Of Mr. Bennett I have a far different opinion. Considering his talents, his want of principle, and the power of doing mischief which circumstances have placed within his reach, I regard him as *decidedly* the most *dangerous man*, to the peace and safety of a community, that I have ever known, or read of. This opinion is formed on grounds altogether distinct from his peculiar enmity toward myself. But, confining the proof of my observation to what has occurred within my own knowledge and experience, I have but to call the reader's attention to a few facts.

When the public press had recovered a little from the shock produced by his burlesque report, and malignant comment on the occurrence at Carroll Hall, there was, of course, that reaction which is indicative of candid minds and just feelings. This operated as a rebuke to the author of the deception, but he would not be foiled. He then represented, that a large portion of the respectable Catholics of New York were unanimous in their censure of my conduct. He fomented what was termed an indignation meeting, of persons calling themselves Catholics—but who were little known in their churches, as such—persons who affected to be first-rate Irishmen, and almost furious Catholics, once or twice a year, generally a week or ten days before an election, in the hope of receiving some contemptible little office which might save them from the necessity of honest but honorable industry. During the discussion of the School Question I, without being

aware of it, had destroyed their influence; and Bennett, judging correctly of their discontent, thought to use them for the purpose of sowing division in the flock committed to my charge. He was foiled in this, too. But nothing daunted, I next discovered him in the sanctuary itself—like the serpent in Paradise—endeavoring to sow discord among my clergy, and to seduce two of them, even by name, into alienation from their duty to God, and towards their bishop. In this, too, he was foiled, and publicly rebuked from their own pens for his audacity. I know not what purposes of revenge mortification like this may have engendered in the mind of such a man as Mr. Bennett; but the public are witnesses of the malignity with which he has not ceased to pursue me up to this hour. If he were even more depraved or less despised, he would not be so dangerous; but, being without any fixed principle of good, he occupies that ambiguous position which renders him too contemptible for notice, and yet not sufficiently so to be below the power of mischief. If you notice his slanders, and convict him of them, people will say that you lose your labor; inasmuch as "nobody believes what Bennett says." If you do not, your enemies will take that up as undeniable—asserted in the newspapers—or, as Colonel Stone adroitly expressed it, "taken from a morning print."

Such is a portion of *my* experience of the danger to the community, from the powers of sowing discord and producing evil, no less than that of winging the "poisonous arrow" into the hearts of families, possessed by Mr. Bennett. How he has ever employed these powers, others, who have had similar experience, need not be told. Yet dangerous and degraded as he is, I shall meet him for once, if he dares to give his name in contradicting *any* one of the above *propositions*, which I have laid down as so many facts. And if he do not dare to meet me then I consign him to a lower depth of infamy than he has yet reached. There is one other matter, however, which I cannot pass over in silence; and it is that, during the political excitement, carried to a high and dangerous pitch, among those who have made you, sir, Mayor of New York, no man was so active in fanning the embers of social and civil discord into a conflagration of fury, as Mr. Bennett. I am not a politician; but I profess to know something of the laws as well as the weakness and depravity of human nature, and one of its *moral* laws is, that whenever there is a combination for the purpose of denouncing any particular class of men, the effect will be to drive the assailed into combination also. This was the effect which I dreaded, among the Catholic people of New York, whether of native or foreign origin. And whilst I was laboring as I have already described to defeat this result, Mr. Bennett was flinging among them, as a firebrand, the denunciations that were uttered in the meetings of the Native Americans. Not only were these denunciations against myself, but against the Catholic churches of the city. I remember the proceedings of one meeting in particular, as reported in the "Herald;" I recollect distinctly the speech of one orator who with violent gestures proclaimed "*that there were dungeons under St. Patrick's Cathedral, and that these could be intended for no other purpose than the imprisonment and torture of the Protestant ministers of the city, when the Catholics gained the ascendancy.*" I quote the substance, if not the very language of the report. Since your election, I have been told that the whole of this meeting and this atrocious language was a fabrication of Bennett's own! But how were the Catholics of the city to know this?

You, sir, who must know something of human nature, need not be informed that in all social outbreaks, particularly of a riotous character, the moral incendiary first fires the passion, and then, the victims of those inflamed passions are prepared to apply the torch or wield the murderous instrument against the objects of their fury. Read again, if you please,

the passage above quoted, proceeding from a meeting of Native Americans, published in 20,000 or 30,000 copies of the Herald, and cast forth on the population of the city, at a time of extraordinary excitement and deplorable bitterness of feeling; be pleased to read it again, I say, and weighing these circumstances, make up your mind as to the effects which it was calculated, if not intended, to produce. It was calculated to destroy social confidence—produce feelings of rage on one side and of revenge on the other; and among the least enlightened portion of the community of all sides, to produce that welling up of bad passions which an additional drop might have caused to overflow, breaking down every barrier, and leaving our fair city a scene of desolation, such as perhaps the world has never seen before. If the American republicans held this language, are they not utterly inexcusable? but if they did not hold it, and if it was a fabrication of Bennett's own in their name, then, sir, have I not said well, that he is the most dangerous man to the peace of the community that I have ever known or ever read of? If during the crisis through which we have passed, one spark had been produced from the embers of strife which this man was fanning—if, owing to the insults on one side, and the instinct of mingled self-preservation and revenge on the other—a collision had taken place, and all who had been inflamed on either side, feeling called upon, should rush to the support of their friends, I shudder at the contemplation of what might have been the consequences.

Alas! alas! sir, that men cannot be content to worship God according to the dictates of their conscience, without preventing their fellow mortals from enjoying the same privilege. On the School Question, nothing more than the recognized legal rights of conscience has been claimed for the Catholic children. These rights, the Catholics under the most intolerant governments have never given up, and never will relinquish. They have been deprived of them by intolerant laws. If the American people are willing to enact such laws, we shall submit to pains and penalties. We interfere with no other denomination of citizens—we wish them all to enjoy the same privileges that we claim for ourselves. Is not this the principle of the American government? Is it not the pride and boast and the glory of the American people? And if it be all this, why is it that Americans are opposed to it?

I, sir, am not a man of strife or contention. My disposition is, I trust, both pacific and benevolent. As a proof of this I may mention that I have never had a personal altercation with a human being in my life; that I have never had occasion to call others, or to be called myself before any civil tribunal of the earth. It is true that public duty has not unfrequently forced upon me the necessity of taking my stand in moral opposition to principles which I deemed injurious and unjust. But even then, I trust I have made the distinction which Christian feeling suggests between the cause and the person of the advocate arrayed against me. And though I have sometimes perhaps been severe on my opponents, I trust that it proceeded not from any malice in the heart; it came on me rather as a species of intellectual indignation at witnessing bad logic employed to defend worse bigotry.

Even in this communication, I may have done some injustice to the persons whose names I have mentioned. I have not had an opportunity of consulting a single document. What I have said regarding myself rests upon my own interior consciousness; what I have said in the way of opinion, must of course rest upon the accuracy of my judgment, and must partake of its imperfections. But I have stated some things as facts, merely on the strength of my memory, and if these should not be in reality as I have stated, then do I willingly retract them, for I have no disposition to do injustice to any man. Of these statements, one is that Colonel Stone in quoting from Bennett, suppressed the name of his author, and instead of it, put on

the phrase, "A Morning Print." Another is the attack by this Mr. Bennett on Mrs. Daniel O'Connell. This I never saw, but have no doubt in my own mind of its existence and of its character. Another still is the fabrication of the incendiary speech by Bennett, from which a quotation has been given —as having been made by the Native Americans. I do not say that it is a fabrication, but, of course, the parties interested can easily determine the fact.

With high respect, sir, I have the honor to remain your obedient servant,

✠ JOHN HUGHES, Bishop of New York.

New York, May 17th, 1844.

BISHOP HUGHES' SECOND LETTER.

New York, *Monday, May* 27, 1844.

"In this country all things are affected or decided by public opinion, and public opinion itself is sustained by two opposite elements—TRUTH and FALSEHOOD. There is nothing more powerful than FALSEHOOD, except TRUTH alone. The enemies of our claim were not ignorant of this, and therefore they have crowded every avenue to public opinion with MISREPRESENTATION in reference to it." [Extract from Bishop Hughes's Speech on the School Question, at Carroll Hall, Oct. 29, 1841.

To Col. Wm. L. Stone, Editor of the Commercial Advertiser :

Sir —It may appear singular that I should select a quotation from one of my own speeches, as an introduction to the letter which I am about to address you. But I pray you not to be alarmed. I may be egotistical, but you will be pleased to recollect that the newspapers have been *at me* a long time—that I write necessarily about myself, so of course cannot lose sight of the subject. Mr. David Hale, as the only answer to my letter lately addressed to Mayor Harper, has discovered that I have made reference to myself "three hundred and sixty-one times?" This same gentleman published, now nearly two years ago, that "in one of the Catholic churches of this city, a Catholic priest at Confession, condemned a young woman for having attended public worship with a family whom she served, to walk upon her knees around the church, UNTIL THE BLOOD ISSUED FREELY FROM HER WOUNDS." Of course, in order to hold such a bad priest accountable, I inquired for his name, the name of the church to which he belonged, the name of the young woman, the time and place of the occurrence—to all of which inquiries, Mr. David Hale had to be MUM! Still, he was *sure* it must have been

so; there could be no mistake about it, and he has never had the conscience to make either an acknowledgement or an apology for this atrocious calumny to the present day. I have therefore set him down as I expressed in my last letter, as afflicted with a weakness or duplicity of moral vision, for the "*effects* or *defects* of which, he is perhaps scarcely accountable." But I have never heard his sagacity called in question where the matter was one of pure "*calculation;*" and if he says that I have referred to myself three hundred and sixty-one times in my last letter, it may be looked upon as correct. I shall do probably as much in this communication—but the reason is, that I profess to write about myself in repelling the slanders of others, which would be impossible if I could lose sight of my subject.

I take the liberty of addressing this letter to you, sir, as taking the first place, after Mr. Bennett, in misleading the public by circulating the slanders just alluded to. I am not surprised that at your age, and with your character and respectability, you should shrink from a partnership of responsibility with such a man as Mr. Bennett. But, sir, you should have thought of this sooner; and not have joined with a man like him in a partnership of moral guilt. Mr. Hale is the only man *pretending* to respectability who has the courage to take sides with him; and the alliance, strange to other minds as it may appear, is quite natural to mine.

But before I proceed, I must beg leave to express my disagreement with the opinion of many respectable persons, both Catholics and Protestants, to the effect that Bennett is too low and too scurrillous, to deserve the notice with which, they are pleased to say, I honor him. A Philadelphia paper says that I have raised him to an equality with myself. This would be indeed a delightful, if it were not a hopeless attempt. On the other hand, I trust there is not the least danger of my sinking to his degraded level. As a *citizen* of the United States, *if he be one*, I claim no superiority over Mr. Bennett. As to his moral position, I have but to repeat the opinion which I have already expressed, that "if he were *more* depraved, or *less* despised, he would not be so dangerous; but being without any fixed principle of good, he occupies that ambiguous position which renders him, as men say, too contemptible for notice, and yet not sufficiently so to be below the power of mischief." I notice him, therefore, not as being capable of good, but as being capable and disposed to evil. That he should have power to do even mischief, is perhaps the *reproach* of the community; and I would appeal to that community to join me in compelling him to rise for an effort for good, against the adverse instincts of his nature, or else, if this should be impossible, to sink him below the capacity of accomplishing his wickedness.

This, sir, may seem to be harsh language, but I throw myself on the indulgence of the reader, with the simple request that he will not pronounce it unmerited until he shall have closed the perusal of this letter. I have introduced these remarks here, simply to exhibit

the reasons in general why I cannot agree in opinion with many excellent friends, who say that Mr. Bennett is beneath my notice. It will appear in the sequel, that he has continued to assail me with an industry and a malignity which, considering the man, can be accounted for only on the supposition that it was prompted by either of his predominant passions—*avarice or revenge*. If indeed there have been found persons *weak* or *wicked* enough to gratify the former by bribing him to abuse me, it only proves that *they at least* have not considered him beneath notice. With regard to the latter, the only pretext that I have ever heard alleged for it, would be the treatment which he received from Mr. O'Connell, which I have been told he ascribed to my procurement. In his pretented reply to my letter he characterises that treatment as "brutal." I agree with him in this application of language, but the brutality must be found in the object, not the *subject* of that treatment. When a man tramples on the decency of humanity, not to say Christian courtesy, he is metaphorically described as a "brute." Bennett *so* trampled on the decencies of humanity when he wrote the attack on Mrs. O'Connell; when he represented an amiable, accomplished and aged Christian lady as constituting the domestic head and centre for six of her husband's concubines! When the attack reached that husband, whilst he stood over the new-made grave of that wife, bedewing it with his tears, and when afterwards this "brute" had the assurance to obtrude himself on the notice of *that* husband, in a public meeting, what other treatment except "brutal" could he expect or deserve? True, now that the infamy of his conduct recoils upon him, he attempts to throw the blame on others. This subterfuge, even were it true, does not exonerate him; for it would have been made immediately after he discovered the assault, if he were not in *reality* what O'Connell rightly *took him to be*. But this shall be treated of in its proper place.

In the mean time I laid down in my letter to Mayor Harper, nine propositions, in direct opposition to the slanders circulated in the *Herald*, the *Commercial Advertiser*, and other papers, on my own conduct and character. Read them over, I pray you, and answer me whether the man of whom those propositions are true, is not in a position to hurl a dignified and proud defiance at ALL assailants of his reputation. Bennett has read them, and he has not dared to deny the truth of one of them. I wish you to read them, sir; but I perceive by the *Commercial Advertiser*, just handed me, of this date, 27th of May, that you are indisposed. I regret this, for I have no feelings on the subject but those of kindness. Neither shall I press those points in which I have special right to complain of *yourself*, until the period, which I trust is not far distant, when you will be able to resume your editorial duties, and when I shall be prepared to hold you accountable for the public and injurious use you have made of my name. But, whilst I shall touch lightly upon subjects in which you are involved, in reference to my character and conduct, I do not deem it necessary to alter

a syllable of what I have written, nor to change the form of my letter by omitting your name, when I consider the unscrupulous use and abuse of mine, which is to be found in your columns. I hold *my* name is as sacred as *yours;* but beyond this, I shall reserve the principal portion of what I have to say until, which I hope may be soon, you will be in a position to answer for yourself.

Mr. Bennett has passed over in silence—no thanks to him for so doing—all the propositions respecting myself, which, *if true*, as I contend they are, proves that what he and others have said against me, is sheer falsehood and slander. But, passing over these, he has charged me with two subordinate matters which I shall now dispose of. The first is my reference to an amiable and talented lady, who will do me the justice to remember *that I did not make any mention of her name.* I would not willingly offend against the rules of gallantry or good breeding. I applied an epithet, which I now regret exceedingly—not that I feel that I was unwarranted in applying it, but, because I could not then *foresee* that the *lachete* of one of her bad friends could have been so great that he would publish her honored name, as a shield for the protection of his own guilty head. My allusion was intended for the eye of the lady *herself*, but not for the notoriety which this bad friend has since given it. In truth, I supposed that the allusion would be understood by few, if any, besides herself. We have certainly seen the writings even of ladies severely criticised. But *I* am not a reviewer by profession. And if I alluded in a seemingly harsh manner to these writings, I make bold to say that the lady herself after a proper explanation, will do me the justice to acknowledge, that if I have even merited blame for what I have said, it is more than counterbalanced by the kind feelings that may be inferred from my silence in regard to what I have suppressed. But even so, I regret that her feelings should have been pained, and declare that if I had thought that of the few who might understand the allusion, there could have been *one* base enough to publish her name in connexion with it, it should never have been uttered by me. Still, I apologise to her, and express my regret that anything I have ever written should have given the least pain to one who for talents, benevolence, purity of character and amiability, is justly regarded as an honor and ornament to her sex.

The other small matter, on which a point has been raised by Bennett, is in reference to my speech at Carroll Hall. He says in his paper of Saturday that this speech is WORD FOR WORD the same as that published in the *Freeman's Journal*, and drawing his conclusion from this assertion of his own, he charges upon me that I am guilty of "falsehood."

This is impossible, for at the conclusion of my letter I stated, that in penning it I had not a single document before me, and consciousness, judgment, and memory were all I had to depend upon. And knowing that the two latter of these might betray me into a mistake, I took the precaution which I owed to Christian feeling and

common candor, to state, that if in any matter of fact I was mistaken, I retracted my words by anticipation. After such a declaration, no man, except Bennett, even if I had been mistaken on some point, would accuse me of falsehood. This is the only case in which even Bennett questions my accuracy or my veracity. If what he says were true, with such a precaution on my part, it could be but of little service to him.

But it is not true. The report in the *Herald*, and the report in the *Freeman's Journal* are *not* word for word the same. This is a fact. And with facts, even Bennett ought to know, at this time, that reasoning, much less assertion, is perfectly useless. If, therefore, I convict Bennett of attempting to deceive on this point, I will surprise nobody. Still, as I have appealed to the justice of public opinion, I shall not presume to stand before that tribunal with even this imputation. To put this matter right, it is sufficient to say that the quotation at the head of this letter is found in the report of my speech at Carroll Hall, in the *Freeman's Journal*, and is not found in Bennett's report of the same. Therefore, when Bennett says that the two reports are "word for word" the same, it only proves that he was accomplishing a falsehood and knew it. This falsehood he repeats six times; still, as the list will be sufficiently long, we shall count it but as one. To what extent it is a falsehood, may be inferred from the following extracts of my speech at Carroll Hall, as reported in the *Freeman's Journal*. I quote them not merely for this purpose, but also to refute in so much the whole body of slanders that have been circulated by all the editors, orators, and clergymen, who, taking Bennett for their leader, have almost exceeded him in the perversion of the truth. The whole speech may be read in the *Freeman's Journal*, extra, of October 30. And the perusal of it will convince any man who can read—first, there is not a word of appeal to religious or sectarian prejudices—second, that there is not a word of politics, except in so far as candidates had arrayed themselves in opposition to the equal rights of the people—third, that the purpose of that speech was not to organize a party, but to lay down and develope a principle. These propositions will be established by the following passages of that speech.

"In this country all things are affected or decided by public opinion, and public opinion itself is sustained by two opposite elements—truth and falsehood. There is nothing more powerful than falsehood, except truth alone. The enemies of our claim were not ignorant of this, and therefore they have crowded every avenue to public opinion with misrepresentations in reference to our claim.

"It is therefore necessary for us to have recourse to the truth which they suppress or disguise. *We do not ask for sectarian schools. We do not ask that any portion of the public money should be confided to us for the purpose of teaching our religion at the public expense—such a demand would be* ABSURD, *and would* RICHLY MERIT THE REBUKE WHICH IT COULD NOT ESCAPE.

"In the public schools which were established according to the system now in force, our children had to study books which we could not approve. Religious exercises were used which we did recognise, and our children were compelled to take part in them. Then we withdrew them from the schools and taught them with our own means. *We do not want money from the School Fund—all we desire is that it be administered in such a way as to promote the education of all.* Now the Public School Society has introduced just so much of religious and sectarian teaching as it pleased them in the plentitude of their irresponsible character to impart. They professed to exclude religion and yet they introduced so much in quantity as they thought proper, and of such a quality as violated our religious rights. If our children cannot receive education without having their religious faith and feelings modeled by the Public School Society, then they cannot receive it under the auspices of that institution, and if for those reasons they cannot receive it under the auspices of that institution, it is tyranny to tax them for its support. We do not ask the introduction of religious teaching in any public school, but we contend that *if such religious influences be brought to bear on the business of education, it shall be, so far as our children are concerned, in accordance with the religious belief of their parents and families.*"

* * * * * * * *

"But I call upon you to resist this public school system whether you are sustained by public men or not.

"*You are called upon* TO JOIN *with your oppressors, and they leave you* NO ALTERNATIVE *in voting.* It may appear uncommon—it may seem inconsistent with my character—that I should thus take an interest in this matter; and I should not were it not a subject of extraordinary import. But there has been an invasion of your religious rights, and as the spiritual guardian of those now before me, I am bound to help their cause. *If you are taxed you must be protected.* Were the tax so imposed that each denomination might receive the benefit of its own quota, the case would be fair. *We are willing to have* ANY SYSTEM that operates EQUALLY; but we will never submit to a direct violation of our rights, and an appropriation of the school fund in such a manner that we may not participate in its benefits.

* * * * * * * *

"Experience tells us that to all great questions agitated in this country, there are two sides; and in the history of this one we have evidence of the fact. I do not consider the question as it regards parties or men. I only speak for and advocate the *freedom of education*, and the men who stand up for it. I appear as the friend of him who would give JUSTICE TO ALL CLASSES."

These extracts confirm the truth of what has already been said, that it was not until after the misrepresentation and bigotry of a portion of the press had *bound* the representatives of the people to deny even *a consideration of their claims* to the friends of general education that they took up the only alternative consistent with

honor and a sense of right. But in all this there is no appeal to sectarianism—there is no appeal to nationality—there is no expression of denunciation or bitterness; in a word, there is nothing but the calm, rational development of a great constitutional right, happily secured *equally* to all the people. If you make a public issue with any other denomination of Christians—for instance, the Methodists or Presbyterians—for the purpose of depriving them, as such, of a constitutional right, they will naturally and necessarily oppose the effort by constitutional means.

If you attempt to hem them in, in such a manner that they cannot have a chance for voting, except by voting for persons pledged to inflict upon them the very injury they complain of, their right to complaint will cease, if they co-operate with you for that purpose. *This* was the principle which I developed in my speech at Carroll Hall, as may be seen by another extract still.

"They say that we want a portion of the school fund for sectarian purposes—to apply it to the support and advancement of our religion. This we deny now, as we have heretofore. We have denied it officially and under their own observation. And were they careful or solicitous for the truth of their statements they would not have made the assertion. In this community, *all religious denominations are supposed to be equal. There is no such thing as a predominant religion, and the smallest minority is entitled to the same protection as the greatest majority. No denomination, whether numerous or not, can impose its views on a minority at the common expense of that minority and itself. It was against that we contended.*"

These extracts are all found in the report of my speech at Carroll Hall, as contained in the *Freeman's Journal*. They are *not* found in the same report as contained in the *Herald*. And yet Bennett in his paper of the 21st inst. says that the "two reports" are, "VERBATIM ET LITERATIM," the same with the exception of two words in the description of the enthusiasm with which the Bishop's speech was received. In the *Herald* of the 24th, he says "we shall show in the most conclusive manner, that the report which appeared in our columns was IDENTICAL, to the very letter, with that which received his own sanction, and was published to the world in his own journal." In the same paper of the 25th, last Saturday—"We give this report from the *Freeman's Journal*—the Bishop's own paper—a report which was subjected to his revision, and was published with his full approbation and that of his friends;" and again, "These reports were made by the same gentleman as we have already stated, and we now present the incontrovertible proof that they are *word for word the same*—that the report which the Bishop has so distinctly and vehemently denounced as a burlesque report, *is to the very letter the same* as that published in his own paper after having received his sanction." Such is Bennett's repetition of his own falsehoods. I have taken the trouble to exhibit these quotations which are found in the *Freeman's Journal* and are not found in the *Herald*—not that I suppose that any one would believe Bennett's word in opposition

to mine, but because on the faith of Bishop White's testimony and my own experience, I had appealed to the justice and love of fair play inherent in the public opinion of Americans; and because out of respect for that tribunal I wished to appear vindicated, lest some malevolent or incautious editor might quote these declarations of his, on the authority, not of Bennett's, but of "a morning paper." Of course the public see the position of both parties in regard to this only point which even Bennett has raised, and they will be the better prepared to appreciate the following statement, contained in the same paper of the same date, 25th inst.: "The Bishop has been convicted of uttering a deliberate—a most gross and atrocious falsehood. He has been proved to be guilty of circulating this falsehood through the journals of this city. And now we affix it upon his forehead. We brand this burning disgrace upon his cheek and dare him to come before the public in any capacity for the purpose of impugning the ACCURACY *of the report which we have shown to be* IDENTICAL with his own." Unfortunate man!

Before I enter into the detail of Bennett's abuse, I shall class under two or three general heads, the allegations which he has made against me. If these allegations were true, I should think it not only natural, but also reasonable and just that the American people should regard me as an ill-disposed and evil-minded person. One is that I have organized my flock into a combination separate from, and adverse to, the principles of the country to which they belong, and to which alone they can look for protection. Another is—that I am somehow or other leagued with O'Connell in promoting two questions, one of which, though interesting to every man that loves human rights and human freedom, is still, so far as its results are concerned, a foreign question, namely, *Repeal!*—the other a question of extreme delicacy and difficulty, involving consequences of the mightiest import to our domestic policy, namely, *Abolition!* Now I shall proceed to show first, that so far from having organized my flock into a distinct class in their civil relations, I have held and still hold the doctrines of David Hale, and the "Native Americans" on that subject. And first with regard of organizing my flock into a separate class.

Let the reader refer to the *Freeman's Journal* of November 11th, 1843, and he will find an article under the head of "INSULTING APPEALS OF POLITICIANS," from which the following passages are extracts:

"We should have thought that the Catholic citizens of this State had arrived at such a period of intellectual maturity, as would enable them to see the despicable artifice of those who, on the eve of an election, appeal to them as 'Adopted Citizens.' We should have thought, moreover, that by this time, they had acquired spirit and self-respect enough to spurn such appeals in a manner that should rebuke and disappoint the calculations of their despicable authors. 'Adopted Citizens' CAN HAVE NO *interest* opposed to, or apart from, those which engage the attention of the people at large, and should

feel themselves insulted, when they are appealed to as if constituting a distinct and separate class. Even in this city such things have so often been attempted with supposed success, by their *friends*, that their enemies too, have availed themselves of the practice. On the day of the election, Tuesday last, they were called upon through the medium of placards, headed with a large black CROSS (for nothing is too sacred for these men) to vote for a particular candidate, and this was done with the direct intention of accomplishing his defeat. We know not who was the author of this 'ingenious device.' We know, indeed, that last year, Col. Stone published, with all the notes of horror which such a spectacle could excite in the breast of a pious editor as he is, a similar exhibition of a 'black cross,' purporting to be a placard from the Catholics, whilst he MUST have known that the whole forgery was the work of his colleagues, if not his own." This has reference to a political recommendation by persons signing themselves 'Trustees of Christ Church,' a Catholic church at Sandy Hill, in this State. The article in the *Freeman's Journal* goes on to review an opposite recommendation by other individuals, and speaks thus: "This counter recommendation is signed first, 'Thomas Kensler, Lieutenant of the Irish Greens,' which shows if its signers had titles, they would not hesitate to make use of them, especially if they were likely to have any weight on the supposed *stupidity* of 'Adopted Citizens.' Then follows a list of thirty-two names, among which the O'Conners and O'Neills and O'Keefes stand out conspicuous. These be it known are members of Christ Church, Sandy Hill; and their indignation does not speak forth at the insult which is put upon them as 'Adopted Citizens' and 'Catholics,' and which they put upon themselves, but is directed against their opponents for having signed themselves 'trustees!' Really, the contempt in which they are held by those who address them *with such appeals* is well merited. When they present themselves as 'trustees,' or as 'Adopted Citizens,' or as 'Catholics,' to do the low electioneering of political aspirants, on the eve of an election, they deserved never to be rated higher than they are by those who employ these appeals—that is, *as men without common intelligence or self-respect.*"

Abating the mixture of contemptuous epithets and insult, who would not suppose that this language is copied from an editorial of David Hale or from a speech of the "Native Americans?" Yet, the reader will be astonished to learn that these extracts are from an article written by, and express the sentiments of Bishop Hughes! —that man who is represented by Bennett, the editor of the *Commercial Advertiser*, the *Journal of Commerce*, the orators of the Native American party, and many of the grave and reverend divines of our pulpits, as organizing his flock into a distinct and separate class as "foreigners and Catholics!!!"

As regards Repeal in Ireland, the Bishop approves of it without qualification, and especially considering the moral and Christian sanction which appertains to the means that have hitherto been em-

ployed for the promoting it. But I, sir, have never connected my person, my opinions, or my name with *any association* in Europe or America, founded for the purpose of promoting even that humane, just, and liberal object.

As regards abolition, happily for me, I can refer to testimony which no one can suspect of being invoked or concocted for the occasion. In the month of March, 1842, more than two years ago, I had occasion to write a reply to a strange reference by Col. Webb, editor of the *Courier and Enquirer*, on the subject of an address which was circulated by the abolitionists of this country—an address signed by O'Connell to his countrymen in the United States. My opinion at that time was that the document was not authentic. I have had reason since to alter my opinion, and to believe that the signature of this great man had been solicited and obtained, under a false representation of the true state of the question as regards slavery in the United States. Here is an extract from my letter to Col. Webb, published in the *Courier and Enquirer*. * * * "Should it (O'Connell's signature) prove to be authentic, then I have no hesitation in declaring my opinion that it is the *duty of every naturalized Irishman to resist and repudiate the address with indignation.* Not precisely because of the doctrines it contains, but because of their having *emanated* from a *foreign source*, and of their tendency to operate on questions of domestic and national policy. I am no friend to slavery, but I am still less friendly to any attempt of FOREIGN ORIGIN to abolish it."

"The duties of naturalized Irishmen and others, I consider to be no wise *distinct* or *different* from those of native Americans. And if it be proved an attempt has been made by this address, or any other address, to *single them out on any question, appertaining to the foreign or domestic policy of the United States, in any other capacity than that of the whole population*, then it will be their duty to their country, and their conscience, to *rebuke such an attempt, come from what foreign source it may, in the most decided manner and language that common courtesy will permit.*"

These, sir, constitute my vindication from the infamous charges that have been preferred against me, whether from the press or from the pulpit. But besides these, and beside the propositions covering my whole character and conduct, laid down in my former letter to the Mayor, and which no man can impugn with one conflicting fact, I have to add still other testimony going to prove that I am not the man whom even the furious denunciations of native Americans represented me to be. Before the close of this communication you will have seen the ferocity with which I have been denounced, according to Bennett's reports of their proceedings, by this new party.

The following is a transcript of an article published in the *Freeman's Journal*, as far back as February the 3d, this year:

"THE NATIVE AMERICAN PARTY."

"Several of our subscribers have intimated a wish that, inasmuch as this party professes a special hostility toward foreigners, we should devote some portion of our space to a refutation of their calumnies and misrepresentations. To those who think so, we would say, that the object and principle of our journal FORBID us taking up any question of local politics; and that the very nature of the case renders it superfluous to engage in a refutation of clap-trap statements, which their authors themselves do not believe. The individuals composing this party have a political right to associate, appoint officers, make speeches, designate candidates, and elect them if they can. It is true they have no moral right to employ falsehood in their speeches for the purpose of increasing their number, or of inflaming the public mind. But this violation of moral right must be met with by the exercise of *moral duty* on *our part*—that is, patience and unexceptionable deportment. We would even caution all, who may be influenced by our opinion, against any act unworthy of the high character which foreigners, generally, by their good and peaceful conduct, have acquired in the minds of the respectable portion of the community. *No greater injury could be inflicted on the interests of foreigners, no greater disgrace could be affixed on their character*, than if they *allowed themselves to be provoked into any act, inconsistent with the laws and good order of society.* This remark is particularly applicable to Catholics, for, it is quite evident that no foreigners in *general*, but Catholics in *particular*, are the objects of the hatred of this spurious nativeism. We would urge, then, emphatically on Catholics, to bear themselves, in all respects, in a manner which will prove them worthy of the privileges and rights which they enjoy. Many will probably join this party who are really friends of foreigners, but who for the moment will coalesce with their enemies to accomplish some local purpose, of which foreigners constitute no part. The true issue is for the loaves and fishes of office, and as but a small share of those, if any, falls to the lot of foreigners so, notwithstanding the abuse of their name, they may consider themselves as scarcely interested in the quarrel. The true issue is between natives and natives; there let it remain. The part which foreigners should take will be to side with, and support those, who, besides personal worth, profess to carry out the fair and liberal provisions of the Constitution and laws of the country."

"Those who will have read these remarks will find in them, a sufficient explanation of the reason why we have wasted so little of our space with the question of Native Americanism."

These, so far as I can recollect, are the doctrines for the pretended violation of which I have been so falsely and injuriously assailed by Mr. Hale and the "Native Americans." And yet this article, published editorially in the *Freeman's Journal*, as already described, is from the pen of Bishop Hughes, who is represented as organizing his people into a separate class!!! Again, look at another news-

paper called the *Truth Teller*, over which I have no control, published January 6th, 1844, under the title of "The Press of New York," and you will find in an article of nearly a column's length the following passage, which expresses the spirit of the whole:

"Now, we are satisfied that if it be necessary to speak of a portion of the community as foreigners at all, their true course here, and, so far as this place is concerned, elsewhere too, is to enter into no discussion with those persons who distinguish themselves in the manner we have just referred to. In this country, speech, like opinion, is free; and if this party so called should persevere in the ferocious spirit of its denunciations, it will find its corrective, not in the arguments which might be urged on the part of the assailed, but in the dearer self-interest of those who foresee that their prospects will be blighted by its success, * * * but they have failed hitherto in exciting anything like opposition on the part of the adopted citizens; neither the Irish, nor German, nor English, nor Scotch citizens, have condescended either to notice their proceedings, or in any manner to resent their insults. This is as it should be."

This article, too, is from the pen of Bishop Hughes, so famous, according to the echoes of slander, for organizing his people into a seperate class for political purposes. These are the articles to which I alluded in my last communication, when I remarked that "from a very early period, I prevented the only papers which affected to represent Catholic interests, from opposing either the principles or the progress of the new party. When the private interest or enterprise of individuals urged them to establish new papers intended expressly to oppose the progress of 'Native Americanism,' and to uphold the constitutional rights of foreigners of all religions, I peremptorily refused to give either patronage or approbation—foreseeing, as I imagined, to what points such antagonism must lead." I know that the irresponsible editor of the *Journal of Commerce* rates me as if I had "prevented" or "caused to be published these papers" by an absolute authority, or by physical force. It was not so; but merely by the influence of moral means, such as a friend uses towards a friend, actuated by the desire for the peace, security and honor of society. And his reasoning is that it is most dangerous to the community that it should include one member capable of anticipating and preventing the horrors which have occurred in another city! But I have already stated that I look upon the editor of the *Journal of Commerce*, as morally irresponsible for what he says.

From all this it will be seen, not only that Bennett and his followers, have no facts whereby to establish their abuse of me, but, that I have abundant facts to establish the truth of sentiments, of language, and of conduct, directly the *opposite* of those which they have charged upon me. I have already published my sentiments in reference to an Irish or Catholic organization, and to any political distinction between adopted and native citizens. With Repeal I never had anything to do, except as a looker on. On the question

of Abolitionism the same. But, as may be seen, when the name of Mr. O'Connell was employed as a charm to convert his countrymen in the United States into Abolitionists, I did suggest to them in my letter to the *Courier and Enquirer* that whatever might be their opinions on the subject, *anything like dictation or advice from any foreign source*, on that subject was to be met with rebuke or indignation. I have never attended or taken part in a political meeting or movement in my life. I have never voted in my life, except once. I have never made a political speech in my life; and I dare any one on earth to meet me in contradiction of this statement. The School Question is a subject which can be explained in a few words. The Catholics of New York for sixteen years had been deprived of the benefits of the taxes which, in common with their fellow-citizens, they had to pay for education. They had created a few free schools to supply as well as might be the evils resulting from this privation. The question now arises, why were they deprived of the rights of education? And the answer to that question presents the issue made in the whole controversy. The Public School Society assigned as a reason that the Catholics were bigoted, and that their priests kept them *apart from the other children*, lest they should become enlightened, Americanized, and, as a consequence, Protestants, as soon as they grow up. The Catholics, on the other hand, denied this; and alleged that the system of the Public School Society was adapted to make the children Protestants or infidels first, or simultaneously with education. Here is the controversy on these two statements. The Catholics alleged that the elementary books of the schools put into the hands of their children were calculated, if not intended, to poison their minds in reference to their religion. For months and years this was denied by the Public School Society. That it was true, they themselves have had the candor to acknowledge, by blackening certain portions of their books, and this at *their own motion*, and not at any instance of mine. As an instance of those passages I will quote, among others, the following:

"John Huss, a zealous reformer from Popery, who lived in Bohemia toward the close of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries. He was bold and persevering; but at length, trusting to the *deceitful Catholics*, he was by them brought to trial, condemned as a heretic, and burnt at the stake."

The principles of the Public School Society and their friends was, that the Catholics should pay their school taxes like others (which they did), and then, after having paid their taxes, send their children to the schools to have their minds imbued with sentiments like this, combining at once prejudice, uncharitableness, and, withal, blundering historical inaccuracy.

The Catholics, on the other hand, would not agree to have the feelings and understandings of their children misled by such sentiments, as the benefit offered to them in return for the taxes which the law required them to pay. They petitioned, as good citizens ought to do, under the pressure of a grievance. They

discussed—they reasoned with their opponents. And this led to the results already referred to. But the ungenerous trick of the friends of the Public School Society, on discovering that without trick, falsehood and misrepresentation were no match for truth, was to allow as far as possible no one to be elected, except such as should first bind themselves to *deny redress* for the greivance complained of—no matter how just or how real that grievance might be. Then, it was on the very eve of the election, that at a meeting in Carroll Hall on the School Question, when the knowledge of this trick broke upon us, I expressed the sentiments which I still stand by, whether rightly reported or not, as they are found in the *Freeman's Journal*, but not as they are adorned with the waving of *shillalahs* in Bennett's *Herald*: Bennett says that the two reports are "word for word," "*verbatim et literatim*, the same." Bennett knew when he wrote this, last week, that he was writing what was not true—and now the public know that he knew it. My speech at Carroll Hall was not the speech of a politician. It was the speech of a man who has some reverence for the dignity of human nature. It was the speech of an American who knows and prizes the rights secured by the American Constitution, which he would not wish to see violated in any denomination of Christians, more than in his own. Read that speech as it is in the *Freeman's Journal.* Is there any appeal to foreigners, to Irish, to Catholics, to politicians, or to any class of beings, except so far as a principle of clear indisputable right and justice could be an appeal to the understanding and the hearts of every honest man?

Turn now, sir, I pray you, after having read the blasting refutation of Bennett's last falsehood, to the nine propositions laid down in my last letter as FACTS. If those facts are true, I ask you whether there is a man among us who can present himself at the bar of a just and honorable opinion, in a more unexceptionable character, as a citizen, as a Christian pastor, than I do in repelling the excess of scurrilous abuse and calumny which has been heaped upon me? But if these propositions are not true, again I say—"Now, therefore, James Gordon Bennett, Wm L. Stone, and ye other deceivers of the public, stand forth and meet Bishop Hughes."

A few words more and I shall close with what appertains to my own vindication.

In my letter to his Honor the Mayor I stated as follows, in reference to the meeting at Carroll Hall:

"But there was a reporter of Bennett's there who made such a speech as he thought proper, which was afterwards, as I have reason to believe, fitted up for the purpose of producing one of Bennett's '*tremendous excitements*,' and making the '*Herald* always the first and most enterprising paper in New York.' Having taken this report, having studded it with the gems of his own ribaldry, and made some half a column of editorial comments, in all that mock gravity of which Bennett is capable, the *Herald* of the next morning became the basis and fountain of all the vituperation, calumny,

and slander which have been heaped on Bishop Hughes throughout the United States, from that day to this."

All this was from memory, and I apologized by anticipation, if in questions of memory I had made any mistake. In his attempt to reply to this, on the 25th, he states that the whole question turns on the accuracy of the report alone. *This is false*, I said the "*Herald* of the next morning," including both the report and the editorial comments made with the mock gravity which he sometimes put on, in derision of mankind. So that here is falsehood both in altering and in suppressing truth. In that editorial, headed with flaming letters, he announced *a new and extraordinary movement—mixture of politics and religion*—he makes the clergy as well as myself speakers, etc. Now, none of the Catholic clergy took any part in the proceedings whatever, nor have they in the discussion of the School Question, with one or two solitary exceptions. Neither was there any mixture of politics and religion that I am aware of, except what is found in every assemblage of men, who have some idea of religion and politics, without the slightest consciousness of any necessary "mixture." Words of this kind—written maliciously—read hastily —sent forth at a time of great party excitement—*caught up* according to the hue and tone of the passions—commented on as they have been, became unquestionably the *fountain* and *basis* of all the vituperation that has been heaped on me throughout the United States from that day until this. After what I have said already, the truth of one word of which not even Bennett will dare to deny, I ask you to ponder on the *direction given to the public mind* by this article—and I think you will see that, by necessity, this man perverts truth in the *spirit of the article*—he perverts it in the adjective—he perverts it in the noun—in the preposition—he perverts it in what he says, and so far as the moral effect is concerned, he perverts it in what he suppresses. But I cannot spare time for the minute exposure of his atrocities on my character.

The examination of this question has impressed on my mind more deeply than ever the soundness of the quotation at the head of this letter. And I do believe that so far as regards the things of this world, *falsehood* would be "almighty" if it were not for *truth* alone. There are, certainly, most curious forces concealed and mingled with the elements of material nature. I do not speak of mesmerism—but I would just call your attention to the phenomena that are produced by the action of a galvanic battery. When its force is made to act on a dead body, you perceive what a shocking mimicry of life is produced. There are manifestations, as if an artificial soul had again acquired the mastery and dominion over the movement of joints, sinews and muscles. Now, it seems to me that I have discovered a latent principle somewhat *analagous*, in power of truth. And if I can bring out the correctness of theory, I hope to be ranked among the philosophers of the age—for whom I have a greater respect than for its politicians. I shall make my experiments on James Gordon Bennett. And in order that they may be fairly

tried, it is essential that he should stand in the midst of a large ring of spectators—but no one shall touch him. Of course, my battery is moral, and its effects are to be produced on his *will* and *power over his own motions?* If the theory be sound, the spectators will witness the following phenomena. Whenever the force is applied, Mr. James Gordon Bennett shall *lose all power* over his own will; and in spite of himself, he will jerk his arms and impress on his forehead a certain combination of letters in which all that is least honorable in the English alphabet will be concentrated. In order that the experiment should be fairly tested it is necessary that he should look Truth *full in the face.* In this he will find some difficulty, though he is accustomed to see very well on either side of it. However, I shall shift it, as circumstances may require, to meet the *focus* of his vision. I shall commence with one of the most *cruel things* he ever said of me.

"We have never *uttered a syllable* against him as a private individual. On the contrary, we have uniformly spoken of him as a man of talent, *of most amiable character, of piety, of integrity, of untiring zeal for his church and creed.—Bennett, May* 21, 1844.

Now, sir, look out for

EXPERIMENT No. 1.

"Bishop Hughes, from having been a good gardener, a raiser of cabbages and carrots, has become a Bishop of the Church, and now tends souls instead of salads, but his *original tastes still exists.* He is one of the *most fawning sycophants to power* that ever presided in the Church, *and all those who have money and power, of any church, are his polar stars. He wants all manliness and independence.*"—*Bennett, May* 12, 1841.

Did you observe any motion of the arms? Can you trace the letters? Now, it is manifest that this result is in spite of the volition of Bennett's will. It is the homage which falsehood pays to the majesty of truth, *not* by the application of external force, *not* by the free will of the worshippers, but by the unsuspected, hidden, but almighty power that is INHERENT in *truth itself.*

Hear him again:

"So long as Bishop Hughes conducted the controversy before the Common Council of the city—so long as he sought in his own sphere, and by the appropriate weapons, reason and argument, to convince *men* of the accuracy of his views and the justice of his projects, he was not liable to censure. And so long as he thus conducted the agitation, Bishop Hughes RECEIVED NO CENSURE FROM US. We might have differed with him; but we should, indeed, have merited the full vials of his wrath, and that of all men, had we denounced him or interfered with him, so long as he kept in his own sphere and within his legitimate limits, as the religious guardian of his people. But from the very moment when he first departed from the place of a Christian Bishop, and adopted the disreputable weapons of *a mere political gladiator*, from *that* moment he became amenable

to the censure of public opinion, and from *that* moment we denounced him."—*Bennett, May* 25, 1844.

Now, sir, in order to prepare for Experiment No. 2, I beg you to bear in mind that things were exactly in the situation here described, when Bennett wrote the following attack, published before the meeting at Carroll Hall:

EXPERIMENT No. 2.

"Bishop Hughes, who from the highly respectable trade of raising cabbages (having been a capital kitchen gardener once on a day,) became a raiser of Catholics and Christians, has the sole merit of originating this small potato question. *He started the project a few years ago, in humble imitation of Daniel O'Connell* and the '*rint*,' one of its purposes being to *organize the Irish Catholics of New York as a distinct party, that could be given to the Whigs or Loco Focos at the wave of his crozier.*"—*Bennett, 29th October*, 1841.

Do you see any jerking here again? Do you see any new mark on Bennett's forehead branded by his own hand?

Again, still:

"There is one charge however in this letter which is so extraordinary, so inexplicable, so atrocious that we must notice it to-day. The charge is, that we once attacked Mrs. Daniel O'Connell, the venerable and pious wife of Daniel himself, and that this was the cause of the brutal treatment which we received from the celebrated O'Connell when we visited the Corn Exchange, Dublin. This is, indeed, a piece of information which has completely astounded us. We never dreamed of such an accusation, as may surely be well believed, when we never wrote a syllable, or uttered a word, or even thought of Mrs. O'Connell, in the whole course of our life. The entire falsity, the utter impossibility of our having written or printed a line against Mrs. O'Connell is at once apparent, when it is known that during the last twenty years that I have been connected with the press in this country—nearly one half of which period as proprietor and conductor of the *New York Herald*—up to the affair in the Corn Exchange, in every reference to O'Connell, I expressed admiration of the man, and column after column I have written defending him, and even attempting to apologize for his attack on the Southern institutions of this country. Attack Mrs. O'Connell! A more daring and deliberate falsehood than this never proceeded from the Father of Lies. I cast it back on Bishop Hughes with all the burning indignation which can be imagined in one so grossly assailed—one who never, even by implication, attacked any female in any mode or shape whatever. Thus much on that point."—*Bennett, May* 21, 1844.

EXPERIMENT No. 3.

"We would advise O'Connell not to make the tour of the United States for the sake of his numerous children and concubines, who might be left fatherless and comfortless. Will our readers believe

that this same moral rascal, O'Connell, once made a public boast that he never spared a man in his anger, or a woman in his lust. His wife once, in order to shame this scoundrel, collected together six young women whom he had seduced, and employed them about his house in various menial capacities. Yet this heartless, unprincipled, cowardly wretch, has the unblushing effrontery," etc.—*Bennett's Herald, vol.* iv, *No.* 130.

This is, perhaps, one of the most interesting experiments of the whole; and the phenomena of galvanism can exhibit nothing like it. You see that, in opposition to his own will, he has fixed the first brand on his own forehead in reference to Mrs. O'Connell. And now I want to see whether the moral influence of truth will not compel him to fix another, crosswise, in reference to the same subject.

"To my great surprise and astonishment, (he says) these remarks were of an offensive character and such as it never could have entered into my mind to conceive (?) *I knew nothing of them whatever*, till I read them in my own paper the next morning. I was indeed exceedingly chagrined at the time, and remonstrated severely with the *gentleman* who wrote them." [The *gentleman* who wrote them!] —*Bennett, May* 23, 1844.

Now, see whether the phenomenon of a *cross-brand* is to be realized according to my theory of truth.

"Every editorial article which appears in the *Herald* is written in this office, by whom it matters not; but all written under the control and superintendence of one mind."—*Bennett, January* 22, 1844.

In the following experiment, I shall make Bennett, for the entertainment of the spectators, go through another *compound* movement of this kind, which cannot but prove very interesting. In the first place, in order to understand the question, he invents a meeting of "Native Americans," composes speeches for them; and as if his intention were to direct any mob that might afterwards arise *to the burning of our churches*, he publishes in one of these speeches "that there are dungeons under St. Patrick's Cathedral, which can be intended for no other purpose than the imprisonment and torture of the Protestant ministers of the city, when the Catholics should gain the ascendancy." In reference to this subject he says, a few days afterwards:

"The *Express* of this city, a most miserable concern, actually had the audacity yesterday to declare, with spasmodic wrigglings that all this movement was a *hoax*, and that all those speeches which are now, through our instrumentality, circulating all over the country, is a hoax. We can only say that the speakers thus ridiculed, and so unceremoniously voted out of existence, could give the miserable creatures of the *Express* proofs of their identity of their flesh and blood existence, equally *striking* and convincing as that which the honest countryman gave the philosopher who had very learnedly argued in his hearing that there was no such thing as motion."—*Bennet, November* 23, 1843.

Here, you perceive, is the denial of the forgery. Now then for

EXPERIMENT No. 4.

"And in order to place the whole plan of operations before the new party and before the public, *we got up the famous 'American Republican meeting* in American Republican Hall, between Broadway and the Bowery,' which was a piece of imagination, and intended to present, in a practicable and intelligible form, the best mode of conducting the new agitation—the best plan of carrying on the canvass—and the TOPICS which most properly invited the attention of the speakers and leaders of the movement. And this succeeded *admirably.* The ground we thus pointed out, in a practical, and at the same time *delicate and unobtrusive manner*, was given by the leaders of the movement, and the agitation went on from that hour with spirit and success. All the proceedings of the party were reported accordingly by us, and the public in this way kept regularly informed of the views, the purposes, and the progress of the reform party. It is true, that the *Express* and other papers blustered a good deal, and cried out 'forgery'—but that did not prevent our mode of presenting the true, tenable ground of the new party from producing the *desired effect.*"—*Bennett, April* 20, 1844.

The shedding of human blood, and the burning down of Catholic Churches might be anticipated, as the NATURAL, (whether it was the "desired,") effect of such publications or not. And the wailing families and ruined temples of another city can best declare whether the means and end have not been in true keeping with each other. But, at any rate, you see by applying the latent force of TRUTH, his hands fly up against his will, and fix another melancholy brand upon his forehead. As a small sequel to all this, I will just mention, that after having directed as far as he could, the attention of any mob that might be, against the Catholic churches—after having fanned the embers of social division into a flame—after having seen the earth crimsoned with human blood, which ought to have been reserved for the defense of the country, and all this, as I have said, the natural, if not the desired effect of his villanous falsehoods, he can discover in it all, even now, nothing more than an equality with one of the "moral essays known under the title of Æsop's Fables." There is this difference however, that *Æsop's Fables* did not tend to arson and bloodshed; and the only similarity that the comparison suggests, is, that physically, according to the ancients, Æsop was a BEAUTY—and so, I am told, is Mr. Bennett.

But, I trust the experiments already made are sufficient to establish my theory of the latent power of Truth over Falsehood—as being vastly more wonderful in its action on mind, than galvanism itself in its application to inanimate, but articulate bodies.

There is one infallible test proving that any religion, so called, which inspires men with hatred, one toward another, even on account of religious difference *cannot* insomuch, be of God; for God is love. True religion inspires us with sentiments of love towards God, first, and above all; and next, love toward our neighbor as

ourselves. Now, our Saviour has taught us most beautifully, in the example of the good Samaritan, that love for our neighbor means *all mankind*. You, yourself sir, have once illustrated this admirable and infallible text, so far as sentiment and feeling are concerned, of true religion. And although my opinion, on such a topic, will be received as little worth, I will say—there never was a prouder day for the Protestant religion which you profess, and for your own fame, than that on which you *rejected* the testimony of Maria Monk; albeit she was endorsed by reverend hands as a hopeful convert from Popery, and her filthy book recommended as a veracious and opportune production. I will make bold to say that in sickness or in health, in life or at death, you cannot look back *except with pleasurable emotions* to that proud day, on which, understanding the *true* interests and honor of your religion better than its official advocates, you exclaimed with honorable indignation:

Non talibus auxiliis, non defensoribus istis.

But how, sir, could you have so far forgotten what was due to the memory of that day, as to receive the testimony, not of a Protestant like Maria Monk, but of "*a Roman Catholic editor*," as you had the cruelty to call him in your paper, of the 30th day of October, 1841. If you had given Bennett's statement without the endorsement of your own respectable name, his character would have been an antidote to the poison which he circulates; and the deplorable results which since followed, would in all probability never have occurred. But I shall not press this matter on your attention, at the present time. In fact, from what I read of him in your paper, and other respectable Journals, I supposed that their editors would not have been willing to have placed the slightest confidence in him in regard to any matter involving truth and honor. And yet what was my astonishment in beholding him converted under your pen into "a Roman Catholic editor," and his testimony received by you as if you regarded it with habitual confidence. The man himself I have never seen; but my opinion of him had been already formed by two circumstances which, for me, were quite enough. One was that he was understood, in Philadelphia, I think, to have published *private* and *confidential* letters; another was that he seemed to deny and repudiate his country and countrymen. The first is the only service he could render to the land of Bruce and Wallace; and for the second there is another reason, no doubt, which his countrymen can explain. It seems, however, that though *born in Scotland* he makes a good "Native American." He says,

"Why," asked my friend, "don't you go among your countrymen oftener?" "Do you mean the Scotch," said I. "I do," said he. "Then I'll tell you the reason, they are a d—d scaly set, from top to bottom, and when I pass them in the street I always take the windward side, and avoid shaking hands as I would avoid the itch.' Ha! ha! ha! ho! ho! ho! "No, sir," continued I, "my friends are the 'Natives.' I'll stick to the *Natives*—a fig for the Scotch."

I do not know at what period Bennett wrote this, but I had a

vague recollection of it in my own mind which is confirmed by the quotation here given, and which may be found in the "Life and Writings of James Gordon Bennett," page 8.

But it appears that he is not only a "Native," but that he has their principles—at least so far as the Bible is concerned. You would suppose that if not brought up in one of our public schools himself, he would recommend the system of these schools by its results in his own conduct and character. He says:

"I was educated a strict Catholic, but it was an *enlightened Catholic* My school book in my boyish days was the Bible, King James' Bible, the Protestant Bible. Yet I never found that the reading of that Bible at school ever left any bad effects behind. On the contrary it left good effects. It filled the young mind with the glorious images, the classic language, the noble ideas, and the ever-living principles of *true religion* from its upper fountains. There can be no harm to a good, moral, liberal and intelligent Catholic in having the Bible, yes, even the Protestant Bible in school. The Bible is the Bible in every language, in every translation, in every church, in every sect. Bishop Hughes, committed a most fatal mistake ever to raise that little, narrow, bigoted question about different translations before this Christian and intelligent community." —*Bennett, April* 15, 1844.

What could Mr. Hiram Ketchum himself, say more than this? And if Bennett be an example of the moral effects of such training, what stronger reason can we have for making its adoption universal in our public schools? from which, by the by, apart from particular translations, I *never asked that it should be excluded.*

Bennett has pretended that his assaults on me, of which I have two or three dozen still in reserve, were made in consequence of my conduct at Carroll Hall, and then only for the public good. This is entirely false. His grossest assaults were made before the occurrence at Carroll Hall took place. Until then, ever by his own showing, I had done nothing to authorize his assaults under the plea of public good. Yet, my admitted innocence did not protect me. But why should I speak of myself? Is there a clergyman of any denomination whom he has spared? My amiable and saintly predecessor, even at the age of "70 years and upwards," could not be allowed to escape.

"Bishop Dubois is not a patriarch—he does not effect reforms by his example, or by pastoral advice and government. No, no. *He is doing Catholicity a service* AS THE DEVIL DID JOB *a service*—by his WANT OF ALL EXAMPLE—by his ENTIRE MISGOVERNMENT—by his *capricious and ridiculous tyranny.* . .The CONDUCT of Bishop Dubois has long given great offense to the Catholics. Capricious, tyrannical, HEARTLESS, OLD-WOMANISH and absurd, he has reduced and is reducing the standard of Catholicity to a standard that would make Maria Monk pity it, and Dr. Brownlee say prayers for its safety."—*Bennett, Sept. 9th*, 1836.

Was it for the public good that such a foul attack was made on an

amiable and aged clergyman—whose age and character should have shielded him? No, no. There is nothing of public good in the question. And even as regards the Native American party, whatever its principles were, I cannot believe that they breathed the spirit of extermination which would appear from Bennett's reports of their proceedings. For instance, describing the sensation produced by an appeal in one of their meetings, he has, "(Loud applause.)—Cries of never—we'll die first—*we'll kill the old Pope and* EVERY ONE BELONGING TO HIM FIRST."—*Bennett's Herald Nov.* 25, 1843.

I have underlined the words as making the spirit which Bennett ascribes to the meeting. It is probable that this is one of the "gems of his ribaldry," just as the "shillelahs" were at Carroll Hall. But on the other hand, is it not most dangerous to find him on the day preceding this, as if his object were to urge on the thoughtless and the wicked to bloodshed, circulating the following atrocious slander?

"We hear it whispered that the *Irish Repeal Abolitionists*, who have been organized by Bishop Hughes and John McKeon, intend to make an attack upon the Young Americans, and to drive them out of the Sixth."—*Bennett, Nov. 24th*, 1843.

And all this, whilst he himself had borne testimony to the peaceable conduct of the Irish, as the following passage will show—

"The German population alone have raised a voice against the movement of this party, and strange as it may appear, the Irish adopted citizens, who are generally the first in the field, lie as dormant as terrapins in December."—*Bennett, Oct.* 24, 1843.

Materials of this kind thicken around me as I advance in my subject; but I shall give it up for the present, out of sheer disgust. A free press is essential to a free country. And whilst we know that licentiousness is inseparable from freedom, we must be prepared to bear with the evil for the sake of the good. I think this letter will teach even Mr. Bennett that editors have duties as well as rights in conducting a free press; And that the instrument which they abuse by licentiousness, constitutes after all the most powerful and rigid tribunal, at which to arraign them, for perverting it from its legitimate use. If Bennett had public motives for pouring the torrent of his slanders upon me for the last six years, I trust the same motives will justify me for vindicating myself, and for pointing out the dangers to which everything in the domestic and social relations of life is exposed from the unscrupulous abuse of a free press, by an editor without moral principle. Some one will ask me, whether in writing as I have done, I have not violated charity. My answer is, that I have not. I admit that if Bennett were a man who regarded either charity or truth, in his attacks upon others; or if those attacks were without their influence on society at large, then indeed, I know that I should be violating this heavenly virtue. But Bennett has placed himself in such a position toward society, that if I were charitable to the community, I must seem to be uncharitable toward him. Just imagine if you can an incarnation of demonism

placing itself on the highways of civilized society—ranging with prying inspection, around the whole circle of official, commercial, social, and domestic life; just as the freebooter sweeps the ocean-horizon with his telescope, looking for prey; imagine that incarnation, rushing on its victim with some fatal *secret* of guilt or misfortune, (the wounds of which might heal, if allowed the natural privilege of shade and silence); whispering that fatal secret with sardonic triumph into the ears of those who thought it was unknown, and then—waving to and fro the scorpion lash of its infernal whip, until *tears* or *money*, or *both*, are made to gush forth abundantly,—and then you will have conceived my idea of the powers that may be exercised by a bad man, having the command of a free press. You say Bennett is too contemptible for notice; then answer me the question, why is it that society sustains his paper? You say he is too contemptible for notice; and why is it that you are *afraid of him* and that you would rather lose $100 any time than incur his enmity—out of regard, if not for yourself, at least for your little daughter who climbs on your knee, or, as O'Connell expressed it in the poetry of his grief, "for the lamb that slept in your bosom,"—knowing very well, as you do, that though you fear not, a "poisoned arrow" may be prepared for them when you least expect it. You say that he is too contemptible for notice; and yet, female curiosity will read his paper to *see what he has to say about others*,—whilst female modesty blushes and trembles, at the very idea of itself being made the object of his remarks. Let society show a healthy tone of moral courage; let those who by mistake, take up his paper in the morning, wash their hands again, before going to breakfast; let them cease to grow pale at the idea of having incurred Bennett's enmity, and *then*, if you tell me that he is "too contemptible for notice," I will admit you to be sincere, and a believer of what you say. But until then I cannot agree with you; and I assert, whilst I do not fear him, that Bennett is *not too contemptible to deserve notice.*

I have now submitted the entire case before that tribunal to which the honored man, who was a chaplain to the Congress of Independence said no honest citizen need appeal in vain; namely, public opinion, as it exists *among the American people.* I ask no partial judgment, and I do not anticipate that one of prejudice shall be pronounced against me. Here are the facts, every man who reads can understand them. But I think that at this moment, and without presumption I might be allowed to appeal to the conductors of the public press, to do me according to their own sense of right, simple justice in the premises. Many of them have been misled, and, without intending it, have done me injustice. I have had no resentment, because I have not considered this as wilful or deliberate on their part. But if the time has come when circumstances have compelled me to meet my detractors, is it too much to expect that they will record the sentence which their feelings of honor and sense of justice may dictate? Is it too much to expect this even of "Native Americans?" if they are worthy of the proud title of which

they boast, but which, in order to continue a proud title, must be sustained by magnanimous feelings and honorable virtues.

Allow me again, sir, in conclusion, to quote the principle of moral philosophy laid down at the head of this letter, namely—that there is nothing more powerful than Falsehood except Truth alone. The whole of this letter, I think, establishes the soundness of this principle. It is full of egotism, I know. But it professes to be so. It professes to treat of Bishop Hughes—the assailed of a thousand calumniators—and of James Gordon Bennett, the first and persevering chief of those assailants. The principles represented on the one side, and on the other, have both triumphed, the one in the just but imperfect provision of the Legislature of New York, in extending the blessings of education to the children of this city—this was the triumph of truth. The other has triumphed, also, under the auspices of Mr. Bennett and his colleagues, and (alas for the honor of our country!) may be read in gilt letters on the ruined walls of St. Augustine's: "THE LORD SEETH."

I remain, sir, respectfully, your obedient serv't,

✠ JOHN HUGHES, Bishop of New York.

THIRD LETTER OF THE RIGHT REVEREND BISHOP HUGHES.

Rejoinder to Col. William L. Stone, Editor of the Commercial Advertiser.

RESPECTED AND DEAR SIR,—On unfolding your paper of the 6th inst., I felt gratified at beholding your letter of five columns, inasmuch as it seemed to furnish the evidence of restored health. This feeling however was somewhat damped by a perusal of the letter, which furnished to my mind at least intrinsic evidence that you are still far from being well. That, however, is a matter which I leave in the hands of the faculty. I have read your long letter. I find in it nothing but "words, words, words." Indeed it seems to me that I have refuted most of it, even in the form of words or assertions as it was presented at various times by Mr. Hiram Ketchum under his own name. There are but a very few passages on which I think it worth while to make any commentary. It is true, you repeat some of the assertions which have been made by the editor of the "morning paper," and which have in his case, been proved by FACTS to have been *falsehoods*. If your repetition could by any process make them true, then indeed I should consider them worthy of notice.

You have read my two letters; you have seen those letters composed of facts and arguments, and you have not ventured more than Mr. Bennett to deny a single fact set forth by me in either. You

have not been able to rebut my arguments by the adduction of a single opposite fact; and so long as you leave these documents in that situation—so long will your letters and your columns and your paragraphs amount to "words, words, words"—mere assertion and nothing more. Now, sir, between facts on one side and mere assertion on the other, I have no hesitation in leaving the matter to the judgment of that tribunal, before which we both stand.

I will but just present for your consideration a few reflections that have been suggested by the perusal of your letter. And first of all, allow me to say I shall pass over without comment the many paragraphs of allusion to myself, in which no doubt you supposed you were accomplishing feats of satirical sublimity. That you should shrink with horror from any kind of partnership with Bennett, is precisely what I anticipated, and precisely what caused me to express my regret, that you should have selected for yourself, in his regard, the position in which my letters, or rather your own course, exhibited to you. You say:

"I am not going to rail at Bennett, or to express my indignant fastidiousness at the association. I set it forth as a specimen of what some of your friends have styled 'a most calm and dignified appeal to reason instead of the passions and prejudices of men.' Your *ruse* in this respect, however, exhibits about as much refined taste, to say nothing of its argument, as if I should couple your name with that of the celebrated Monroe Edwards.

"What, Rev. sir, do you shrink from the association? Well you may, and I will not make it. But Monroe Edwards is of your own church. He, like yourself, is an able and accomplished man, and like yourself has he complained bitterly of the attacks made upon him in the newspapers. Still, I will not persevere in the association, although this community will, beyond all doubt, justify me in the introduction of a parallelism which cannot be any more offensive to you, than you supposed would be to me the peculiar connection in which you presented my name to the public, or should I even represent the Carroll Hall orator and the tenant of Sing Sing as respectively the head and tail of the Romish Antichrist."

I thank you, sir, for not pressing this association too closely. And yet, if I had *endorsed* the notes of Mr. Monroe Edwards, as you did those of Bennett, I do not see how I could escape it. You understand the value of the term in commercial affairs and its moral bearing is somewhat analogous. Besides, you cannot plead ignorance of the "morning paper" from which you copied. Not so in regard to those who were imposed upon by Edwards. Until the *finale* of his career, very honorable and intelligent men were deceived by him. But Bennett had not this advantage over you, for you knew him well. If, therefore, I had been unfortunate enough to be in any manner connected with such a man as Monroe Edwards, under the same circumstances as you identified yourself with the "Roman Catholic editor of the morning paper." I should certainly feel mortified, but I do not see that I ought to be offended, at being reminded

of the connection. The one is expatiating the guilt of his bold and iniquitous career—the other is expatiating his also in his own way. But I believe that in reference to both, your opinion and mine would exhibit sufficient agreement. It seems to me that the picture of each may be found drawn with sufficient distinctness in the lines of the poet.

> "Who steals my purse, steals trash; 'tis something—nothing;
> 'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands;
> But he that filches from me my good name,
> Robs me of that which not enriches him,
> And makes me poor 'indeed."

Which of the characters here imagined by the poet, is more despicable, it is not difficult to ascertain. But you say Monroe Edwards is a Catholic. This may be. The Catholic religion has furnished as bad men as any other; still, I wish to inquire whether you make this assertion of your own knowledge or not. I hope you have not again trusted to some "morning paper"—but at any rate, it is a rule in logic that what is gratuitously asserted may be gratuitously denied. I deny, therefore, the assertion that Monroe Edwards is a Catholic, and I call on you for the proofs.

It was a waste of words for you to undertake proving that I made a speech at Carroll Hall. But it was not ingenuous on your part to suppress or overlook the fact, that you, among others, had endeavoured to bring the representatives of the people under the iniquitous obligation of refusing to grant the petition however just it might be, of those who wished an alteration in the School Laws. This was "the ungenerous trick" to which I lately called your attention. It was you and your colleagues who first mingled religion with politics in that question. And whilst you recommended those exclusively who should oppress one portion of the people, my recommendation was for those who should do "justice to *all* classes."

As to your dissertation on the various systems of common school education, I have very little to say. My own preference would be for a system which, if it were practicable, might allow, without interfering with or infringing the provisions of the law, each denomination to instruct its own children in its own peculiar views of religion. But if this cannot be done, then for my own part, I am resigned to any system in which the rights guaranteed by the Constitution shall be secured to the children of each denomination, equally. This is all, and I presume that in this, unless the framers of the Constitution made a great blunder in allowing liberty of conscience at all, you will find nothing to cavil at. As to the Bible in the common schools, I see no great objection to it, provided it be in conformity with the principles just laid down. If you force the Catholic Bible on Protestant children against their will, you inflict an injury, in my opinion, on the religious rights of those children and their parents; and the injury is just as great a violation of right, as if you force the Protestant Bible on Catholic children against their will, or that of their parents. It seems to me that you will hardly question the correctness of this view,

and if you do not, then there is nothing between us to dispute about. As to the Protestant version, to the examination of which you invite my attention, I think it would be a work of supererogation. Or, if you are determined on that subject, you will please to begin by refuting the very many learned and able critics of the Protestant Communion, who have rejected the version of King James, and adopted or recommended others, for reasons which they allege, and which you can attempt to refute, if you please.

You seem disposed to hold me accountable for whatever may be said in the papers that are nominally or really Catholic, such as the *Freeman's Journal* and others. My last letter ought to satisfy you that I regard "a free press as essential to the well-being of a free country." Accordingly I exercise no censorship of authority over these or any other papers, each of them has its own editor, and so far as I am concerned, I wish him to enjoy the same rights, subject to the same responsibilities, which are enjoyed by the editor of the *Commercial Advertiser*. If he violates the honorable trust reposed in him by the public, by deceiving those who expect truth from the conductors of a public press, then let him be held accountable. The only paper I have any connection with is the *Freeman's Journal*, and no man can find anything of party politics in its columns. The other papers, so far as I know, profess to take an interest in politics; and I maintain, without expressing any opinion on the propriety of so doing, that their editors have the same legal right that you have.

In reference to the very disingenuous view which you give of my efforts to prevent any collision through the excitement produced by recent events, you certainly have overlooked what could not have escaped your attention, if your health had been perfectly restored. My statement on that subject was to the effect that I had used every exertion to prevent that portion of the population under my spiritual charge, from being driven into *combination*, under the plea of necessary self-defence. This you turn most disingenuously into a meaning which I never could have intended—as if, I claimed the power of keeping the peace or creating riot at my own option.

This perversion of statements which the public understand perfectly well, does you no credit. A true Christian judges charitably of the intention of the others, whenever the opportunity is presented, without doing violence to the evidence of language and of facts. And, to suppress circumstances, to distort facts, to pervert language, in order to bring out a deceptious, false and uncharitable interpretation, is utterly irreconcilable with the idea of a true Christian man. The man whose breast is pure is slow to suspect except on strong evidences. And to behold everything with a jaundiced eye proves no change in the object, but rather the diseased condition of him who looks upon it.

What I have just said will explain your misconception and misstatements in regard to my official relations with the Church, as clashing with my private obligations to my country. It is a calumny which even the intolerance of the British Government has been

at last obliged to acknowledge. It is a calumny which cannot be uttered except in contempt of the laws of our own freer and happier republic. It is a calumny which no educated man will believe, and to which no educated man ought to give utterance. If it were not a calumny, its legitimate consequence would be to deprive Catholics in this country of the right of discharging any civil trust, whereas the Constitution of the country acknowledges them as entitled equally with their fellow-citizens to fill any office to which they may be appointed.

In relation to the lines quoted by you from the *Freeman's Journal* as indicative of conspiracy and treason, I can only assure you that I had never seen them in that paper, until your reference directed my attention to the subject. I confess that in the garbled form with the underlining of particular words and the evil purpose which they receive from the suggestions of your mind, I saw them, as quoted by you, with regret and displeasure. But, on referring to the poetic effusion from which they are taken, I found nothing treasonable in the purpose, nor defective in the poetry. You are aware that from the time of old Horace, "poets and painters" have claimed and been allowed by all civilized nations a "license" peculiar to themselves. It is on this account, that when the young genius of the land plumed its poetic wings during the recent political contest in this city, I never complained, albeit the sentiments were such as a rigid prose writer like you would be sure to condemn. Let us give a couple of small specimens. The author of the following lines, as we read in the *Native American Paper*, where they were published, is Mr. De Le Ree. They breathe patriotism as well as poetry:

* * * * * *

"Your wives shall praise you for your deeds,
Your sweethearts hug you in their arms,
If once you pluck these foreign weeds
That have been growing on your farms.

"Just cast them out upon the road
And never let them in your lot,
You've found they were a heavy load,
Then dump and send them all to pot."

But to show that poetic genius is no monopoly among "Native Americans," we have the following specimen ascribed in the same paper to Mr. Job Haskell.

* * * * * * *

"And did those mighty heroes intend their sons for slaves,
To bow to foreign bishops who crossed the ocean's waves?
No! a voice comes booming o'er our vast extended plain,
March on my brave Americans, *if thousands should be slain.*

"And shall our Common Schools, the Republic's strongest hope
Be wielded by deceitful Priests, a Bishop, or the Pope?

No! answers free-born millions; *give them a traitor's grave*,
Advance, advance, Americans—your boasted bulwarks save.

"Loud sounds the sacred bugle, the American youth dash on,
Base foreigners shall bite the ground—our war-cry, Washington," &c

Now, sir, in both of these it might seem to a dull proser that very objectionable ideas and purposes were inculcated. You will certainly think so. But I throw myself back on the old canon of license that has always been granted to poets and painters. And so I interpret the words "if thousands should be slain"; they do not signify as you would imagine literally slaying, but only *poetic* slaughter. So also "give them a traitor's grave" means a grave of poetry. And "base foreigners shall bite the ground" is to be interpreted in the same way.

To give you an idea of the spirit of the effusion from which you have quoted, by insinuating a meaning which the poet never could have intended, let me quote to you the first two stanzas, which seem to be in reference to the freedom and independence of the country:

"They're graven on the nation's heart—
The lofty deeds of yore,
When Tyranny, with trailing dart,
Shrank wailing from our shore—
They're blazoned on our banner, too,
And every crystal star
Illumes each serf's long-shrouded view,
And terror strikes each Czar.

"And on this consecrated soil
Would *Persecution's* hand
Tear down the patriot's work of toil—
Place on our flag a brand?
Unsullied yet, that flag shall wave—
That fane unshaken stand,
While Freedom wield's a *two-edged* glaive
To curb each bigot band."

* * * * * *

These are the opening stanzas, and suggest the whole spirit of the piece. It may have been written, for what I know, by a foreigner, or what the Chinese would call an outside barbarian; but then, *we* are a civilized people, and we must extend to him, if he court the muses, the same license that we do to our own poets.

It was, sir, much to be regretted that you had not Mr. Ketchum at your elbow, whilst you were writing your letter. For there is nothing so injurious to a cause, as a discrepancy or direct contradiction between the witnesses who are called upon to support it. There are several such discrepancies in your letter. But I shall call your attention to only two out of the whole number. Your words in one place are:—"I had almost said we would rather see them (Protestant children) Papists, than that an early infidel bias should be given to their tender minds."

This, sir, is a sentiment which does you honor, but at the same time shows how far you are behind the liberality of your own age and denomination. One of your most distinguished "Bishops"—Dr. Spring—said in his speech before the Common Council—when I uttered sentiments somewhat similar to yours:

"The gentleman has sought to prove that the present system leads to infidellty. Now, sir, let no man think it strange, that I (Dr. Spring) should prefer infidelity to Catholicism. Even a mind as acute as Voltaire's came to the conclusion, that if there was no alternative between infidelity and the dogmas of the Catholic Church, he should choose infidelity. I WOULD CHOOSE, SIR, IN SIMILAR CIRCUMSTANCES, TO BE AN INFIDEL TO-MORROW."

If the legal advocate of the Public Schools, already alluded to, had been near you when you wrote your letter, he would not have allowed you to put yourself in such direct contradiction to the Rev. gentleman who gave utterance to the liberal sentiment. Again, you write as follows:

"The system of public schools, thus established in this city, was working admirably. It was the pride and glory of our city, and its superintendence the occupation of our most virtuous and intelligent citizens. The intelligent infidel even acquiesced in it. Sectarianism was hushed, and bigotry was asleep, until, in an evil hour, you appeared to trouble the waters."

Now, sir, referring to the same debate, we have Mr. Ketchum's own authority for stating that long before I appeared or agitated the tranquil waters of the Public system, that system had been assailed by petitions from "the Episcopalians,"—petitions from "the Dutch Reformed Church"—petitions from "the Methodist Church," petitions from "the Baptist Church," and from "the Catholic Church," "time and again," to use his own elegant expression! If, then, all these denominations were so dissatisfied with the public school system, that they petitioned respectively against it, you can judge for yourself how unfounded is that popularity which you ascribe to it, until I, as you say, began to find fault with the system. Suppose all these denominations opposed to it, as Mr. Ketcham asserts, then I should like to know who were its friends—except those who sympathise with Dr. Spring in the sentiment which he expresses with so much *naïveté* and candor. These are a few of the inconsistencies and contradictions to which I have alluded. But there are other expressions also, such as "a predominant national religion above the laws," that sound strangely in the ears of those who regard the constitution of the country as being the all-protecting instrument appointed for the protection of religious as well as civil rights. And if there be "a predominant national religion" above that instrument, it would suggest the inference that the Constitution itself is under *its* protection. At all events, the language is novel in this country, and will give rise to some strange reflections.

This is all I have deemed it necessary to say in reference to your letter. *You have not opposed one single fact* to those which I have

laid down in my two former communications. You have given, indeed, five columns of words, in which there is much vague declamation, much personal abuse, which I shall not notice; much ungenerous suspicion and unwarranted insinuation, much of assertion; but from under the whole mountain of words thus piled together, there comes forth scarcely a mouse of sense or argument. Neither do I pretend to have dealt in argument in this letter. I have merely suggested a few considerations for your reflection and that of the public, as they rose in mind, on the perusal of your letter. Having done so, allow me to conclude by expressing the hope that your health may be soon restored and, as the Spaniards would say, that you may live a thousand years.

I have the honor to be, sir, with great respect,
Your humble and obedt. servt.
✠ JOHN HUGHES, Bishop of New York.

June 7, 1844.

FOURTH LETTER OF BISHOP HUGHES.

"Be severe when animadverting upon evil practices or dangerous principles, BUT BE NOT ABUSIVE, FOR THAT ONLY DISGRACES YOURSELF."

My Dear Colonel,—The above is taken from a Native American paper as a hint to editors, and I admire the humanity of the writer if his object was to suggest to you in a delicate manner the great fault of your letters, in the hope, no doubt, that for your own sake you would avoid its repetition. You must be aware that I had no other purpose in writing, except to vindicate myself from the charges which you and Mr. Bennett have been foremost to circulate, and which I have called upon you to prove. I had supposed that the justice of public opinion would allow no man in this country, to be abridged of that fair reputation to which an unexceptionable conduct entitles him.

If I have organized my flock into a political party—*if* I have attempted to keep up national distinctions in the community—*if* I have made appeals to religious prejudices—*if* I have sought to expel the Bible from the public schools—*if* I have solicited the blackening of the public school books—*if* I have allied myself with any political party or individual—*if* I have done any action or uttered any sentiment unworthy of a Christian Bishop and an American citizen, you and Mr. Bennett who have accused me of all these things, must now either furnish the proof *or* stand before the community as false accusers. I assert positively as facts that I have done none of the things here mentioned. If I have, you must be in possession of the facts which prove it. This, properly speaking, constitutes the only question in controversy between us. I appeal to the justice of public opinion on all these charges, and, nothing but facts will be sufficient

to disprove my denial of them. I have called on you for the facts in reference to any one of these charges, and it appears, so far, that you have no facts to produce. Then, sir, your accusations fall to the ground, like those of your degraded leader—"the Roman Catholic editor of a morning paper." In my first letter I laid down all the propositions that were necessary to cover my whole character and conduct as FACTS which are to be overthrown, if assailed at all, not by sophistry or argument, but by other facts, with witnesses, which will prove them untrue. *Now, therefore, James Gordon Bennett, William L. Stone and ye other deceivers of the public, stand forth and meet Bishop Hughes. But then, come forth in no quibbling capacity; come forth as honest men, as true American citizens, with truth in your hearts and candor on your lips. I know you can write well—and can multiply words and misrepresent truth—this is not the thing that will serve you now. Come forth with your* FACTS. *Bishop Hughes places himself in the simple panoply of an honest man before the American people. He asks no favor—but he simply asks whether the opinion of Bishop White is true, that with the American people no man can be put down by calumny? Bring, therefore, your facts to disprove the foregoing negative propositions. Bishop Hughes pledges himself to prove those that are affirmative, if you, or any decent man with his signature, will deny them.* [See the propositions in my letter to Mayor Harper.]

Have you denied the truth of one of those propositions? Have you stated one solitary fact opposed to their truth? Not one! If, therefore, these propositions be true, as I contend they are, and as you have not disproved by any fact, then, sir, I am in a position to say to you also—you "have borne false witness against your neighbor."

Ah! but you say I made a speech at Carroll Hall, and you ask whether Bennett's report of it was "a burlesque, a caricature, a false representation?" I answer, it was all three. If you will please to turn to the 7th, 8th, and 9th pages of my second letter, you will see the *proof* that it was all three. You will perceive that when Bennett denied this, the falsehood of the denial was then impressed on the brazen forehead of its author. Yet this falsehood of his, you endorse with your name. I trust, therefore, you will not consider hereafter an association of your own choice with this man equally offensive to you, as if you had been made the dupe of Monroe Edwards. You say that "I represent Bennett's report as the foundation of all my positions." Here again, sir, you are led into a perversion of truth by too close an imitation of the "morning editor." What I said was not the burlesque report merely, but, the whole "*Herald* of the next morning." If you refer to page 16 of my second letter, you will perceive that Bennett falsified truth in the spirit of the articles, in the adjective, in the noun, and in the preposition, that he falsified truth in what he suppressed respecting my speech at Carroll Hall. How then can you, unless you are ambitious of being associated with Bennett, repeat the statements which stand as falsehoods proven against him, when they were first uttered?

You identify the report of that speech, as it is found in the *Freeman's Journal*, the *Herald*, and the *Advertiser*. Sir, if I could suppose you competent to write, at the time your letter was penned, I should regard this statement as something worse than disingenuous. You had seen my letter as addressed to yourself. In that letter you saw that, whether rightly reported or not, I admitted, and held myself responsible for the speech in Carroll Hall, as reported in the *Freeman's Journal*, "but *not* as it is found with the waving of *shillelahs* in Bennett's *Herald*," and, I may now add, the *Commercial Advertiser*. It suited your purpose to copy from the *Herald*, and it is too late now for you to pretend that the association dishonors you. Yet, sir, I shall not put you in the same situation in regard to this, in which I placed Mr. Bennett. I shall not apply to you the moral force of truth which left such indelible characters impressed upon his brow, although so far as it regards the new theory of *stimmautology*, it would have been my interest, or rather the interest of the science, to have selected you for the experiment, as being a more *impressible* subject. I need hardly say to you, that the scientific and technical term *stimmautology* means in common language, nothing more than the science of self-branding.

I perceive, however, that you make a distinction. You admit it possible that Bennett's report was unfair, that there was a *suppressio veri*, but you deny that this "mars the sense;" and with a hardihood on which your great leader would not have ventured, you still insist upon its being *verbatim et literatim*. On reading this assertion of yours, I should be tempted to treat its author in the manner he deserves, if it were not that you are said to be indisposed, and so far entitled to consideration. But on the other hand, the fierce spirit and harsh, not to say insulting, style of your letters appear to be little in harmony with the sober and unimpassioned feelings that are most appropriate to a sick chamber. I am obliged, however, to regard them as yours, for the signature, if not the composition, is *your* property; and it is not for me to say, whether you make the best use of it, when you endorse for Bennett, or inscribe it at the foot of such letters as have lately appeared in your name.

You have seen that in the "burlesque" report and commentaries of Bennett, there were not only omissions of *the true*, but also additions of *the false*. Supposing that from a judge's charge to the jury, you were to select out of fifteen paragraphs, only two or three, and these apparently unaccountable in the absence of the reasoning and law that had gone before, supposing you gave to these three paragraphs a malignant interpretation directly the reverse of what the reasoning of the suppressed passages was calculated to convey, would not the public be justified in calling your pretended report a "burlesque" and a "caricature" of the judge's charge? Ah! but say you the same words, as far as they are reported, are found in both, and "the *suppressio veri*" does not "mar the sense." Admirable critic of the *Commercial Advertiser!* To illustrate the absurdity of this rule of criticism, I will mention a Biblical anecdote, which I have

read, I forget where, but with which you, as a man of learning and experience, are no doubt well acquainted. It had reference to an edition of King James' Bible, in which the *negative particle* of what you call the seventh precept of the decalogue was omitted. You will contend that this *suppressio veri* does not mar the sense! And yet the difference between the real report in the decalogue and the false report of the printer, had the effect to command the very crime it was intended to forbid. Now, every word in the false report was to be found in the true report. But there was one little word of only three letters found in the true report which was *not* in the false; and this may illustrate how far the *suppressio veri* may and does "mar the sense." When Bennett asserted that the report in the *Freeman's Journal*, and that in his vile sheet were *verbatim et literatim* the same, he knew that he was writing falsehood, and the public will know that you, should you venture to repeat it again, will be writing, if you have not already written, under the same consciousness. I repeat what I have already stated to the public, "that my speech at Carroll Hall was not the speech of a politician. It was the speech of a man who has some reverence for the dignity of human nature. It was the speech of an American who knows and prizes the rights secured by the American Constitution, which he would not wish to see violated in any denomination of Christians more than in his own." Read that speech as it is in the *Freeman's Journal*. Is there any appeal to foreigners? to Irish? to Catholics? Politicians? or to any class of beings, except so far as a principle of clear, indisputable right and justice could be an appeal to the understanding, and the heart of every honest man?

The meeting at Carroll Hall was for promoting education. There is clear evidence on record, that at different times when some of the speakers would introduce politics, I declared to them positively, that the moment politics were introduced, I should quit their meetings. Why was it, then, that the question forced itself upon us? This, sir, will bring out the true facts of the case, which you and your colleagues have labored so diligently to conceal. You first fettered the candidates of one party, and extorted from them a PLEDGE, that (no matter what *might be* the corruptions and abuses of the Public School Society, no matter what *might be* the oppressions which that close corporation *might* inflict upon a portion of the people:) the candidates should go to the legislature, if sent at all, *bound not to dare touch, or alter, or amend, or improve* that corporate system, in which the people had no voice or right of election. Was it not shameful that you should take away from the *representatives of the whole community*, in the legislature, the power to *remove injustice*, if injustice should be found? But not satisfied with this enslavement of the candidates of one party, you attempted to put manacles on the candidates of the other also; and you did find some of them willing, instead of being the free and fair representatives of the whole people, to go to Albany as the bondsmen wearing the yoke and livery of the Public School Corporation. It was the intention of those who

wished a change in the Public School system, to lay their grievances before the ensuing legislature, and to petition for their redress. What would have been the use of their petitioning, if *they*, too, had voted for men bound, especially bound, *to deny even the justice of their prayer?* Thus, the decision of their case, not by their choice nor by mine, but by your artful arrangements, was anticipated, and *brought by you* into a position in which they must either *co-operate with you*, in perpetuating the grievance of which they had to complain, or else separate themselves, and show that *they at least*, would not knowingly vote against their own right to seek redress. My speech was made simply to point out the trap which had been laid for them. It was simply to tell them that they could not expect justice in the legislature, if they became parties to the injustice themselves, by voting for men pledged to refuse it. This was on the 29th of October. Up to that period, even Bennett avowed that there was nothing to censure in my conduct. Observe, I do not quote Bennett as if *he* were worthy of belief, even when he tells the truth. But knowing as you know even the malignity with which he pursued me, before that period, if I had left it in his power, he would not have failed to denounce me, inasmuch as he *does* prefer truth to falsehood, whenever the former furnishes a higher gratification to his avarice and revenge than the latter. I repeat, therefore, that his charges and yours against me in connection with this subject are and have been false and slanderous from the beginning. My addresses at all times in Carroll Hall on the School Question were directed to citizens constituting, as I supposed, a part of the great American family; and if sometimes I had occasion to allude to the countries of their fathers, or from which many of themselves came, it was for the purpose of attaching them the more strongly to that of their adoption; to teach them that *here* the constitution and laws are wise, and just, and liberal; that under such laws if they suffered a wrong, they had but to seek redress at the proper tribunals. This was the nation, of which I exhorted them to prove themselves worthy, and not any foreign country, as you erroneously assert. Who then, sir, I ask, was it who first threw the religious elements of sectarian strife into this School question? I say, and I shall prove presently, that whilst I had no hand or part in it, the editor of the *Commercial Advertiser*, who expressed such holy horror at the "mixture," was himself among the first to fling the bitter ingredients of religious animosity into the political cauldron. Ten days before the meeting at Carroll Hall, you, Col. Stone, were the author of the following false and uncharitable paragraph:

"The School Question.—So, the Pope has been at work at Tammany Hall, and his votaries have obtained their demand of the 'party.' A portion of the assembly ticket nominated, is in favor of breaking up our admirable system of common schools, and transforming them into nurseries of the Romish Church. In other words, if Messrs. Pentz & Co. can succeed in their schemes, the Protestants of the city are to be taxed for the support of Roman Catho-

LIC SCHOOLS, AS SUCH. Are the Protestants of New York prepared for this?"—*Com. Advertiser*, Vol. xliv., Tuesday evening, Oct. 19, 1841.

This was written and the emphatic words underlined as above, ten days before the meeting at Carroll Hall. Instead of being ashamed of this inflammatory, sectarian appeal, founded as it was on the gross calumny which it asserts, I find you quoting from my speech in your last letter as follows, and of course refuting yourself: "We do not ask that any portion of the public money should be confided to us, for the purpose of teaching our religion at the public expense. Such a demand would be ABSURD, and would RICHLY MERIT THE REBUKE WHICH IT COULD NOT ESCAPE."

This was a part of my speech at Carroll Hall. You perceive that it is a direct refutation of your calumny quoted above. And how do you reply to it? Do you say, as you should with advantage to your honor, "We are sorry indeed that under a wrong impression, we made a false charge against the Roman Catholics—that we have thoughtlessly excited religious rancor among our citizens by an appeal to them, not as Whigs or Locofocos—but as *Protestants* against *Catholics*." No—no, nothing of this kind. I had answered your calumny in my speech, and whilst that answer is before you—whilst I acknowledge that if your statement had been true, "our demand would be *absurd*, and would richly *merit* the rebuke which it could not escape," your remark is—"That rebuke, sir, I am now administering to you." But why my dear Colonel, ? I have proved that I was innocent of the charge which merited the rebuke. I have proved that when you made that charge you bore false witness against your neighbor. Why then should you rebuke me? I fear, my poor friend, that you are very sick indeed.

But it is altogether astonishing that your memory should so entirely have failed you on this subject. In the *Commercial Advertiser* of Saturday, October 23, 1841, just one week before the meeting at Carroll Hall, you published the following:

"THE ISSUE IN NEW YORK.

"We learn that the County Convention for nominating Whig candidates for the City and County of New York, adopted the following resolution, preliminary to the discharge of the special duty for which they were chosen:

"*Resolved*, That this Convention will not nominate any person as a candidate for the Assembly, who is in favor of any alteration of the present system of the distribution of the school fund."

This resolution was sufficiently clear in itself. It signified that *no alteration* should be allowed in respect to any improvement in the system of Public School education. Its authors took care not to introduce the religious element into the expression of it. But not so

Col. Stone. He again turns away from Whigs, and appeals to "Protestants."

"This resolution," he says, "was adopted by the convention with but a single dissenting voice, and the Whig Assembly ticket has been selected upon the principle therein set forth. Indeed the candidates have all been informed that they are nominated *expressly to oppose any* alteration in the mode of distributing the school fund in the city of New York. Now, then, as to the candidates for the Senate, the PROTESTANTS of the City of Brooklyn, and, indeed of the district, demand that the candidates for the Senate be selected on the same principle, and unless they are so selected with the distinct understanding, that they will sustain our present incomparable system AS IT IS, *they will not be sustained by the people.*"

Here was another appeal to the religious prejudices of the community, and to the honor of that community be it said, it was treated as it deserved. In a few days afterwards, Col. Stone was charged by one of his colleagues of the press in the following words: "*The gross and uncalled for attacks* of the *Commercial Advertiser* upon the Catholic religion lost us the city."

These, sir, are facts from your own pen, and, so far as the only controversy which I desire to have with you, namely—that which appertains to my own character and conduct in the natural right of vindicating both from the foul and false charges which you and Mr. Bennett have been the foremost to promulgate—these facts will be quite sufficient for my purpose. But I have a great many more when you will be able to hear them. The files of your paper teem with them. All the other portions of your letter, though they might be very well in their place, yet, so far as regards the only question between us, are mere "words, words, words." For instance, you maintain "the existence and necessity of a NATIONAL PREDOMINANT RELIGION which is neither established nor unestablished." You maintain the necessity of a scheme of public education, to which "discontented fragments MUST CONFORM, and towards which *they can exercise no veto power?*" This, sir, is strong language to use toward a people who suppose themselves free. I am at a loss to know by what authority you ordain *what the law does not*, that they "must conform." You maintain that King James' Bible is the best version of the sacred scripture in our language. I am of a different opinion. Now, sir, I ask you whether as a "discontented fragment" I have a right to any opinion on the subject; or whether I "*must conform?*" You say, "the great battle of the Reformation is to be fought over again." But, let me ask you whether there be not some more Christian mode of *illuminating* the minds of the "Papists" than that of burning their churches? All the Reformations, so called, that have taken place, would have succeeded much better if their advocates had exercised a little more charity and tolerance towards each other. But I shall not pursue the subject now. I have written but for one single object, namely, to vindicate myself; and I have no doubt but that all men of candid minds will agree that that object has been thoroughly accomplished.

I commenced this letter with a very just quotation from a "Native American" paper. Allow me to close it by another from an English Protestant clergyman. But before doing so, let me call to your recollection an honorable passage of your own, when you were nobly engaged in scattering the conspiracy of *Maria Monk*, and her associates to the wind. "In so doing," you remark, "I have believed myself to be likewise performing a duty to Protestant Christianity in the light of TRUTH; since I believe the most sovereign antidote to the march of Popery will ever be found in that divine attribute (truth); and if the Papal power can be overthrown only by *fraud*, *falsehood*, and *imposture*, I say for one let it stand." Pity, sir, that ever this noble sentiment should have passed from the memory of its author. The quotation from the Rev. author of the portraiture of Methodism, Mr. Nightingale, is as follows. I give it for what it is worth, leaving you to judge whether it has any application to your recent letters or not.

"When the early Reformers had, with a pertinacity unbecoming their extraordinary pretensions to purity of doctrine and spirituality of character, succeeded in affixing on their old friends the nickname of *Papists*, and on the faith they deserted from, that of *Popery*, the prejudice these terms were intended to inspire, found its way from the pen of the zealot and the lips of the declaimer, to the solemn acts of nations, and the edicts of the reformed princes. The liberal and enlightened spirit of modern times has dictated a wiser course, and the term *Roman Catholic* is that by which those formerly called *Papists*, are now designated in all the great statutes of this country (England).

* * * "The reproachful epithets of 'Papist,' 'Romanist,' 'Popish,' 'Romish,' &c., are no longer applied to them by any *gentleman* or *scholar*."

I have the honor to be, Sir, your obedient Servant,

✠ JOHN HUGHES, Bishop of New York.

ALLEGED BURNING OF BIBLES.

Editor of the Evening Post:—Sir,—I send you, herewith, the report of the proceedings of a meeting "convened in the Methodist Episcopal Church at Beekmanstown," on Wednesday, the 30th of November, in relation to the alleged burning of a quantity of "Bibles, by Roman Catholic priests, in the town of Champlain, Clinton county, New-York." I request that you will have the goodness to publish the said proceedings in connection with this communication. I found them in the *Albany Evening Journal*, which has reached me by the post of this day; and I lose not a moment to express through the medium of the public press, the indignation with which I condemn the proceedings there reported, so far as they may turn out to be true. I have had no opportunity of judging of the facts in this case, except through the medium of the public press; and so far as that medium has reflected truth, I protest against the alleged burning of Bibles, in my own name, and in the name of the Catholic Clergy and Catholic laity of the diocese of New-York. I protest against it, as an act unworthy of citizens of this republic; and I protest against it, in order that, if it did occur, the parties immediately concerned in it shall alone be held responsible.

Claiming to enjoy the privileges of the Constitution, granted to all citizens without distinction of creed, I hold it unworthy their position to do an act calculated to injure the rights or wound the feelings of any other denomination; and with these feelings, which, I trust, are the universal feelings of Catholicism in the United States, I cannot find language strong enough to express my reprobation of the outrage committed on the feelings of my Protestant fellow-citizens, by an act so shocking to their prejudices, as would be the burning, in an ostentatious manner, of that form of translation of the Bible, to which they are so generally attached.

In these remarks, I have supposed for the moment, that the statement assumed by the "meeting convened in the Methodist Episcopal Church in the town of Champlain, Clinton county, New-York," is a true statement; I do not, however, admit the truth of it; but merely assume it for the purpose of expressing the feelings which, if it were true, it should excite in my breast, and in the breast of every American Catholic. From the form of the proceedings, however, I take it for granted that there must be *some* truth in it; and, so far, I unite with them in the unqualified condemnation of the act.

As I understand the duty of American citizens, I conceive that every man, so long as he governs himself by the laws of his country, and fulfills the duties of his social position, is accountable to God alone for the convictions of his conscience; and, therefore, it is, that I condemn, with the same emphasis, the burning of Protestant Bibles, as I would the burning of a Catholic convent; and, as I hold that it would be unjust to condemn the Protestant ministers, and the Protestant people of the United States, for the burning of a convent at Boston, so I maintain it would be equally unjust to hold

the Catholic people, or the Catholic priesthood, accountable for the burning of a Protestant translation of the Scriptures, in the town of Champlain, Clinton county, New-York.

Catholics have but little respect for King James' translation of the Bible; but they should have respect for the different convictions of their Protestant fellow-citizens on that subject. There are zealots among the Protestants who think they do God a service, when, by unworthy artifices, they can succeed in thrusting their tracts, and their version of the Scriptures, into Catholic families. They are not satisfied to allow the Catholic to follow the dictates of his own conscience, but they must confer upon him benefits, as they suppose, which his conscience obliges him to refuse. Catholics have the Scriptures, approved by their own Church, published in every form, to suit their circumstances; they should therefore refuse politely, but with firmness and independence, the offer of every version which they regard as spurious; and if, after such refusal, those obtrusive Bible distributors should force into their dwellings such copies, I would regard them as justified in hurling the copy out of doors after him who had left it. Thus, as the laws of the country now stand, if Congress should pass an act declaring the version of King James to be the true translation of the Holy Scriptures, then indeed the Bible distributors may claim the authority of the state for proceedings which, as things now are, cannot but be regarded as extremely impertinent on their part, in reference to their Catholic fellow-citizens.

Catholics, therefore, cannot in conscience receive this spurious text, but they can never correct the error of having received it by burning it afterwards. And Protestants, if they wish to see the rights secured by the constitution fairly carried out, will distribute their Bibles among their own people, instead of attempting to smuggle them into Catholic families who do not wish to receive them. We never force our Tracts, or our peculiar doctrines, on any denomination differing from us in religious belief; and we claim the reciprocity of courtesy from other denominations.

I regret, sir, to perceive in the proceedings of the meeting evidence going far to prove that the reverend gentlemen who took part in it were actuated more by ill-will towards their Catholic fellow-citizens, than by sincere Christian respect for the Holy Scriptures. They speak of the real or supposed burning of the Bibles, as having been done by "the Roman Catholic priests." Why did they not mention the *names* of these priests? Why did they not mention the *time* when the thing occurred — the place, the circumstances? So as the public might distinguish between the "*the* priests" who were guilty of this offence, and the others who had nothing to do with it? Why, if they are honest men, did they not give names and dates and particulars, by which the party guilty of the offence could be distinguished from the mass of Catholic priests and Catholic people of the United States? I ask very naturally this question, why was it so? and I find no answer except in the supposition that they wished to impose on the *honest feelings* of their

countrymen, and excite a *general* persecution against ALL who are "priests," or all who are "Catholics."

It was once my duty in Philadelphia to attend a member of my communion in the last stage of consumption. Poverty and disease had left her for a long time dependent on the benevolence of a few charitable persons who were acquainted with her situation. Among these was a committee of ladies from a Protestant Benevolent Society—persons naturally of most tender and humane feelings. They had been exceedingly kind to her, mingling their ministrations of comfort with the most pious exhortations; but for several weeks immediately previous to my visit, they had made it a point to supply the suffering victim with a bowl of meat soup on each successive Friday. She might have been hungry; but on seeing the choice which they had made, and the time which they had selected for making it, "she had no appetite," she said; not wishing to offend them by a more direct refusal! for she had received many benefits from them for which she was grateful. In her situation it would have been no violation of her Catholic duties to have taken soup or meat on any day; and yet I could not but admire and reverence the independence of *conscience* manifested by the dying sufferer, when the assault was made upon it through her poverty and destitution. Those good ladies were at length determined not to be disappointed in their benevolence, and insisted on waiting till she had taken the soup in their presence. She then told them that she was a Catholic, and it was Friday; and after ejaculating a few expressions of pious horror at the blindness of her heart, left her and returned no more.

Alas! thought I, if this be Protestantism, it has not the spirit of the good Samaritan, and I am not surprised that it makes so little impression; and yet the ladies to whom I have referred were among the most respectable, kind and benevolent of that philanthropic city.

Now, sir, it is to be feared that the benevolence and philanthropy of Protestants are too often under the guidance of a similar spirit; it is to be feared that this spirit has presided too much at the meeting to which we have referred. I blame the Catholics for their contemptible pusillanimity and want of principle, in admitting into their possession copies of the Scriptures which they hold to be spurious; I blame them equally for their indecent disregard of what is due to the religious feelings of their fellow-citizens, in taking those Bibles and publicly burning them afterwards. I condemn and disavow this act in the name of the Catholic clergy and laity of the diocese of New York. And if it was done, let the individuals concerned in it, whether priests or laymen, be held answerable for their unbecoming proceedings.

In the meantime, however, not having any knowledge of the transaction, except what is contained in the bad spirit of the proceedings of the meeting held in the Methodist Episcopal Church, I am unprepared to believe that report until it be attested by more minute and circumstantial evidence; and in order to satisfy the public mind, and to test the accuracy of those proceedings, I would request that

any two Protestant gentlemen of good, liberal feelings, would join two Catholic laymen and proceed to the place for the purpose of preparing a report which shall contain the fact, if the fact has occurred, the names of the parties, the time, place and circumstances of this extravagant proceeding. I will be willing myself to pay the expenses of the Catholic gentlemen, or, if necessary, of them all. In this way an odium, which would be as unjust as it is unmerited by the Catholic body of the United States, will be repelled; and the individuals who are culpable of the alleged outrage will be held up in their proper names to the reprehension which, if the report of the meeting alluded to be correct, they so unqualifiedly deserve.

✠ JOHN HUGHES, Bishop of New York.

New York, January 1, 1843.

"The Rev. J. Rooney, at the instance of Bishop Hughes, caused the gentlemen whose names are appended to the following report to visit Corbu and institute a rigid inquiry into the facts connected with the burning of the Bibles at that place.

Report.

The undersigned, in compliance with a request of the Rev. J. Rooney, of Plattsburgh, and in conformity with the wishes of Bishop Hughes of New York, as published in the papers, met at Corbu, in the town of Champlain, for the purpose of ascertaining the facts in relation to the burning of Bibles at that place in November last.

After having examined a number of witnesses, we have to report, that Bibles were burnt, and that the number will not vary much from forty-two—we think that to be the precise number. They were burnt by Mr. Telman, a Missionary from Canada, and recently from France, a Friar oblat—that Mr. Telman was the sole instigator and mover in the business of burning Bibles, and in opposition to the wishes and feelings of Mr. Durgas, the resident Clergyman at Corbu. It appears that the number burnt was but a small proportion of the whole number distributed among the people. These Bibles were given to the Catholics by Protestant agents of the Bible Society, and in some cases were left with individuals after an expression of repugnance to receive them, and but a small number of those who gave up their Bibles to be burned could read at all.

It appeared in testimony that the Bishop of Montreal was at Corbu five days after the above transaction, and expressed in strong language his disapprobation of the whole affair.

Therefore, in view of the above facts and circumstances, we have arrived at the conclusion that whatever odium or blame there is in this transaction, it belongs to Mr. Telman; and that it would be uncharitable and unjust to throw it upon the whole denomination.

Eben'r A. Scott, Hiram Ladd, David Parsons, *Protestants.*
Mich'l Haggerty, John Riley, Patrick Moffitt, *Catholics.*

THE JUBILEE OF 1842.

JOHN, by the Grace of God, and the appointment of the Holy See Bishop of Basileopolis, Coadjutor to the Bishop and Administrator of the Diocese of New York, to the Clergy and Faithful of said diocese, Peace and Benediction.

Venerable Brethren of the Clergy, and beloved Children of the Laity.

The evils which have afflicted the Church of Spain, have caused our Holy Father GREGORY XVI, the Supreme Visible Pastor of the Church on Earth, to address an Encyclical Letter to the Bishops and faithful of the universal flock committed to his care, inviting and urging them to offer up their united supplications and prayers to God, to obtain the abbreviation of the days of trial, which now press on the faithful in the Spanish dominions.

In the Church of God there is a communion of joys and sorrows, as well as of faith. If one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; and if one member rejoices, all the members rejoice. It is a melancholy spectacle to behold the children of Spain, so constant and so ardent in their immemorial attachment to the Holy See, exposed by the oppressive conduct of temporal rulers, to be severed from the everlasting centre of Catholic Unity. In that country, Princes have met together against the Lord and against his Christ; the ancient laws of the Church are violated by secular enactments, and the violation forced on the Clergy and faithful, contrary to their will. Bishops driven into exile for no crime but fidelity to their God; Priests consigned to prison for refusing to recognize sacrilege and the spoliation of the House of God, by the usurpations of arbitrary, temporal power; Altars left without the Minister to offer sacrifice on them, and Temples robbed of all that made them august and venerable in the estimation of the people; the people themselves deprived of the ministry of faithful and lawful Pastors; mark the progress of the powers of darkness, in their efforts to destroy that religion, which at all times constituted the first glory of Spain. The Sovereign Pontiff, on whom devolves the solicitude of all the churches, obliged by the duties of his exalted station to witness these ravages in the Lord's vineyard, in the affliction of his paternal heart, calls upon all the faithful, as in the days when their prayers obtained the release of Peter from prison, again to supplicate the Father of Mercies on behalf of the persecuted faithful of Spain.

We cannot co-operate effectually in the intention thus set forth, unless we ourselves be reconciled to God by repentance and compunction of heart. With the view to obtain these necessary dispositions, and that our prayers may be acceptable to Heaven, the Holy Father has granted to all the faithful, who shall have returned to God, by a sincere confession, the reception of the sacraments of Penance and of the Holy Eucharist, a Plenary Indulgence in the form of a Jubilee.

The conditions required for obtaining the indulgence are, that the faithful having received the above sacraments with worthy dispositions, shall assist at the public prayers of the church, three

times within fifteen consecutive days, and shall have prayed fervently with the above intention. The prayers to be publicly read after Mass in each Church, during fifteen days, are Litanies of the Saints with the Orations attached to them, and the private prayers to be said by each individual, are the Lord's Prayer, and Hail Mary each three times.

The period for complying with these conditions, and gaining the Indulgences attached thereto, has been graciously extended to a period of six months from the date of the reception of the Apostolic letters in this country. These letters were received about the middle of May, and there remain of the term unexpired little more than ten weeks.

The Pastors, therefore, of the different congregations will lose no time in giving to their flocks the opportunity of profiting by this season of grace and of mercy. Their own powers, in the tribunal of penance, are extended even to cases which, in the ordinary circumstances of their ministry, would not come within their exercise.

Wherever it can be done, it should be desirable that there should be public exercise in the Church in the form of a spiritual retreat. This would give them the opportunity of instructing and exhorting their people; of calling on those who have, perhaps, long neglected the sacraments of the Church, to profit by this happy occasion, and to be reconciled with their God. It would be well also, if Clergymen living contiguous, or in the same neighbourhood, should so arrange it that they might be able to assist each other.

The Reverend Clergy will understand that in case of sickness, distance from the Church, or any other causes, which they may deem sufficient, they are authorised to dispense with the visits to the Church prescribed by the Brief, and even to substitute other prayers, instead of those mentioned, according to their charity and prudence. But, in order to gain the Plenary Indulgence, it is essential that the faithful shall have approached the Sacraments of Penance and the Holy Eucharist, and that they shall offer their prayers in the intention of our Holy Father the Pope, as above.

Given at New York, this 5th day of September, 1842.

WILLIAM STARRS, Sec'y.

SERMON ON THE JUBILEE.

THE *Truth Teller* of September 17th, 1842, contained the following synopsis of a sermon preached by the Right Reverend BISHOP HUGHES on the Sunday previous in the Cathedral—the subject was The Jubilee—his text from the first of Isaiah—"Go feed the poor and clothe the naked, and then come and accuse me," &c.

The religious duties imposed on us at this peculiar time were of a two-fold character; in the first place to purify ourselves from sin by the special use and application of the indulgences granted by Almighty God through his church to the faithful. And in the second place, to lift our purified hearts and voices to the throne of heaven in behalf of the faithful but persecuted Catholics who inhabit the Spanish dominions. The free exercise of the Catholic worship and discipline had been interfered with by temporal power in that Country. The bishops and pastors and teachers of our creed in that unhappy land had been driven into exile for no other crime than fidelity to the sacred orders of their God—altars are deprived of a ministering priesthood—temples are robbed of much that made them venerable in the eyes of the followers of Christ, the people are deprived of the instruction and consolations of religion; and the powers of darkness threaten for a time to prevail over a race who have made themselves glorious amongst the nations by their steady and consistent adherence to the Catholic faith. Our Sovereign Pontiff, feeling for the miseries and sufferings of the faithful in that section of the fold of Christ, has signified to us his earnest desires and commands, to beseech and supplicate the Father of mercies in their behalf. And we are further required to take advantage of the coming of the Jubilee, not only to purify and exalt our own hearts, but to offer the incense of regenerated souls to the almighty Creator of all, with the hope that the sufferings of his faithful Spanish people may cease, or be limited to a short duration, and that they may abtain grace to persevere in their resolutions to adhere to the discipline of, and communion with God's church on earth, against which we are assured by the promises of God himself the wicked shall never prevail.

The JUBILEE is an ancient Jewish institution. With them it was established as a civil or social law. With us it is an ecclesiastical and religious ordinance. The Jews observed the return of every fiftieth year as the signal for dissolving all civil contracts. At the end of seven times seven years, all prisoners in captivity were set free. All slaves were released from their masters. All property reverted and was restored to its original owners. *Jubilee* is a Hebrew word, which signifies to *return*. The sale of property could never extend beyond the term of the Jubilee, and must be returned to the primitive owners or their descendants and next of kin.

This law continued amongst the Jewish people down to their captivity. The early fathers of the Catholic church adopted this law in a religious sense, and it has continued as a religious ordinance in our church from generation to generation to the present time. It is now adopted by the head of the church, and is woven into our religious system. At first it was fixed by the church to take place at the end of every hundred years. Subsequently it was established by an ordinance of the Sacred Tribunal to take place every fiftieth year, and now, in order that the faithful may have more frequent

opportunities to embrace the advantages which it offers, it is held every twenty-fifth year.

In every age the head of the church has circumscribed the powers of all orders of the clergy within certain limits. And in every country these regulations and limitations have been scrupulously observed. Priests have certain powers confided to them. Bishops are granted certain powers larger than the priest. Cardinals have still larger powers than either. There are some cases where penitents cannot be absolved by the ordinary priest, and some who cannot be absolved by the bishop, but whose case must go before the cardinals or the Holy Father. But in the year of Jubilee, larger powers are given to the priesthood, and all of during them that sacred time have full liberty to deal with the most important cases. In the year of the Jubilee, the powers belonging to the Bishop or the Pope are confided to the clergy, and all persons have thus afforded them an easy opportunity of becoming reconciled to their God.

In the year of Jubilee, the largest, most plenary, and most comprehensive indulgences are granted to the truly penitent sinner. Though we are familiar with the term *indulgence*, and though we have an idea of its import, it is to be apprehended that all do not fully comprehend the true nature of the principle enwrapped in the word. What is an indulgence? It is the remission of an extra, an ultimate penalty, due by the sinner to his Maker for the disobedience of his divine commands. The atonement of Jesus Christ provides for the remission of original sin—but even then there is another kind of punishment due to sin, even after the atonement; and it is to that other penalty that indulgence refers—for though you may have cleansed yourselves by repentance, there is still a penalty incurred by sin which the church under the divine commands and promise of our Lord himself, has the power to absolve and remit, and that power is granted extensively and fully to the whole priesthood during the holy season of the Jubilee.

Though the promise of a Redeemer was imparted by God to Adam, yet he did not tell him that he was to be freed without an effort of his own. No! Even the infant that has just seen the light and expired—the infant whose guilt can hardly be palpable or perceptible, yet that infant is bound to pay the penalty of sickness, death, and after suffering for sin. When David sinned, the prophet declared that his child should be sick and suffer death as a punishment. In the journey of the children of Israel to the promised land, many were condemned, whose bones were laid in the desert.

Now, that temporal punishment is such, that we cannot conjecture its nature. We have the doctrine of penance, by which we become reconciled to God after we have offended his justice. St. Paul says he chastised his body to make up what was wanted in the discipline imposed on him by his divine master. We see the nature of this punishment in the sufferings of the church, and in the daily trouble and vexations to which all Christians are subject, and we believe it to be an ordeal through which the faithful Christian has to pass to the presence of his God.

The doctrine of original guilt—the doctrine of the atonement—the doctrine of purgatory—the doctrine of penance—temporal punishment and suffering, and the application of those doctrines to the sinning soul, are all links in the great chain, and are to be taken together as a system of repentance and reconciliation to God. Unless we are reconciled to God by penance, and have recourse to the sacraments by which sin is forgiven, we cannot obtain this indulgence. If any one supposes he can obtain the benefit of an indulgence, while he harbors any favorite sinful passion of the soul—any revengeful desire of the heart, any grovelling anxieties of avarice, any swelling emotions of pride, he is much and egregiously mistaken. He cannot hope for the attainment of so great a blessing while his mind is unsubdued, and is under the influence of those repulsive and degrading passions.

An indulgence is not a license to commit sin, as some have said; on the contrary, unerring symptoms of sincere repentance must be manifested by the candidate for this heavenly dispensation. St. Paul granted an indulgence to the incestuous Corinthian: he had been convicted of a heinous crime—he had been cut off from the community of his fellow citizens—but as he showed evident marks of contrition, St. Paul fearing that he might fall into despair and despondency, granted him the indulgence of again mixing and communicating with the faithful. And in the early history of the church, there are numberless instances of the fallen sinners approaching the house of God—standing at the portals, but not daring to enter; but on manifesting sincere sorrow for their guilt, they were at last indulged and suffered to come in.

When the blessed martyrs to Christianity were going to the rack that was to tear them limb from limb, and to the fire that was to consume them, they prayed for indulgences, and their peculiar sufferings guaranteed them. But so far from being favorable to the commission of sin, the indulgence presupposes that sin has ceased.

And now, how we ought to prepare to meet this great duty—we may never have such an opportunity again, during our natural lives, and how eagerly ought we to avail ourselves of this favorable time to remove the just opposition which our sins created, and thus pass more directly to the presence of our Maker, and how easy are the conditions! They are simply a true contrition of soul—the reception of the holy Sacraments and the attendance three times, for about an hour each time, at the religious ceremonies appointed to take place in the church. So easy is it to be reconciled to God! And when we reflect on the goodness of God to us, and that he has opened to us a mode of attaining Heaven and that soul which Christ saved by the shedding of his blood, may, by the dispensation of Christ's church, pass purified into his presence; we become astounded at the extent of his goodness, and we become ashamed to continue in sin. Let us, then, raise our hearts towards the eternal throne of the Most High. Let us implore the Grace of Repentance and

Purification. Let us co-operate in prayer in one holy community throughout the earth, from the rising to the setting of the sun, for the relief of the faithful in the Lord who inhabit the Spanish dominions. And who knows but that amongst the millions who appeal to the throne of Heaven, some pure heart, some exalted soul, may waft its aspirations more fervently than the others; and that its pious articulations may be heard by the God of all.

THE LATEST INVENTION.

From the Commercial Advertiser.

MESSRS. EDITORS,—In your *Commercial* of Monday, you published from the *Buffalo Gazette*, an article purporting to be a statement of the differences between the congregation of St. Louis Church in that city and myself. It stated that I claimed to have "the property of the church vested in my hands, and that the claim was resisted by the congregation." This is entirely untrue. I never advanced such a claim, and of course, it could not be refused. It is stated that in consequence of this refusal I "called away the Rev. Alexander Pax, and left the congregation destitute." This is equally untrue. On the contrary, nothing but my persuasion was able to prevail on him to stay for the last eighteen months or two years, under the ill-treatment of a few worthless men who call themselves *the* congregation. It is stated that the congregation of St. Patrick's, in Buffalo, have "complied with my requisition." This, again, is untrue. The trustees and congregation of St. Patrick's will bear me witness that I never made any such requisition. I advised them, as a means of putting an end to quarrels among themselves, to dispense with trustees, and to avoid the rock on which the church of St. Louis is now splitting. These are the principal statements; and the honorable confidence of the editor of the *Buffalo Gazette* has been sadly abused by those who have employed his authority for statements which they knew to be unfounded in truth. He should demand proof of them, and if they cannot furnish it, to which I challenge them, he should publish their names, and vindicate his own. He has been deceived. I attach no blame to him. If his deceivers can furnish no proof that I ever made such a demand, I can furnish proof, in their own writing, that I never did.

"It is surmised," says the statement, "that the Bishop has gone so far as to forbid any priest in the neighboring parishes from performing divine service in St. Louis Church until the congregation shall fully comply with his demands." Neither member of this "surmise" is true. I forbade only one clergyman, whose inexperience might have been taken advantage of by the same artifice which trifled so foully with the good faith of the editor of the *Gazette*. And secondly, what are called my "demands," in the statement, never had any existence in reality.

Surely the editor of the *Buffalo Gazette* will feel a glow of virtuous indignation, when he discovers how much he has been imposed on.

The only difference between the congregation of St. Louis and myself is, that its trustees have thought proper not to be governed by the ecclesiastical discipline of the diocese, and expect me to supply them with priests who shall be governed by a different discipline, of which they shall be the authors.

The congregation of that church are pious and exemplary Catholics, to whom their holy faith is dearer than life. But it sometimes happens that our trustees may be honest and upright in their intentions, and yet men of simple understanding, and without education. In such cases only let an enlightened, talented, intriguing and irreligious mind get among them, and then, whatever *he* concocts in his infidel mind, he induces them, under specious pretences, to adopt; and then he gives out the depraved purposes of his own heart as the act of the Board, and this again as the act of the congregation! From the moment this arrives, woe to the flock, and woe to the pastor, who are at once divided from each other, and yet kept together by such a link of iniquity.

The pious and amiable Dr. Pax was not called away by me; but I left him at liberty to leave whenever he felt that he could stand it no longer. It appears that the time has arrived. I have no German pastor to send in his place. But if I had, it would be with instructions to rent a barn, fit up an altar in it, and administer the sacraments of religion with that freedom from the restraints and guidances of unauthorized laymen, with which God made the ministers of his church free—but which is not enjoyed, it appears, in the church of St. Louis.

The neighboring clergymen could not officiate in it without neglecting their own congregations, which have the first claim on their ministry. Besides, I deem it my duty *now* to forbid all clergymen of this diocese to officiate in that church, until it shall be determined whether it is to be governed by the ecclesiastical regulations of the diocese, or by the "resolves" of its trustees.

I trust, Messrs. Editors, that you will publish the above in your paper, as an act of reparation which I may claim on the score of justice. I ask an insertion of it also in the *Buffalo Gazette*, which I am sure the editor will not refuse. I appeal to the *honor* of such other editors as may have copied the false and injurious statement first published in the *Buffalo Gazette*, for a similar favor.

✠ JOHN HUGHES, Bishop of New York.

New York, April 4, 1843.

In explanation of the above letter of the Bishop, we add the paragraph from the *Buffalo Gazette* containing the falsified statement.

"Bishop Hughes and the Roman Catholic Congregation of Buffalo.—We regret to learn that a serious difference exists between the Right Rev. Bishop Hughes and the French and German

congregation of St. Louis' Church in this city. It appears that the cause of the controversy is a late requirement of the Bishop that the property of the church be vested in his hands; to which the congregation are not willing to submit. The congregation of St. Louis' Church, by industry and frugality, and by large donations from our respected fellow-citizen, the late Louis le Couteulx, Esq., has founded a claim to the administration of their own property, which they do not feel disposed to surrender. In consequence of this non-compliance, Bishop Hughes has thought proper to withdraw from them their pastor, the Rev. Alexander Pax, and left them entirely destitute of any clerical assistance. It is even surmised that the Bishop has gone so far as to forbid any priest from the neighboring parishes to perform divine service in St. Louis' Church, until its congregation shall fully comply with his demands. That congregation, it appears, cannot seek redress, except through the Pope, as by the canon law no one but the Bishop has the power to appoint priests to the churches in his diocese, and his authority is necessary for a priest to perform divine service in any of the Catholic churches of his diocese.

"Yesterday, being Sunday, the trustees opened the doors of their church, and many of the members of its immense congregation attended prayers, read by the Catholic school teacher. It is to be hoped that this state of things will not long continue; that Bishop Hughes will reflect upon the consequences which must ensue from his determination to enforce this novel claim, and that he will abandon his pretensions to the temporal, and content himself with the spiritual administration of the Church.

"We understand that the congregation of St. Patrick's Church, under the pastoral charge of the Rev. Mr. Whelan, has thought proper to comply with the requisition of the Bishop."

A LECTURE ON THE IMPORTANCE OF A CHRISTIAN BASIS FOR THE SCIENCE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY, AND ITS APPLICATION TO THE AFFAIRS OF LIFE.

DELIVERED BEFORE THE CALVERT INSTITUTE, BALTIMORE, AND THE CARROLL INSTITUTE, PHILADELPHIA, ON THE 17TH AND 18TH JANUARY, 1844, BY RT. REV. DR. HUGHES, BISHOP OF NEW YORK.

Political Economy professes to treat of the material wealth of nations, and to trace out the laws which govern and regulate its tendencies to increase or diminution. By material wealth, it would have us to understand not only the precious metals, as gold and silver, but all descriptions of property, having an exchangeable value. Whatever substance, whether in the heavens above, or in the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth, is consecrated to the use of mankind, by the expenditure of human capital, or human labor, passes, *ipso facto*, under the scientific dominion of Political Economy.

From this view it would seem, at first, impossible to take any adequate cognizance of a subject so vast, so complex, and so essentially variable. This is, indeed, to a great extent correct; and the science finds itself so often at fault, even on matters which it ought, by this time, to understand thoroughly, that he must be a credulous man, who places implicit confidence in even its most elaborate conclusions. Yet, on the other hand, it is the special province of all science to take up, and arrange, and analyze, distribute and classify, under general heads, the various subjects which it investigates; and no matter how complicated may seem to be the material affairs of wealth and industry, in the social relations of individuals, or in the great commercial business of nations, the science of Political Economy has reduced, from the patient study of details, certain leading principles, according to which it has distributed the whole subject into special departments, which simplify questions in a man-

ner almost inconceivable. True it is, that the professors of the science are not always agreed, as to the accuracy of its classifications or the soundness of its principles. True it is, that its votaries have yet to travel an immense distance, before they shall have reached anything like infallibility. Nevertheless, it has already furnished most important results. The observations and statistics, which it has collected and arranged, are invaluable; not only on account of the points which they have elucidated, but also, and more, on account of the anomalies in social, as well as political philosophy, which it has utterly failed to explain.

Of its two great primary departments, the one comprises the inhabitants of the earth; the other embraces the material things which are required, and can be supplied, for the physical sustenance or enjoyment of these inhabitants. Now, it is found that these material things, before they can be fully prepared for the purposes of sustenance and pleasure, require the expenditure of capital, either in money, or labor, or both. Such things are divided into two stages of time; the one commencing with the first expenditure of capital on the raw material, and ending at the term of expenditure, when the thing is entirely prepared, and passes over to its use. This comprehends all the industrial pursuits and occupations of mankind; and the whole is designated by the term *production*. The other stage begins when the object is applied to its use; and this stage is called by the general term *consumption*. The latter of these terms represents the wants, whether real or artificial, of society; the former designates the supply of these wants. Population is also classed under two corresponding divisions; namely, *producers* and *consumers*.

But in general, the science has, so far been conducted rather in conformity to the special interests of particular nations, than according to any principles of universal origin or application. The countries which have paid most attention to this subject, in a scientific point of view, are, France and England; and the works emanating from these countries, represent very distinctly, the national type, according to which the study has been prosecuted. Hence, although there are found in their treatises, principles supposed to be of universal application, still the actual condition of society, the nature of industrial pursuits, the bearing of commercial laws, peculiar to those countries, have come in so powerfully in modifying the views of their political economists, that their best principles cannot be appreciated, except by a just discrimination of all the circumstances, in which one nation differs from another.

Thus, for instance, confining our remarks to England, with which we are better acquainted, we are met with a distribution of the population into classes, which are not formed in our own country. These are, landlords, capitalists, and laborers. Generally in this country, the same individual represents all three. He is the owner of the soil, which he cultivates; and his means of carrying on agriculture, constitutes his capital. The three classes are indeed, found; but that which constitutes the rule in England, is only the

exception here. It is not, perhaps, the fault of Political Economy, as a science, that it seems to regard wealth as the *end*, and human *beings* as only the *means*, in order for its attainment. We would not venture to make this a reproach; and yet we cannot help making it a subject of regret. Its writers did not create the science; they only embodied a copy of its workings in practical life, as they found it in the relations of men. The prominence which is given to wealth, in tracing out the most certain rules for the acquisition of it, cannot but have had an injurious moral effect, in so far as it enhanced the ideal value of riches in the estimation of the human mind. There perhaps never was a period, when men entered on the pursuit of wealth, with so much of what might be called almost desperate determination to succeed, as the period in which we live. And we may entertain a reasonable doubt, whether it be not owing to this, that individuals in high and honorable stations, have so frequently (and of late as never before,) jeoparded and sacrificed an unblemished character, rather than miss the opportunity of rapidly acquiring wealth; the means of which, circumstances and confidence had placed within their reach. Cupidity is a natural propensity of man; and it is to be feared that the theoretic, and practical, political economy of our age, has encouraged and whetted the passion instead of moderating and regulating its violence. It is certain, that self-interest is the great motive principle of human exertion; but it is equally certain, that Political Economy, as a science, omits what would be essential in a true definition of a man's interest. Of this we shall be convinced, if we examine the moral principle on which, whether in the practice of modern nations, or in the theory of writers, Political Economy is founded. If we follow it up to the mysterious link which connects it with the spiritual or moral world, in the breast of man, we shall find that it acts exclusively on that of personal interest. So much so indeed, that if England and France, and the nations of modern times, in general instead of being Christians, or at least professing Christianity, were Heathens, it would still be almost unnecessary to change a single word in the actual Philosophy or ethics of Political Economy. Here then, it is, that the importance of a Christian basis demands our attention. The advantages and disadvantage of position between Landlord and Tenant—between the Capitalist and the Laborer, are such, that if mere material self-interest alone be left to regulate their relations, it is easy to foresee that the weaker are liable to fall victims to the interests and power of the stronger. The truth of this proposition is manifest now, in the condition of England, where these relations are, and have been in existence for a long time. Now, if Christianity were admitted as an element in Political Economy, man—human nature—in consideration of the value which it has acquired by the Redemption, would be the first and principal object of solicitude, and all things else would be estimated by reference to this. Man's interest would be graduated on a scale proportioned to the whole of his nature, combining the spiritual with the corporeal; and the

whole of his destiny, extending to eternity, as well as time. Then, indeed, self-interest thus understood, would constitute a principle sufficiently high and sufficiently ample to combine the acquisition of wealth, with sacred regard for the rights and privileges of human beings. But this is not the case. The landlords, capitalists, and laborers of England, are supposed to represent three great departments of capital; the one in territory—the other in money—and the third in muscular strength, or mechanical skill. Each is supposed to be free, and the only motive which is furnished in the present system, is that of individual advantage. But it happens necessarily, that what would be the advantage of one class, is directly opposed to the interests of another; and then each adhering to the common principle, it is clear that he or they who have most power to hold out, will be able to damage or destroy the antagonist interest of the other. The influences to be derived from a high and enlightened appreciation of human worth, according to the standard of revelation, seem to have been shut out from the practical and theoretic economy of modern nations. The interest of the body, in its relation with material wealth, limited, of course, to this present life, is the narrow and ignoble sphere within which political economy affects to move.

I must not proceed, however, with views of this kind, until I shall have anticipated an objection which has already, perhaps, arisen in your minds, in seeming refutation of what is here advanced. And this is, that the immense wealth, the wonderful power, and unequalled prosperity of England, as a nation, is a practical proof of the soundness of her Political Economy. Or, it may be, that an assumption, which has often been proclaimed, has presented itself to your mind as a yet stronger refutation, namely: that the wealth of England, her power and prosperity are owing to her profession of the Protestant religion, and the play of those energies which that religion is supposed to foster and develope. Now, with the qualifications which will occur during the course of these remarks, I admit the truth of both these observations. That England is the wealthiest nation on the globe, is indisputable. But it is to be remarked, that this wealth is in the hands of a small portion of her inhabitants; and we can form some idea of its amount from the fact, that we read of private individuals, whose annual income is not less than half a million of pounds sterling. That must, indeed, be a wealthy country, in which the income of a private gentleman, for a period of twelve months, would be sufficient to pay the salary of our President for nearly a hundred years! But perhaps no stronger instance could be adduced, to show how unequally the wealth of England is distributed among its inhabitants, than such a case as this, contrasted with the hundreds of thousands and millions of the people, who are sunk and sinking under the combined evils of moral and physical destitution. Taking the population of the three kingdoms together, as constituting one political family, it will be found that there is no nation of the world, and above all no Chris-

tian nation, in which there is such an amount of poverty and wretchedness as in England.

She has, indeed, fought the great battle for wealth with other countries, and has, by universal consent, gained the victory. But how comes it that, while a few of her sons are rioting in the spoils of the vanquished, the cries of the wounded and dying of her own battalions, are heard on every side? How comes it that, in Ireland, out of a population of between eight and nine millions, there are over two millions absolutely dependent on the charity of others, scarcely a degree above their own condition? How comes it that, in Scotland, misery and destitution are hardly less general, and, from other causes, perhaps even more excruciating still? How comes it that, in England itself, distress among the laboring classes presses, at intervals, to such an extreme point, as to threaten, from time to time, insurrection and revolution? How comes it, in fine, to happen that, while the dogs of landlords and capitalists are well fed and well housed—while their horses are daintily provided for, the sons and daughters of Britons around them go forth with gaunt looks and sunken features, through want of food? These are results which *puzzle* political economists, but which never could have happened, if Political Economy had not been transferred from the Christian basis on which it was originally reared in that country, to the inadequate foundations of mere individual interest. I am willing, then, to ascribe to the Protestant religion, the credit of England's wealth; but her poverty, and the destitution of her millions, must, I insist upon it, be charged to the same account. This, however, only in so far as these results have been brought about by the Political Economy of that country. Other causes may have contributed to both—such as the system of colonization and military conquest, in which England has been no less distinguished. Neither would I have it to be understood, that I regard the national character of the people of that country as differing essentially from that of other nations. If it be true, as some say it is, that, as a nation or as individuals, they are proverbially selfish, I do not ascribe it so much to any inherent deficiency of moral excellence or feeling, as I do to their system of Public Economy, which has so long prevailed, that it has gradually become, as it were ingrained into the habits, principles, sentiments and associations of the people. Unfortunately, the same feelings with the prevalence of the same system, are extending to other nations; and if they should continue, as appears quite likely, it may be difficult, at no distant day, to determine which will be entitled to pre-eminence on this score. There is, it is but just to add, perhaps no other nation in which there is a greater readiness to come to the relief of public distress, when it can be remedied, than in England. But the root of the disease is deep in the social condition of the country: and the highest effort of modern statesmen, political economists, and philanthropists, is to apply palliatives to the evils which it must produce, without daring to eradicate or disturb the principle from which they flow.

Let us, then, go back to the origin of this system, and trace its workings in connection with Political Economy, and we shall, perhaps be able to discover the sources from which both the wealth and the poverty of England have been derived. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, England, as a manufacturing country, had no pre-eminence, and was scarcely equal to France, Italy, Spain and the Netherlands. Up till that period, the profession of the same religion had established, throughout all these nations, a certain type of uniformity, in reference to moral as well as religious questions, constituting a standard common to them all. This, however, did not interfere with the peculiar genius and national characteristics of each people. But, in reference more especially to certain social questions, such as the exercise of charity, making provision for the poor, seasons of religious observances, days of rest, and the like, the usages of the different nations approached sufficiently near to uniformity. England, as is known, broke away from this religious connection. The Christianity which she embraced in its stead was based upon an entirely different principle, as regards the social relations. The merit of good works was rejected as an erroneous doctrine, and it was ascertained that salvation is by faith *alone*. This is not the time nor the place to inquire which of these two systems is true, in a theological point of view. But they are mentioned in contrast, as having been calculated to affect most seriously the social relations, especially in reference to the condition of the poor. Up to that period, the influence of the Christian religion on the hearts of the people was sufficient to provide, by voluntary contribution, for the necessities of the destitute; and it was a great safeguard for that unfortunate class, that the wealthy were under the conviction, right or wrong, of the importance and advantage to themselves, of doing good to their neighbor. When the universal belief was, that even "a cup of cold water given in the name of a disciple, should not be without its reward," the efforts and sacrifices made spontaneously, to remedy or provide against distress, could not have been regarded either as vain or unproductive expenditure of capital.

But another and more obvious result of the change was, in the increased production which England was enabled to bring forth, in consequence of having abolished the religious holidays of the ancient church. These, at that time, were little short in number of one day in each week. The original motive for their institution was not exclusively religious. Those days furnished seasons of rest for the serfs or slaves of the middle ages; and thus, by diminishing the profits of their lords, and furnishing themselves with such opportunities of education and moral elevation as the times afforded, prepared them gradually for the free condition. By abolishing them, England was enabled to present a production of nearly two months' labor, in each year, more than the other States that still adhered to the ancient system. The consequence of this was, that, by increasing the amount, she diminished the value of her productions. Through this diminution in their value, she was enabled to undersell her

rivals, first in all neutral foreign markets; and then, following up, with energy and perseverance, the advantages thus gained, she was enabled to undersell them in their own countries, and take possession of their own markets. Thus she began to drain other countries of their circulating medium, which became again a new instrument in developing still further the advantages of her position.

At first sight, it may appear to some that a circumstance, apparently so inadequate, is insufficient to have brought about such results. But we may illustrate its operation by an analogous case, on a small scale. All over this country there is a class of mechanics occupied in the manufacture of shoes. But there is in particular one village or town, in New England, that is celebrated for the number of its inhabitants and the amount of capital engaged in that branch of industry. Now, let us suppose that the people of that town find it consistent with their religious sense of duty to add the labor of Sunday to that of the other days in each week. What will be the consequence, in regard to the other shoemakers throughout the country who will still feel the obligation of sanctifying the Sabbath day? The consequence will be, that Lynn will be able to furnish shoes cheaper than they, and yet receive an equal amount of wages, though for a larger amount of labor. Her mechanics, therefore, can undersell their rivals elsewhere, on the principle well understood in political economy, that the increase of production is the cheapening of the value of labor. Suppose that each workman can produce a pair of shoes per day, the shoemaker of Lynn can sell seven pairs for the price of his week's toil, while those of his business in other places can sell but six for the same money; and as the buyer has in this *his* advantage, he will purchase from the Lynn manufacturer rather than from the manufacturer of his own town. The money, consequently, expended for this article, will find its way to Lynn, and in a little time, together with the increased labor, will enable the manufacturers of that place to break down their rivals throughout the country. With this increase of capital the manufacturers of Lynn may, for a time, in order to supply the increasing demand for their article, afford to pay higher wages to their workmen; but the consequence will be, that, for sake of this wages, the number of workmen will be increased, and the policy, when the supply shall have equalled the demand, will begin to react upon the workmen themselves, and lead to a reduction of their wages. In its course, however, that policy will have paralyzed or destroyed this branch of industry, wherever those who are engaged in it refuse to work on Sunday.*

* It was the discovery of this advantage which prompted the propagators of the revolutionary doctrines in France to declaim, with such vehemence, against the religious festivals of that country. And, in the wildness of infidelity and materialism which characterized the Revolution itself, it was decreed that there should be one day of rest only after nine, instead of six days of labor. In like manner, now, at least, one of the results of the policy of England has been the abolition, in great part, of the ancient religious holidays, even in Catholic countries. And in France itself, it is a lamentable fact, that even the Lord's day is no longer kept holy, except by the truly religious portion of the country; but, as regards manufacturing industry, the works are continued without distinction of days.

Thus, precisely, has it happened in the history of manufactures in England, as compared with the other nations of Europe. The results of the entire national industry, during some forty or forty-five days in each year, gave her the first advantage over her rivals. This brought her capital, and drained from them their resources. It made her strong, and left them weak and exhausted. By means of capital she was enabled not only to increase the quantity, but also to improve the quality, of her productions, to a degree which they could not rival; and if, at different subsequent periods, they attempted to revive their manufactures, even by artificial means, British skill and British capital were prompt, even at a little sacrifice, if necessary, to effect their extinguishment. Thus, England became a monopolist in the market of nations—thus, their wealth flowed to her workshops—thus, competition was destroyed abroad; and the foundation laid at home for that superabundance of riches by which she has been enabled to borrow from her own subjects almost the whole of her national debt, amounting to some eight hundred millions of pounds sterling. It is not pretended that this is the only cause of the great aggregate wealth of England; but so far as it comes under the head of Political Economy, it was one great cause, of which the comparative poverty of other European nations is as manifestly another consequence. Here, then, we see the principle of interest operating in its national form; and, thus concentrated, powerful enough to sustain England, in competition, against the world. But having been successful in putting down all foreign competition, how did this principle operate on the condition of its own inhabitants? The contest now is among those three classes into which Political Economy is pleased to distribute her people. The interest of the manufacturer, as a capitalist, is in the profits of his production. When the markets are brisk and the demand great, he will make large returns by his investments. But still, if he can cheapen the cost of production, he will be increasing his profits on both sides. Hence the laborer must maintain his interest, against that of the capitalist. Both are free; and labor is a commodity liable to rise and fall, like every other thing, with the fluctuations of trade. But the position of the laborer is unfortunate, inasmuch as the interests of the capitalist must be provided for before his can be reached. He may, indeed, refuse to work for less than fair wages; but no matter how just his pretensions on that score, the hunger that stands at the portals of his dwelling, threatening both himself and his family, if he do not work, renders him perfectly unequal to the contest. He must give in; for the same policy which annihilated competition in other nations, employs that same competition at home, for the increase of profits by the reduction of wages, or even the occasional suspension of labor altogether. Add to this the introduction of machinery, within the last fifty years. It is estimated that the machinery of England, in the various departments of industrial production, is equal to the labor of a hundred millions of workmen. Besides, at the present time, almost every nation has, at length, been

aroused to the subject of manufactures, and has come to the conclusion that it is wiser to encourage and employ its own laborers, than to spend the amount of money which such employment may cost in the purchase of British goods. If, then, we take the actual condition of the poorer classes of Great Britain, depending in a great measure on this class of employment for the means of life, in connection with the rising manufactures of other States, and take in the future which statesmen ought to anticipate, it will appear doubtful whether, even in an economical point of view, the policy of England has not been a short-sighted policy after all.

Let us now turn to the condition of the agricultural laborers of Great Britain. One would suppose that *their* condition should be improved by the transition of so many from their ranks to those of manufacturing industry. But this is not the case; for, as a class, they are not so well off as they were several centuries ago. They cannot, at present, obtain for a day's wages more than one-fourth of the amount of food which could be purchased for a day's labor, up to the reign of Henry VIII. In an act, or rather the preamble of an act, passed in his reign, 1533, "beef, pork, mutton, and veal" are mentioned as the ordinary "food of the poorer sort;" so that the agricultural laborers of the present day require to have three hundred per cent. *added* to their actual wages, in order to live as well as their predecessors did, three centuries ago! Here is an awful deterioration in their condition. A precarious, and, at best, a scanty supply of the cheapest, and, consequently, poorest kind of food, is all they can now obtain in exchange or recompense for their incessant toil. And hence they are described and represented, in public and official documents, as on the verge of absolute pauperism. Why and how has all this come to happen? The question is the more startling, because, during this period, the aggregate wealth of the nation has increased many hundred fold. To my mind, however, the answer is simple. It has happened, because, during this period, the whole practical economy of the country has been transferred from the ancient basis, and left to be regulated on the exclusive principle of universal, material self-interest. It is all very fine, to talk, as *we* Americans do, of the "immense wealth of England;" and, as the English themselves do, of the "sturdy reliance and manly bearing of a British operative"—as contrasted with the humble deportment of corresponding classes in other European States. But Political Economy has not seen, or, seeing, has not dared to denounce the social blunder—the mockery of freedom—which are presented in the spectacle of the starving laborer maintaining a contest of competition with the bloated capitalist. Each, in that contest, is referred back to his own interest; and while the interest of the one is to increase, or at least not diminish, his capital, the interest of the other is simply to escape a death of starvation which is pressing on him.

If these remarks be deemed sufficient to explain *why* the condition of the laboring classes is so much deteriorated from former times,

we may now proceed to explain *how* the thing has been brought about.

In order to do this, it will be necessary to recur briefly to the social condition of England antecedent to the change of religion in that country. Nothing is more true, than that a large portion of the wealth and of the real estate of the country were in the hands of the clergy. The origin of their title was as just and as authentic as that of any other property in Europe. The wealth which they possessed was the growth of time—the result of their own industry, economy, and the gradual increase in the value of their estates. The church, and its principles—or rather, the principle of Christianity, working out through the living agencies of the church—had become interwoven, to a certain extent, with all the relations of social life. It operated as an invisible bond, binding together the various ranks, classes, and conditions of the whole people; and correcting or reconciling the antagonism of mere material interests, by the influence of other interests relating to another world. It was as the cement in the social edifice. After the serfs of the middle ages had passed into the condition of tenants and free laborers, those who occupied or cultivated the lands of the monasteries and of the church had kind and indulgent landlords to deal with. In fact, all this property, as to its advantages, belonged rather to the poor at large, than to those who were its nominal proprietors. The law of the church regulated its uses. Its revenues, by this law, were divided into three portions. The first was sacred to the maintenance of the poor; the second was appropriated to the repairs of the churches, and the improvement of ecclesiastical property. Out of the third, the clergy were entitled to their support; and if still there remained a surplus, this also was a charge on their conscience, as belonging to the poor. It is not pretended in these remarks, that this law was, in all cases, strictly observed. But yet, the absence of all destitution and suffering among the poor, except in seasons of famine, is a sufficient proof that it was substantially attended to; since we find that there was no other poor law needed in the country, except that of Him who said, "The poor you have always with you, and when you *will*, you can do good unto them."

When the change of religion took place in England, the possession of those ecclesiastical estates, and this wealth, constituted perhaps the greatest *error* of the church. They excited the cupidity of the monarch and his parasites. And if monasteries were denounced as citadels of luxury, indolence, and crime—if celibacy was held up as a variation from the law of God, and an injury to the welfare of the State, the motives of the declaimers against both are fairly liable to suspicion, when it is remembered that the wealth of the assailed was to become the prey and patrimony of the assailant. The secular clergy were, with few exceptions, brought into the measures of the monarch. The inmates of the cloisters, male and female, were turned adrift on the world, and added to the ranks of the destitute whom they had hitherto been accustomed to relieve. The estates

of the church were seized by the ancestors of many of the landlords and noble families of the present day. The fathers and mothers of the poor in the religious communities of both sexes, that were scattered from point to point over the surface of England, were driven from their peaceful abodes, and their estates seized in the private right of private individuals. The consequence of all this was, that in less than half a century there was not concern enough for the poor left remaining in the hearts of the people to provide for their support, without the aid, or rather the coercion of an *act of Parliament*. This is the first instance in the annals of Christian nations, in which the principles of religion were found insufficient to furnish a spontaneous provision for the destitute. The burthens of their support necessarily fell upon the occupants and cultivators of the soil. The lands of the church were rented out on the principle of the proprietor's interest, modified only by two considerations—one was the extent of competition among the applicants; and the other was, the amount of rent which might be exacted without depriving the tenants and their families of the means, at least necessary, for subsistence. Hence, weighty rents; and as the landlords were for the most part, the law-makers also, hence too, in process of time, those statutes in favor of landlord interests, which in our days are familiarly known under the designation of corn-laws. Does not every one see that all such legislation, whatever may be its other effects, must tend to diminish the wages of all the productive and laboring classes, by either diminishing the quantity, or raising the price, of bread? So that if you look to the relations thus created between the laborers of England and the other two classes into which political economists have divided the population, namely, landlords and capitalists, it would seem as if the whole practical purpose of public economy has been to reduce the working people down to that condition in which Malthus has discovered what he calls the "natural standard of wages"—which means, perhaps, a little more than is barely sufficient to keep the workman's soul and body together.

It is impossible not to perceive, in all this, the injurious effect of the principle to which we have already, more than once, alluded, as the actual *regulator* of Political Economy in Great Britain, namely, *self-interest*. Viewed according to the light of this principle, it was perfectly natural for those who were at once landlords and law-makers, to secure to themselves the largest amount of rents; and to throw off, on others, the weight of every public burthen. In former times, the system presented the resources of the poor, from the very land which produced the crop. But now, the whole crop is claimed for the benefit of the landlord; and the tax, for the support of the poor, is to be gathered, not from those who grow the wheat, but from those who eat the bread; that is to say, in every nine cases out of ten, from the laboring classes themselves. Thus the laboring classes of England are placed as in a cleft stick, between capitalists and landlords, and feel the effects of pressure from both sides: from the one side, in the reduction of wages; and from the other, in the increased prices of food.

The consequence now is, that in that country, including the three kingdoms, there is poverty and distress, such as cannot be found in the civilized world besides. In other countries there is less of aggregate wealth; but in no nation is there to be found so much, or such intense, misery, as among the poor of England. Nothing can show this more fully than the official reports made, from time to time, by order of Parliament, on their condition. Leaving the condition of the agricultural laborers aside, the reports on the condition of laborers in mines and manufactories present a picture of physical and moral destitution such as it is appalling to contemplate. We read, for instance, of children's being employed from the age of seven years and upward. And why is this? Because a child is as good as an adult person in waiting on the evolutions of machinery. Now the wages of a child is less than that of a man, and interest whispers to the employer to give the child the preference. It matters not that the delicate limbs of such beings are unable to support their bodies during the long hours of labor. It matters not that they become deformed, and contract physical maladies, which will accompany them through the remainder of their wretched lives. These things go on—for interest so determines it—until Parliament is at length obliged to pass enactments to interdict such outrages off the rights of childhood.

It is quite honorable to the feelings of the English people that they should sympathize in the sufferings of those who are in the condition of slaves throughout the world. But while her gaze can extend across the Atlantic; and while her honest and genuine sympathy is often disgraced by the *cant* and fanaticism of those who would be its organs, surely it cannot be wrong for us to sympathize with those of her own population, whom avarice, or the interests of capital have buried in the bowels of the earth in her mining districts. Delicate women and tender children, as reported to Parliament, were found in the mines, *with harness fitted to them*, and obliged to drag loads on their hands and knees, after the manner of beasts. Passing from these again, to the pauper class, we see that the Public Economy directs their classification in a manner such as, in some countries, would be regarded as a violation of the rights of human nature. The dearest ties—even those which constitute the last sweet drop, in the cup of poverty, are rudely disregarded and ruptured. Husbands and wives, parents and children, brothers and sisters, are separated from each other, and distributed in the establishments of public relief, as if they were malefactors, guilty of some social crime. Now, the worst feature in this system of Political Economy is, not precisely that the facts are so; but that the prejudices of the nation, like the principles of the science itself, as looking to individual interest as the life-spring of society, do not allow them even to conceive that things ought to be otherwise. And so true is this, that, according to the recognized principle, you may pass all the various members of society in review, and you will be unable to discover to whom the fault belongs; and in fact, according to the principle

of self-interest, the fault belongs nowhere! Every man for himself.

It is the contemplation of all this that has impelled many benevolent, but, as I conceive, mistaken persons, to conclude that society in general is organized on a vicious principle. Individuals of this description have stood forth, in France, England, and this country also, flattering themselves with the hope of being able to withdraw some portion of their fellow-beings from the miseries which they regard as essentially connected with the actual state of things. For this purpose, various schemes, and schools of Political Economy have made their appearance, encouraging separate systems of private socialism, founded each on some favorite theory. These either have failed, or will fail; and principally for the reason that, while they have discovered the *self-interest* which operates so injuriously in the present systems, they have not discovered in those which they would substitute any other principle of sufficient power to correct it. This can be done only through a renovated faith, and a practical exercise of the virtues prescribed by religion. The tendency of society in general, at least in all that appertains to Political Economy, is in the opposite direction; and there is but little hope that its course will be arrested until nations, as well as individuals, shall have been punished for their great social error.

How much ink has been shed in describing the evils which now press on the people, at least the laboring classes, of Great Britain! How much of profound meditation has been employed, in vain efforts to find a solution for the social problem of that country! And though many of her statesmen have begun to trace these evils back to their true cause, yet few have proclaimed the discovery, and fewer still have ventured to suggest the true remedy. Sometimes the evils are charged to one cause, sometimes to another. Now, it is the "restrictions on commerce;" and now, it is an "excess of population over and above the wants of consumption." But no one has, as yet, contended for the true cause; that is, the absence of a religious power which should be able to extend the obligation of *duties*, in exact proportion with the extension of *rights*. The social machine, in its relations to Political Economy, has been left to regulate itself, by the spring of mere individual interest; and it is manifest that the weights and balances necessary to restore its equilibrium and to regulate its motion, cannot be adjusted except by the invocation of some *extrinsic* power, such as can be found in practical Christianity alone. The earth is not expected to furnish itself with light and heat: these come from the sun. So also, with regard to the practical Political Economy of modern nations—unless its lips be touched and purified with living coals from the altars of Divine Religion, it can never accomplish the entire purpose, according to which society is an institution of God. Any religion which can accomplish this, whatever may be the truth or the error of its other dogmas, will have rendered essential service to humanity. It is on this account that Political Economy, as a science, appears to me inadequate and

defective. It would be more complete, and certainly more exalted, if, instead of regarding man as the mere "producer" and "consumer" of material wealth, it took cognizance of his intellectual, moral, and religious nature. It may, however, be objected, that these faculties, being spiritual and not material, have nothing to do with the subject. This seems to me an unfounded conclusion. The ancient Persians, for instance, held, as a religious opinion, that anything which could defile the waters of the ocean was sinful. Here, then, is an important branch of Political Economy—maritime commerce—affected by a religious conviction! After the expulsion of the missionaries from Japan, the government of that country required that the merchants of Europe who wished to trade with its own, should, as a condition, *sine qua non*, trample on the emblem of Christianity, the cross. Holland, alone, agreed to the terms. Here, then, the absence of a religious conviction on the mind of one nation of Europe affected the entire trade of Christendom with Japan! The calculations of revenue formed by Sir Robert Peel are founded on the most positive data of Political Economy; and yet, an idea—a moral idea—springing into the mind of a humble but excellent priest in Cork,* disturbs the minister's conclusions, to the amount of between two and three millions of our currency, in the annual excise duties on one single article! Time does not permit me to enlarge on the proofs, or facts, going to show that not only intellect and moral sentiment, but also the affections and virtues of the heart, have all of them an essential bearing on the subject.

In assuming the "importance of a Christian basis" for Political Economy, I did not indeed imagine, as you may easily conceive, that the system now so deeply and almost universally established, could be transferred to any other foundation than that on which it rests. But when I consider the *nature* of the evils which press upon so large a portion of modern society, it seems to me that a preventive, if not a remedy, is discoverable in the Political Economy (so to call it) of the old Catholic Church. She had, preëminently, the faculty of guiding the affections and energies of mankind, in the direction most required by the actual wants of society in given times and circumstances. She differed from the modern religions, essentially on *one* great point; namely, that, while they teach that salvation is "by faith alone," and that good works have no merit, though they are provided for, as consequences of faith, *she* taught that they are to be concomitants of belief; that faith without works, is dead in itself! and that whatever good we do to one of the least of Christ's disciples, He will reward as if done to himself. This is the *turning point* of difference between the Political Economy of the Catholic Church and that of the religions which have been substituted in its stead. Thus, she created an interest not to be estimated by the acquisition or exchange of material wealth, but by the consideration of advantages in the spiritual order and in the life to come. This doctrine, like the principle of life in the human body, vivified the spirit, and

* Father Mathew.

influenced the actions of all her members. Besides, she conceived human nature as having been *exalted* and *ennobled* through the Incarnation and Redemption, by the Son of God. Hence she valued human beings according to the high dignity of their ransom, irrespective of wealth or poverty. She has, indeed, been reproached with the tendency to abridge the rights of men. But the explanation of this is to be found in the fact, that the inherent selfishness of fallen humanity prompts them to claim injurious immunities; while, as she conceived, her office was to apportion *duties* according to the means which providence furnished for the discharge of them. Men are prompt to assert their rights; but prone to forget that every right is accompanied with a corresponding duty. To every class and condition she assigned its own peculiar range of Christian obligation. To sovereigns and legislators, those of justice and mercy in the enactment and execution of laws. To the rich, moderation in enjoyment, and liberality toward the poor. To the poor, patience under their trials, and affection toward their wealthier brethren. Toward all, the common obligation of loving one another, not in word, but in *deed*. Neither was this by a uniform development of the principles of the Christian doctrine from the pulpit alone, but by a rigid process of self-examination and self-accusation, which was incumbent on every individual, when preparing for the Sacraments of Penance and of the Holy Eucharist. Here, the lawgiver, the landlord, the capitalist, and the laborer—all men of all classes—were required to stand at least once a year in *judgment upon themselves*, in the presence of God and of his minister.

Far be it from me to insinuate or assert, that these great leading duties are not set forth to the people by the religions which have taken the place of the Catholic faith in Great Britain. But I think it will be evident that, in them all, there are wanting the means for their practical inculcation. First, because the paramount motive has been utterly destroyed by rejecting the "merit of good works," and proclaiming "salvation by faith alone." It is, indeed, alleged that, by a higher motive still, works, as the consequence, or fruits, or evidence, of faith, are provided for. But still, those who enjoin works of this kind, since they declare them to be of "no merit" in the sight of God, seem to pull down with one hand what they have built up with the other. Besides this, in the new system of religion, every man claims to be the judge of his moral duties, as well as of his religious faith. Thus you perceive that the only motives left, as inducements for the performance of good works, in this system, are essentially of the *human* and *temporal* order. Now the manifestations of these fundamental principles are obvious, in the social developments under the influence of the two religions. Of its consequences, in the one case, the preceding remarks of this lecture are a sufficient exhibition. Rights are claimed—interests are prosecuted—every one that can, throws the burthen from himself. Each is the judge of his own moral and social duties—and self-love blinds him against what would require the sacrifice of his material interests, even if re-

ligion presented any adequate motive for making that sacrifice. Wealth is accumulating enormously on one side—poverty, deep and distressing, spreads on the other: England is the richest and the poorest country on the globe; and where, or to whom, belongs the guilt of this social anomaly, no man can determine!

The type of the other doctrine has developed itself in those principles and institutions which incur the censure, and sometimes the hatred, even of those who are the victims of their overthrow. If they were errors in religion, it is the more to be regretted, as they would have been blessings in Social, if not in Political Economy. They would have been, first of all, a merciful resource for the condition of the poor, which now constitutes the great *puzzle* of Political Economists, throughout the three kingdoms. The interests of man —taking in his spiritual nature and his eternal destiny—would be surveyed from a high and holy eminence. And when the rich man gave of his abundance to the needy, he would be acting, not *against*, but according to this principle of *Christian* interest. When the prince or the noble, moved by the "*Amor Jesu nobilis*," descended from his elevated position, to put on the sandals, the garment, and the girdle of religious poverty, in some monastic order, he understood, perfectly well, what he was about—comprehended the advantage of the step; and, whether he was mistaken or not, his determination was of infinite importance to the condition of the destitute. He became poor from a religious motive, having first, perhaps, given his property to the relief of the class to whose condition he attached himself. He became their mediator with the rich —his own example had a powerful influence on them—he represented the necessity of alms-deeds—he spoke of their common Saviour, as having, in his own person, selected the condition of poverty; and reminded them that whatever they did for their suffering brethren, was done for Christ.

It was by the spirit of this doctrine of good works, that hospitals and asylums for the afflicted, sprang, as if spontaneously, into existence, in all parts of Great Britian, as well as of other European countries. It was by this that every kind of social evil, whether in physical suffering or in moral destitution, found whole armies of *volunteers*, ready to go in the face of pestilence and death, and this without human recompense, to counteract its ravages. It was by this, that individuals were constantly found ready to devote themselves to every species of good works.

The question in connection with this subject, is not whether these individuals were acting under a genuine principle of Christianity or not—but it is, whether their devotion had any bearing upon the Political Economy of the country. That it had, is in my mind, beyond dispute. Firstly: In such a state of things, no poor law would be necessary. Secondly: The burthen of their support would not be regarded *as* a burthen, but as a privilege, and would fall on individuals in the rank of landlords and capitalists, instead of laborers as at present. Thirdly: The expense of supporting the

poor would not be increased by the enormous sums which are paid to state officers, in that department. Fourthly: The ecclesiastical revenues, which have now quite a different direction, would be applied to that purpose. Fifthly: But besides all this, the influence of the doctrine I have alluded to, would infuse a spirit of gentle kindness into the treatment of the poor, which would leave no room for those dark and bitter passions against society, with which their breasts are now, too often, agitated; for it is a shocking feature of our times, that distinguished writers on Political Economy, have gone so far, as to maintain that poverty when it reaches the point of destitution ought to be treated as "infamy," in order to make the struggle for self support of the sinking laborer "honorable."

If this reasoning, and these reflections be correct we see what has been the cause of the prevailing distress; and what would have been the preventive or the remedy. And in either case, the great social calamity which is every day becoming more and more formidable, in the estimation of British statesmen and political economists, instead of being, as it now is, apparently irremediable, would never have existed at all.

Some may imagine that in following out this subject, my judgment has been warped by a natural partiality for the religion to which I belong. This is, indeed, possible; but I can only say, that if it be true, I am entirely unconscious of it. Neither, at the present day, are these views peculiar to Catholics: a declaration briefly uttered, among others, by a distinguished Protestant statesman, Lord John Manners, expresses a similar conclusion, when he says, "that the re-establishment of the monasteries which have been destroyed, can alone provide a suitable remedy for the condition of the poor."

What, we may now ask, would be the influence of the Political Economy of the ancient Church on the class of society immediately next above pauperism! Of this we may judge by the fact already noticed, that during its prevalence, the English laborer could exchange a days work for four or five times the quantity of food which a day's labor will now bring. But what it may be asked, had the doctrines of the Church to do with a result like this? They had simply this: that from principles already referred to, her policy, if I can use the expression, was directed to, or at least resulted in, two consequences;—one was, to keep up the value of labor; the other, to keep down the price of bread. Both of these objects were included in the economy of religious festivals, which gave increased value to labor, by diminishing the amount of production. Rich and poor, assembled on an equality around the altars. Those days furnished leisure for the poor to be instructed, at least, in their Christian hopes and duties; as well as to repose from toil. The ceremonies of the Chruch—the grandeur and beauty of its architecture—the works of painting, and art, and music which could be enjoyed within its walls—exercised a refining influence on their feelings and manners, in the absence of that popular education

which the multiplication of books and the improvements in knowledge have since so much facilitated. It is to be observed, however, to those who understand no more of the subject, than the silly charge that, "the Church in all this encouraged idleness," a more unfounded imputation could scarcely be conceived. The principle of the Church, on that subject, may be seen in the rules of her religious orders. In these, you will find time so distributed, as to allow periods for labor—for reading—prayer—repose—but not one moment for idleness. It is to be remembered, also, that these holidays in no way interfered with the crops or productions of the earth. For, not only was labor allowed, but in many cases, absolutely enjoined, even on Sundays, when the inclemencies of the season endangered the productions of the earth.

What then was the result in the light of Political Economy? Simply that which was most important for the consideration of the laboring classes. The evils of over-production were provided against; and thus, the value and adequate price of labor were maintained. Had this system been continued, seasons of rest would have been provided for, and regularly distributed, at intervals, throughout the year. But these days were abolished; and after capitalists had realized the advantages of the change, its rebound fell, with terrible effect, upon the laborers. Even at reduced wages, they have to encounter seasons when employment is denied for weeks and months. And why is this? It is from over-production;—the very evil which the economy of the Church, in the observance of holidays was calculated to prevent. In the actual condition of the laborers the want of employment is synonymous with the want of food; and when the cry of distress rings in the ears of their rulers, it is too often ascribed to other, than the real causes. The author of the "Essay on Population," Malthus, startled Europe with the theory, that mankind increases in a ratio disproportioned to the means of their support. He maintained that, inasmuch as population increases in a geometrical ratio, and the agricultural productions of the earth, only in an arithmetical degree; therefore a time must come, when the excess of the former over the amount of the latter, would require that a large portion of the human race should perish! In this, there is some ground to believe, that he was misled by confounding the excess of "production" with excess of "population." If the island of Great Britain were the only agricultural soil on the globe; then, indeed, with its present population, his theory might be correct. But the earth is teeming with fertility, which the industry of man has not yet turned to account. If the interested policy of England allowed other nations to send their surplus agricultural produce, in fair exchange, for her industrial fabrics, there would be no need for the invention of this theory. It is estimated that the valley of the Mississippi, alone, could furnish the staple of life for a population of one hundred and twenty-five millions. And yet the genius of Political Economy, in England, was such as to conceal this fact from the mind of Malthus. And instead of allowing the bread of that valley to

reach the hungry operatives of Manchester;—in other words, instead of diminishing the material interests of the British landholder, he allowed himself, to be thrown on the horrible alternative of recommending, as a prospective remedy, that the increase of population should, as much as possible, be prevented by restraints on the marriage of the poor. But what is more surprising still, is that his theory should have been received with approbation by distinguished writers on Political Economy. Indeed, so far is this true, that the doctrine is now boldly asserted, that in reality the pauper has no more right to quarter himself on the public for support than the rich man; that if he be so supported, it is owing to the humanity of the public, but not due, as a right, to his condition. The universal doctrine prevalent is, that every man has "a right to do what he pleases with his own;" consequently, that, unless compelled by law, he has a right to refuse relief from his property, and leave the sufferer to die! When Sir Robert Peel, on a late occasion, declared, in Parliament, that property had "duties as well as rights," the sentiment was re-echoed by the press, with one chorus of astonishment; as if an axiom of morals, as old as the Christian religion, were a recent discovery made by the minister.

But, supposing we admit the correctness of the conclusion at which Malthus arrived, how awful and retributive is the vindication which it furnishes of the social economy of the Church in the sanctioning of voluntary celibacy! The nation that denounced celibacy when it was a voluntary choice, in the clergy and in the monastic institutions, are reduced to the necessity of recommending the *enforcement of it* by compulsion, in regard to the poor. If that institution had continued, how great would have been the public economy in the support of the clergy! One-twentieth part of the revenues of the Church, at the present time, would be sufficient to support a single, that is, unmarried clergyman, in the proportion of one to every one thousand souls of the population. If it be said, that the ecclesiastical revenues return to the people, through some other channel, a better condition would be that nineteen-twentieths of it should not have been taken from them at all. But even the economy would not be the only advantage. The influence of such a ministry of religion, acting in a moral direction, could not but produce the happiest effects among that portion of mankind who are compelled to toil daily for the means of subsistence. Their pleasures would be of a more rational, more elevating, and, at the same time, more economical description. Their feelings and manners would be softened and improved, by the influence of religion and frequent intercourse with its ministers. Their moral faculties would be cultivated; and, if the trials of life bore heavily upon them, religion would still be near, to console them with the promised hopes and joys of another world.

As it is, their condition, in all these respects, is exceedingly deplorable. We may take a few of the answers given to the commissioners to establish this point. The following are given in a late

number of the *Edinburgh Review*, as specimens of the "general ignorance" and moral destitution:

"*Ann Eggley*, aged eighteen. 'I am sure I don't know how to spell my name. I don't know my letters. I went a little to a Sunday-school, but soon gave it over. I walk about and get fresh air on Sundays. I never go to church or chapel. I never heard of Christ at all; nobody has ever told me about him, nor have my father and mother ever taught me to pray. I know no prayer. I never pray. I have been taught nothing about such things.'—App. Part 1, p. 232.

"*Eliza Coats*, aged eleven. 'I do naught on Sundays. I don't know where I shall go if I am a bad girl. I never heard of Jesus Christ. I think God made the world, but I don't know where God is.'—*Ibid.*

"*William Cruchilow*, aged sixteen. 'I can read the Bible—go to school five nights in the week. I don't know anything of Moses. Never heard of France. I don't know what America is. Never heard of Scotland nor Ireland. Can't tell how many weeks there are in a year. There are twelve pence in a shilling, and twenty shillings in a pound. There are eight pints in a gallon of ale.'

"*Edward Whitehead*, aged fifteen. 'I go to church three times on Sundays. I do not know where Birmingham is, nor where London is. I never heard of Ireland; I have seen Irishmen.'

"*William Butler*, aged nineteen. 'I go to church on Sundays. I read the Testament, and sometimes in the Bible, but no other book. I can say my catechism. We sometimes work a few hours at a time. When there is no sale, we got no money, but only ale, when we leave at eleven. I generally get drunk on such occasions.'

"*Peter Dale*, aged twelve. 'I have been to Sunday-school, and can read nicely in a spelling-book. (He had been to school about two years.) Jesus Christ was God's Son; he wasn't born at all; he was nailed to a cross; he came to save sinners; sinners are bad men that drinked, and sweared, and lied. I think there are sinners on earth now. If I am a good boy, and try to please him, I shall go to Jesus—if not, I shall go to hell. I don't know what disciples were rulers; they did nothing wrong; can't tell who the apostles were. Four times five is twenty; five times six is twenty-eight. I never heard what's the biggest town in England. Scotland is a town, isn't it, sir? I go to chapel as well as school. I never go larking on Sundays.'—App. Part 1, p. 250."

That these cannot be considered as isolated cases of what the reviewers call the "general ignorance," may be inferred from another official statement, viz., that of 467,894 marriages, of all classes, in England and Wales, within the last three years, 303,836 of the persons thus married were unable to write their own names.

Such are the results of Political Economy, as based on the principle of individual material interest. It might possibly suffice, if the means of protecting—each his own interest—were *equal* in the hands

of all. But what chance have the poor against the rich? the weak against the strong, under such a system? When all the social elements of material industry, of consumption, production, capital and labor, wealth of nations in general, *all* resolve themselves, by common consent and established usage, into mere personal selfishness? Could any other result have been reasonably expected, by men who understand the feelings and passions of poor fallen nature? And what remedy can be applied now? Alas! whatever remedy either wisdom or philanthropy might suggest, will come too late for many of the victims that are sinking under this state of things. And it is feared, even by wise men, that they will lead, at no remote period, if they continue on, to some social catastrophe, such as one shudders to think of. Unquestionably, in the system itself, there are elements for mitigating these miseries. But the measures for that purpose can only be presented in the aggregate of *abstract* interest, and are still violently opposed by the selfishness of coteries, and of individuals who have power to resist them. The only way to apply a corrective to the *root* of the evil, would be, not indeed to destroy the principle of interest, but to enlarge it, to an extent corresponding with the whole nature and destiny of man, as made known through the lessons of our Divine Redeemer. Bring *temporal* interests into harmony with *spiritual*—infuse some portion of the attributes of God, justice and mercy, into the minds and hearts of princes, of legislators, of nobles, of landlords; yea, if possible, of capitalists and money-changers themselves, as the *Christian* rules, for their thoughts and actions toward the weaker classes of their countrymen. Persuade them, not only that there *is* a God in heaven, but also that He is the common Father of all, rich and poor; that they ought to love each other. Bring their hearts nearer to each other—unite and bind them together, not only as citizens of the same country, but also as aspirants to the same immortal life and eternal glory. Any effort toward this will be a step in the great cause of society and of human nature. All this the Church would have done, without seeming to spend a thought upon it, if you had allowed her to continue the peaceful mission with which her Founder sent her forth to the nations of the earth. In times of barbarism she was the means of erecting for your forefathers a noble and majestic social edifice, sufficiently ample to shield and protect them all. She would have enlarged, improved, and adorned it, in proportion to your increasing numbers, and the varying wants of your condition. But you overthrew this, and built for yourselves an incongruous and misshapen structure. You are fain to call it a social edifice! But no: its true name is a temple of interest. Princes, and lords, and capitalists are indeed well provided for, beneath its glittering arches—a few others still may find protection within its vestibule; but as for you, oh ye millions of the poor and laboring classes, who are called and compelled to worship at its shrine, ye are strewn around its outer porches; and, instead of its sheltering you from the storm and the rains of adversity, you are even drenched with the waters

that descend from its roof. Go back among the ruins of former things, you may still find and trace out the deep foundations of the better edifice you destroyed. And, if there be no other hope for you, co-operate with Divine Religion in rearing up its stately walls, and its capacious dome, beneath which, even as regards your temporal condition, you, or at least, the heirs of your condition, your children, may yet find shelter and protection.

EULOGY ON THE LATE BISHOP FENWICK.

BY THE RT. REV. BISHOP HUGHES.

"I have fought a good fight; I have finished my course; I have kept the faith.
"For the rest, there is laid up for me a crown of justice, which the Lord, the Just Judge, will render to me at that day."—2 TIMOTHY iv. 7, 8.

THE symbols of lamentation by which we now are surrounded, Christian brethren, render it unnecessary for me to say that death has been amongst us; that death has triumphed in our midst. The habiliments of mourning which deck your church; the dark livery of the tomb uplifted on her walls, teach us that all earthly greatness must be subdued and silent in the presence of the universal conqueror. The solemn and pathetic tones of the music from yonder choir intimate the same.

Yet it is not death, so called in the pagan sense of the word. It is not the total severance of the departed from the survivors, imagined by those who have not been imbued with the spirit of Christian faith. We are Christians—and to us, since Christ died upon the cross, death has lost its power. It has become consecrated, so to speak; it is no longer a chilling of existence, but a loosing of earthly bonds—a release, an emancipation, through which the spirit of man is ushered into the presence of his God. Before us burns the light—the emblem of our Christian faith. Over us all is the Cross, reminding us that though it be lawful to sorrow, we are forbidden to sorrow as those having no hope.

In this case, indeed, the fatal shaft has been sped at no vulgar victim. The chalice of benediction, which you see among the tokens of mourning, proclaims that it is a Priest of the Living God that has been struck; the crook, there also, proclaims that it is not only a priest, but their head—one of the first shepherds of the flock of Jesus Christ.

Everything connected with this occasion reminds us at once of the power of death, and of death's want of power. For though it be our late father in Christ whom we have lost, yet, in the light of Christian faith, we are not to regard him as dead. He speaks to us as one departed, whose teachings and ministrations are to be consecrated to all our souls.

Yes, my brethren, the solemnity and mystery of an occasion like this speak to our souls through every avenue of faith and religious feeling. And it is, therefore, not in a spirit of mere vain or secular usage that he who now addresses you would call your attention to some circumstances in the character, history, and life of the deceased. It is characteristic of our nature to do honor to those who merit it, or at least to their memory after they have passed away. The great conqueror, the profound and able legislator, the philanthropic benefactor of his race, the wise and good citizen of his country—all these look forward to the meed of public approbation, in their own time or that of their successors, and seldom is the anticipation in those who are really deserving such reward. But it is not merely in accordance with this dictate of our nature that we would review the character and history of him whom we have lost. He is now, indeed, beyond the reach of praise, which, when alive, his humility would have disclaimed—nor are his ears liable to be pierced, or his feelings wounded, by the language of undeserved censure or unjust reproach. He has gone before his Maker, but surely his survivors may say of him, as Paul said of himself to Timothy—he has fought a good fight, he has kept the faith. And what he hoped for and labored for while in life, we trust he has already realized; and that, instead of the thorny crown which the mitre is, his brows are now encircled with that immortal crown of glory and recompense which God has prepared for his sincere and devoted servants.

But we are not assembled simply to do honor to his memory before the altars where he served. There is more. The death of our Lord has been again renewed—the victim of propitiation has again been offered before God—and the soul of the Church breathed forth in prayer through the lips of her Pontiff, your present pastor, united with the supplication of her children, and sanctified by union with the Divine victim of mediation interceding upon the altar, has ascended like fragrant incense to heaven. And we would humbly hope that our prayers, united, plead for him before the tribunal of God, that if he be yet excluded from participation in the beatific vision of heaven, God will, in his mercy, remove his earthly stains and speedily introduce his spirit to the company of saints and angels around the throne. We dare not say that the object of our sorrow and our prayers was without imperfection. He himself would have been the first to rebuke such language. He prayed that God would be merciful to him, a sinner. He acknowledged his sin and entreated for pardon. Yet, though we may not deny his imperfections, perhaps his frailty, may we not also believe we have reason to conclude that, if not now, yet hereafter and speedily he will stand before his God, purified of faults, to receive the recompense towards whose attainment his whole worldly life, and his most ardent and zealous labors in the cause of his Creator, were unceasingly devoted!

What, my beloved hearers, constitutes the ground of excellence? Not merely the exterior act, nor its success. But if we examine, we shall find that the excellence of any life, any conduct, any character is composed—

1st. Of motive.

2d. Of action and perseverance.

3d. Of suffering, when necessary to promote or redeem the execution of the first.

I propose, in this discourse, to examine the life of the deceased Bishop of Boston, in connection with these three tests, by which alone we can form a correct estimate of his actions and character.

On matters of personal history merely, I shall be brief. Benedict Fenwick was descended from one of the most ancient and respectable families among the Catholic settlers—or Pilgrims, as it was then the custom to term them—in Maryland, and was born in 1782. It would appear, though we know not much of the domestic and family history of his ancestors, that his faith was hereditary, and that in his immediate family piety had its permanent abode. We may mention as an evidence of this, that two of the brothers, besides himself, consecrated themselves and their lives to the service of God, and the spiritual teaching of their fellow-men, moved and led —shall we not say?—by the influence of a pious mother and an exemplary father.

Placed early in the college at Georgetown, Benedict Fenwick was distinguished for his industry and assiduity, and amenity of his manners, that gentleness of his heart, and for much success in his career. That institution does not indeed hold forth those splendid promises of universal science and extraordinary education which we sometimes meet with: its language is more modest, but it accomplishes all to which it does pretend. Its aim is chiefly to form the heart and improve the mind; and if it excels in anything, it is peculiarly in solidity as contrasted with pretence. At this institution he finished his course of instruction.

He had completed his collegiate education, and at a time of life when other young men are looking out into the world, seeking how best and most they may distinguish themselves in the eyes of their fellow-men—when wealth holds out its allurements in prospect—when ambition and the thirst of power, or the lust of pleasure—when, at the age of twenty-three, all worldly inducements were besetting him as well as others—it was then, through the influence of the Spirit of God, that these things lost all charm to him. His eye was attracted to the house of Jacob and the tents of Israel. There was in his neighborhood an institution of that order of the Catholic priesthood which has been distinguished throughout the world by the success it has met, and the malice and envy that have been arrayed against it. To that institution his mind was drawn, and offered himself as a novice of the Society of Jesus, and was accepted.

And here let me pause a moment to remark, that the motive which prompted such an act in such a man, is one the elevation of which a mere worldly mind cannot by any possibility conceive; because it is the effect of confidence in the holiness of the lives of those to whom he proposes to join himself. It is not to secure protection from the world's evil, but it is as if one should say—"here I am:

receive me." No matter how lowly the lot to which he may be assigned, no matter what danger of pestilence or disease he is to experience, no matter how remote the scene or how distant the end of his labors, he has already acknowledged obedience. He has been accepted, and henceforward his own will ceases to be his rule. Can there be self-abnegation stronger than is shown here? I am aware that this very circumstance is made a ground of objection to this institution in worldly minds, but that point we are not called on to consider at this time. I offer to your contemplation the spectacle of a young man giving himself wholly up to God—with only one single star to guide his course, and that star the Greater Glory of God and advantage of His kingdom, with the resulting benefit to man. When did motive so pure ever influence a philanthropist? The philanthropist, indeed, can weave fine sentences of good will to mankind, can promulgate splendid theories of benefit and progress, is even capable of glorious sacrifices—not, however, concealed from the eye of his fellow-men—and may be an honor or a treasure to his race! All this I readily admit. But when did philanthropist ever act on such a motive as we see here—the holy, the divine motive of entire and sole devotion to God!

After the completion of his theological studies, the subject of our discourse was sent to New York. This was in 1808, at which period there was but one church, and but one or two clergymen, besides himself, in the whole diocese. There are citizens now living there who remember his earliest ministry; who can recall to mind the humble, patient, yet earnest and zealous priest, traversing the streets in ministration on his scattered flock, and who are even now moved to tears, in speaking of his virtue and devotion.

But he was soon transferred to the New York Literary Institution, in the conduct of which he was for many years connected with Father Kohlman. Very many among the most distinguished citizens of the state and city passed under Father Fenwick's care during that time, and all—though not of the same religion—concur in speaking of him in the same terms of affectionate regard and esteem. He was called from New York, in 1817, to be made President of the college at Georgetown, where he had received his education.

The selection of any man as the head of such an institution cannot but be held as a high testimonial of the estimation in which the individual selected is held. For a college is a kind of little republic, or kingdom, perhaps. It requires in its head all the qualities of a good ruler of a state. He must have firmness, to insure order; kindness, to win affection; honesty, justice, and virtue, to inspire confidence. And that Fenwick possessed all these attributes, in a high degree, is proved by the fact that he was twice called upon to assume this responsible station.

But he was not allowed long to remain in this position.

The Catholic Church at Charleston, South Carolina, was then, or about then, unhappily divided into factions, from the absence of the proper authorities for church government, and from other circum-

stances on which it is not proper to dwell. It is sufficient to remark, in general, that the history of the Catholic religion here is essentially different from that which belongs to it in other quarters of the globe. Catholics, throughout all the old world, have been first to convert the human race from Paganism to Christianity; and in every country of that world the missionary of religion has himself been its apostle. Wherever the missionary could obtain a sufficiency of hearers and worshippers, there he held the church services, and all went on in that beauty and harmony which are the essential characteristics of our holy faith. But here the case was different. Here the laity came before the priests and the bishops, and they, in turn, came after. The faith was brought from other lands by those who were not in the order of the clergy, though many a monument still remains, here and there, to prove that they were penetrated and imbued with the true living faith and hope.

There were evils, however, connected with this state of things. Difference of opinion must be expected to arise, and where there is no spiritual superior to settle a disputed question, a comparatively trifling variance may sometimes ripen into a standing feud. Such, unhappily, was the case at Charleston. The church was divided, split into factions which manifested towards each other too much of that bitterness and acrimony which are peculiarly apt to characterize theological disputes. It was necessary to find a remedy for this, and accordingly the Archbishop of Maryland, the head of the church in America, cast around to find some clergyman especially fitted to bear the olive branch to the contending factions, and reconcile them to unanimity and harmony. It was not far that he looked, nor long that he hesitated; for Father Fenwick was soon selected as being eminently qualified for the successful performance of this delicate and arduous task. Accordingly, he repaired to Charleston, and it was but a few months—almost a few weeks—before the influence of his example, his zeal, his prudence, his devotion, had accomplished the work. The pious and Christian conduct of Father Fenwick, in his pastoral charge, acted like oil poured upon troubled waters. It smoothed down the ruggedness of faction; it softened the asperity of difference; and it converted the church, from a collection of disjointed and discordant fragments, into what a church ought to be, a symmetrical and harmonious whole.

From this honorable but laborious ministry he was relieved by the coming of Bishop England, and recalled to the Presidency of Georgetown College, which he again filled for one or two years. He was then sent to supply the place of the venerable Father Neale, the late head of a small society of ladies belonging to the Carmelite order, in Charles county, Maryland. While fulfilling the duties of this humble station, pursuing the tenor of his way almost unknown to the world, and quite out of the sight of his fellow-men, he received —to his own exceeding astonishment—not only an appointment to the position he so long held there, but a positive command from the Supreme Pontiff of Rome, that he should assume its various duties

and responsibilities. At that time the mode of selection for incumbents for such elevated stations was different from what it now is, where a general council of the higher clergy is assembled to designate and recommend a suitable individual. Then, when the whole church in this country was but a grain of mustard seed in comparison with what it has since become, such a proceeding was obviously impracticable. The appointment proceeded directly from the Pope, who in this case, it is possible or probable, was induced to the selection of Bishop Fenwick through the recommendation of the lamented Cardinal Cheverus, whose excellent qualities so endeared him to the hearts of the people while Bishop of Boston. He had departed from the diocese, but his former spiritual bride was still dear to his soul, and it was natural that he should feel a deep interest in her welfare. Owing, probably, to that interest it was that Father Fenwick, the humble and retired priest of an obscure monastery, was ordered to take charge of this diocese.

It is not necessary to say much of the state of the Church here at that time. But I would remark, that there was but one church where now they are numerous; there were but two clergymen, I believe, whereas to-day the sanctuary is surrounded by a numerous body of zealous and able priests. The whole diocese was but a wilderness, while now it is full of the signs of prosperity and success. And though it is true that the increase of the Church has, to a great extent, come from abroad, yet it is no less true that many, very many of her children have been won to her bosom by the influence of his example and holy devotion.

Looking, then, at the life of Bishop Fenwick from first to last, do we not find that he has labored in his vocation with a steadiness, perseverance and constancy worthy of all praise? We see him, after entering the priesthood, obedient in all things to his instructions and his superiors; seeking not to select his own path, consulting not his own wishes, but compliant to the judgment and direction of those above him. Ordered to the South, the land of pestilence and disease, he went with an unrepining spirit, and, while there, ministered the holy truths of our religion alike to the colored and ignorant servant, and the master, of another hue and of cultivated mind. Recalled thence, he took with equal willingness and obedience the position of President of a college of learning, and the humble post of spiritual teacher to a small and sequestered society. At last he was sent here to take upon himself the burden of his bishopric, and you can all bear witness to the earnestness of his zeal and the fidelity of his labors in that important charge.

And what is the nature and character of such a charge? If St. Chrysostom characterized the relation of the priest to his people as one of dignity, labor, and responsibility—if he be, on earth, not only an extension but a partner of Christ—if, when imbued with the true spirit of his calling, he be another Christ—how much more does all this apply to the Bishop, the shepherd of all the priests as well as of the people! The deceased prelate came to his post in that true spirit,

and his labors were perpetual during the twenty-one years that he bore the burden of episcopacy. And though in society, which he was so competent to adorn, it might appear that he had no care, you misconceived greatly if you suppose that there was ever one moment when he was unconcerned touching those things which Christ had entrusted to him as his sub-delegate on earth. If you have care for yourselves, and if your cares are increased as your families increase; still more, if you are called to office over your fellow-men, how can you imagine that the pastor, the religious teacher, is ever indifferent to the condition of a single sheep or a single lamb of his flock? But instead of a simple priest take the case of the Bishop, the head of them all; him whose whole conduct is ever narrowly scrutinized—at whom are directed the shafts of reproach, if there be any ground for it, and not unfrequently of calumny—who sometimes has much to dread from the imprudence or over-zeal of his inferior teachers—who knows not when he rises but that the day's mails from all quarters may bring distressing tidings for the Church; and suppose him, above all, to be imbued with a deep sense of the holiness of his office and awful responsibility resting on him; picture this to yourselves, and then imagine, if you can, that the mind of such a man can ever be without care! No, my brethren! Labor, and pain, and suffering are the lot of the Bishop; and this is why St. Thomas, though he calls it a good thing, calls it also martyrdom. Not a natural, but a moral martyrdom: an ever-active spiritual solicitude, an anxiety of the soul none the less real because unsuspected of the world.

There may have been nothing very bold, salient, or striking in the character of the deceased prelate. But men are too often apt to be mistaken through signs or semblance, where there is no reality. They are misled by fame, that false and empty sound. But if we look for God's estimate of character, we shall not find it made up from human fame. And do we find in the history of the Church that the earliest and ablest teachers of God's word had anything wild, dazzling, or extraordinary about them? No. Quietness and steadiness were their attributes. They sought not to attract the eyes of one or another by startling display, but walked in their appointed path, shedding abroad a spirit of fecundity and blessing, even as the silent dew descends from heaven to fertilize the earth. So was it with Bishop Fenwick. In prudence, he excelled. Patience was not difficult for him to practice, for patience was natural to his soul. Kindness, mercy, tenderness towards every species of human suffering—these were qualities which eminently distinguished him. To labor so perseveringly in the execution of an original purpose; to suffer, and that constantly (if it be suffering in giving up one's own will, with the liability to have one's motives misconceived and actions misrepresented; to be accused of tyranny if acting with energy, and of indifference and apathy if not) for forty years of his life—never flagging, but constant in the way not of his own choosing, but according as the will of God directed—if all this can constitute greatness, who can deny that, according to all Christianity and

true estimate, Bishop Fenwick deserves to be ranked among the great.

It is unnecessary, in the presence of his former colleagues, to say what is the opinion of the judgment and prudent conduct of him, who, whilst alive, perhaps was not sufficiently esteemed.

I might refer to some of the circumstances which attended his ministry here, and especially to that trial which to him was indeed a sword of sorrow, piercing the soul. A delicate and interesting leg acy had been left to him by his predecessor; it was, as you know, a little society of religious females, who passed their days in the worship of God, and the instruction of a small number of the youthful of their own sex. Over that house he watched with earnest care, and was not denied the consolation of seeing it flourish as a beautiful bud, shedding its sweetness and perfume around. Under the mild and gentle influence of his counsels and his teachings, the youthful tenants of those walls grew up with joyous hearts, for innocence was there, and wherefore should joy be absent? The summer sun passed over that house and sunk in the west, looking down on an abode of happiness and peace. He rose next morning to behold it but a heap of blackened and smouldering ruins.

We read of the shepherds being taken and the flock destroyed. Here the flock was dispersed, but the shepherd had not escaped. No one can imagine the agony of his heart. But I appeal to yourselves if he ever, even for an instant, manifested the least want of Christian charity—if he did not, on the contrary, always display a patience, under long suffering, peculiarly his own? He was not a man of restricted information; he knew the history and spirit of his race, and the depths of the human heart; he knew that not only here, but even more elsewhere, it was impossible to wholly eradicate from the minds of the populace prejudice and passion and injustice; and that when their baser feelings were stirred and their hatred stimulated into action, it was futile to attempt to stay them in their violence. He knew all this, and while he bitterly deplored the deed of the basest and vilest portion of the people, he dreamt not of throwing odium on the better classes. He lamented the deed as a dishonor and disgrace to the country which he loved as his own, but he was the first to record, and with unfeigned admiration, the many testimonials of sympathy and regard he received from the noble and public-spirited citizens of Boston—a portion of whom came forward with princely liberality to tender their assistance. They offered to rebuild the convent at once. If possible, they would efface every vestige of the violence of that infuriated rabble even before the tidings could reach beyond the limits of the State.

He declined these noble offers, and there are those who thought he did wrong. They thought he should have accepted what was so promptly and generously tendered—that it was due to the better class of the citizens to give them the opportunity they desired of wiping out at once the stain upon the honor of their city. But Bishop Fenwick was an American—not a stranger in the land. He

understood his rights and the duties of his country, and he believed he ought not to accept from private charity and benevolence what, in common justice, it was the country's duty to afford him. For that justice he asked, but alas! it was not measured out to him. Twelve times has the sun gone round, and twelve times did that wound in his heart open and bleed afresh, till at last, on the anniversary of the day of the destruction, that heart ceased to beat forever. It is not our province now to say whether his course on that occasion was expedient or inexpedient. He acted from principle, and to that principle he adhered. There was no wavering of purpose—no vacillation in intent. Long has reparation of the wrong been denied, yet none can say they ever heard from the Bishop's lips a word of denunciation, unworthy of the Christian and the prelate, of those who have constituted the hindrance to his hopes. For the spontaneous sympathy and generous proffers of assistance he received he had praises; for the country's tardiness to do him justice he had no reproach, but simply said he would wait for better times, when the hearts of his enemies should be softened and their eyes opened to the right.

I need not say how Bishop Fenwick's character endeared him to his people. His kindness in authority, his delicacy in the hour of agony made a deep impression on the hearts of all connected with him, while the grief of his sorrowing and afflicted flock speaks for itself of the attachment he inspired and the impression his virtues have made.

But I can dwell no longer on this topic. He who for forty years has labored in the service of his Master—who for forty years, like that Master, has done not his own will but the will of Him that sent him—whose thoughts by day and by night have been consecrated to the spiritual well-being of the flocks committed to his charge—whose heart has been the repository of the afflictions, and whose sympathy the source of consolation in the sorrows of all his people—he has passed away! The officer has gone, but not the office—for that always remains, and its duties are now performed by one of his own selection, a candlestick which he himself placed upon the altar. He has departed—but not until he had surrounded himself with a numerous body of pious and devoted clergy, whose warm affection for him is his brightest monument. He was their father, but also their equal. To them he was as an elder brother—their counsellor, their example. And I may appeal to all of them to say if there was ever one instance when, in sorrow and affliction, they had recourse to the kind, enlightened and discreet tenderness of their Bishop, without being met, on his part, in the spirit of Christian holiness and brotherly love.

His sickness was another labor. It was painful and distressing. It was announced to him beforehand that he could not survive—and he, the man that for forty years had known no glory but that of his Master, and given himself to no work but that of God, that man—notwithstanding his humility, if that humility would permit—could

look back through all his course in life, and say with the Apostle, "I have fought the good fight; I have kept the faith." In a word, from the moment when first he consecrated himself to God, to the latest breath of his life, we find in him but one continuous act—the making himself a victim in the cause of the Lord.

Such was the life of Bishop Fenwick. And if, as I have said, a pure, and high, and holy motive, combined with constant labor and the endurance of all suffering, constitute greatness, then was he great indeed. Even in his humility he was great. His memory, as a Prince of the Church, is great. The influence of his example is great. And not only was he great in life, but he is, and will forever be great, because there is a continuity in the works of God, and goodness and greatness will last through eternity. We can little conceive the true measure of such greatness, unless we can lift ourselves above the low standard of life and the groveling propensities which beset us in the world, and seek to attain the high and pure atmosphere of heaven.

Your late Bishop's end was in accordance with the whole tenor of his life. He did not escape much suffering, but it was softened by the attention and sympathy of many, eager to mitigate his pangs. And in this connection I ought not to omit to mention the kindness of the authorities and citizens of the town, who took every means to spare him from annoyance during his last hours. I am sure they have the hearty thanks of all his people. In all his suffering, not one word of murmur and complaint escaped his lips. God, as a reward for such a life, preserved his senses clear, and his mind unclouded to the end, and his last words were a fervent prayer to Jesus to receive his spirit.

He sleeps beneath the monument he himself had raised, though he dreamt not it would be for him. Every day a shadow from its top is cast by the sun of heaven upon the bed of his slumber, and every day the pupils whom he taught and whom he loved, breathe over his remains a prayer. When they kneel before their God, they offer a petition for the repose of his spirit, believing and knowing that he is praying for and watching over them and all of us.

His brows are now encircled by the crown of glory which Christ, the chief of Bishops, has prepared for those who with him are to reign for ever and ever. Let us, my beloved brethren, endeavor so to live that we may make our calling and election sure, that we may join with him who has gone before, in eternal praise before the throne of God.

A LECTURE ON THE ANTECEDENT CAUSES OF THE IRISH FAMINE IN 1847.

DELIVERED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE FOR THE RELIEF OF THE SUFFERING POOR OF IRELAND, BY THE RIGHT REV. JOHN HUGHES, D. D., BISHOP OF NEW YORK, AT THE BROADWAY TABERNACLE, MARCH 20, 1847.

The year 1847 will be rendered memorable in the future annals of civilization, by two events; the one immediately preceding and giving occasion to the other; namely, Irish famine, and American sympathy and succor. Sympathy has, in its own right, a singular power of soothing the moral sufferings of the forlorn and unfortunate. There is no heart so flinty, but that, if you approach it with kindness, touch it gently with the magic wand of true sympathy, it will be melted, like the rock of the wilderness, and tears of gratitude on the cheeks of the sufferer will be the prompt and natural response to those of interest, of pity, of affection, which, in imagination, he will have discovered on yours. Who will say that Ireland is not an unfortunate sufferer? But since her sufferings have become known to other and happier nations, who will say that she is forlorn? America offers her, not a sympathy of mere sentiment and feeling, but that substantial sympathy which her condition requires. When the first news of your benevolence, and of your efforts, shall have been wafted across the ocean, it will sound as sweetly in her agonized ear as the voice of angels whispering hope. It will cause her famine-shrunken heart to expand again to its native fullness, whilst from day to day the western breezes will convey to her echoes of the rising song, the swelling chorus, the universal outburst, in short, of American sympathy. The bread with which your ships are freighted will arrive too late for many a suffering child of hers; but the news that it is coming will perchance reach the peasant's cabin, in the final hour of his mortal agony. Unable to speak, gratitude will wreath, in feeble smile, for the last time, his pinched and palid countenance. It is the smile of hope, as well as of gratitude; hope, not for himself, it comes too late for that, but for his pale wife and famished little ones. He will recline his head more calmly; he will die with yet more subdued resignation; having discovered, at the close of his life, that truth, which the whole training and experience of his hard lot in this world had almost taught him to deny, namely, that there is humanity in mankind, and that its blessings are about to reach even his cabin, from a quarter on which he had no other claim than that of his misfortune.

But I have not come here to enlarge upon the feelings of sympathy that have been aroused in our own bosoms, nor yet on those of gratitude that will soon be awakened in the breasts of the Irish people. I come, not to describe the inconceivable horrors of a calamity which, in the midst of the Nineteenth Century, eighteen hundred and forty-

seven years after the coming of Christ, either by want or pestilence, or both combined, threatens almost the annihilation of a whole Christian people. The newspapers tell us that this calamity has been produced by the failure of the potato crop; but this ought not to be a sufficient cause of so frightful a consequence; the potato is but one species of the endless varieties of food which the Almighty has provided for the sustenance of his creatures; and why is it that the life or death of the great body of any nation should be so little regarded as to be left dependent on the capricious growth of a single root? Many essays will be published; many eloquent speeches pronounced; much precious time unprofitably employed, by the State economists of Great Britain, assigning the cause or causes of the scourge which now threatens to depopulate Ireland. I shall not enter into the immediately antecedent circumstances or influences that have produced this result. Some will say that it is the cruelty of unfeeling and rapacious landlords; others will have it, that it is the improvident and indolent character of the people themselves; others, still, will say that it is owing to the poverty of the country, the want of capital, the general ignorance of the people, and especially their ignorance in reference to the improved science of agriculture. I shall not question the truth or the fallacy of any of these theories; admitting them all, if you will, to contain each more or less of truth, they yet do not explain the famine which they are cited to account for. They are themselves to be accounted for, rather as the effect of other causes, than as the real causes of effects, such as we now witness and deplore; for in the moral, social, political, and commercial, as well as in the mere outward physical world, there is a certain and necessary connection between cause and effect, reaching from end to end, through the whole mysterious web of human occurrences. So that, in the history of man, from the origin of the world, especially in his social condition, no active thought, that is, no thought which has ever been brought out into action or external manifestation, is or can be isolated or severed from its connection with that intricate, universal, albeit mysterious, chain of causes and of consequences to which it is, as it ever has been, the occupation of mankind to add new links every year and every day.

If the attempt, then, be not considered too bold, I shall endeavor to lay before you a brief outline of the primary, original causes which, by the action and re-action of secondary and intermediate agencies, have produced the rapacity of landlords, the poverty of the country, the imputed want of industry among its people, and the other causes to which the present calamity will be ascribed by British statesmen. I shall designate these causes by three titles: first, incompleteness of conquest; second, bad government; third, a defective or vicious system of social economy. Allow me, first, to say a word of the country itself.

Ireland, as you know, is not larger in its geographical extent than two-thirds of the State of New York. An island on the western borders of Europe; its bold coast is indented with capacious bays and

safest harbors. For its size it has many large and navigable rivers: and it is said that no part of the island is more than fifty miles from tide-water. Its climate is salubrious, although humid with the healthy vapors of the Atlantic; its hills (like its history) are canopied, for the most part, with clouds; its sunshine is more rare, but, for that very reason, if for no other, far more smiling and beautiful than ever beamed from Italian skies. Its mountains are numerous and lofty; its green valleys fertile as the plains of Egypt, enriched by the overflowings of the Nile. There is no country on the globe that yields a larger average of the substantial things that God has provided for the support and sustenance of human life. And yet there it is that man has found himself for generations in squalid misery, in tattered garments, often, as at present, haggard and emaciated with hunger; his social state a contrast and an eye-sore in the midst of the beauty and riches of nature that smile upon him, as if in cruel mockery of his unfortunate and exceptional condition.

The invasion of Ireland took place toward the close of the Twelfth Century, under the Anglo-Norman king, Henry II. An Irish chieftain had been expelled from his country by the virtuous indignation which a flagrant act of immorality had aroused against him, in the midst of his countrymen and of his own subjects. He had recourse to the British monarch; the king merely gave him letters-patent, authorizing such adventurers as were so disposed to aid him in recovering his estates. Such adventurers were not wanting. They embarked and landed under the banner of invasion upheld by the criminal hand of an Irish traitor. They succeeded in effecting a partial conquest. The native population were driven out of that portion of the country which stretches along the east and southeastern coast, which afterwards became known in history as the English Pale. This portion of the kingdom, less than one-third, may be considered as having been really conquered by the adventurers; but the rest of the island continued as before, under its ancient princes and proprietors; some of them having simply recognized the monarch of England as their superior lord, by agreeing to pay a mere nominal tribute. Here is the real point in history, at which the fountain of Ireland's perennial calamities is to be placed. Many a tributary streamlet of bitterness came afterward to swell the volume of its poisoned waters; but this is the fountain which supplied and gave its direction to the current. The king displayed, when he visited Ireland, an authentic or a forged document from the Pope, authorizing the invasion. There is no evidence, however, except what rested on the royal testimony, that such a document had been granted; but, whether or not, it had no more effect in the success of the invasion than if it had been so much blank parchment. The success of the invasion was due, on the one side, to the superior skill of the adventurers, guided, if not led on by an Irish chief; and, on the other side, was owing to immemorial, and apparently interminable, divisions among the Irish leaders themselves. They prosecuted their own private piques against each other, as I fear they would do

again, no matter how formidable the common enemy of the common weal that might be thundering at their gates. If the invaders had prosecuted the contest to a final issue, that issue might possibly have united them for once; but the English, whether from weakness or from policy, were satisfied with what had been already achieved.

The conquest was thus cut short, almost at the opening of the book; and the calamities that have resulted to Ireland, from that time until our own days, are but so many supplements, many of them bloody ones, to complete the volume. The invaders were pleased to consider themselves as having conquered the Irish nation; and as having acquired the right of supreme dominion over the Irish soil. The king divided the lands of the whole kingdom into ten sections, or regions, and bestowed them upon as many of his principal followers. Having flung this apple of discord between the old and new race of the Irish people, he sailed back to England—had the emerald gem of Erin's sovereignty set among the jewels of his crown—and called himself Lord of Ireland. The consequence of his distribution was, from this time, that every portion of the Irish soil, every estate, had two sets of owners; the one, owner by justice, hereditary title, and immemorial possession; the other, owner by assumed right of conquest, and the sign manual of Henry II. If Henry had conquered the country, he might have made these grants a reality; but as it was, they were simply as royal letters-patent, authorizing the iniquities and disorders of all kinds which make up the history of the relations between the Irish people and what was called the English Pale.

The invaders regard the natives as illegal occupiers of the soil—as barbarians, who stood between them and the peaceful possession of their property. The attempt to dispossess the native population, however, by force, would have been a dangerous experiment; and it makes one shudder to see the persevering ingenuity with which the aid of inhuman legislation was invoked, with which laws for the protection of cruelty and treachery of every description were enacted, to accomplish by piecemeal and by fraud the complete conquest which they were too feeble or too politic to refer, once for all, to the more humane decision of the battle-field.

If we look at the legislation of the Pale, for the entire period of four hundred years, we shall find the tone of its enactments to be always in harmony with this purpose—laws against intermarriages with the natives; laws against their language; laws against their manners and customs; and even laws making it criminal for a liegeman of England to allow an Irish horse to graze on his pasture. In the minds of the invaders, in the acts of Parliament, in royal proclamations, during all those centuries down to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the natives are designated as aliens and Irish enemies. No part of the soil of their country was recognized as theirs. They were denied all share in the benefits of English laws; the iniquities of the royal grant, supported by the iniquities of legislation, made

it lawful for the invaders to kill or rob "the mere Irish," as the accidents of opportunity, or the caprice of expediency might direct. If any of the natives appealed to the law for redress, it was enough for the defendant to prove that the would-be plaintiff was a mere Irishman, and did not belong to any of the five families to whom the protection of the British laws had been, by special favor, extended. This plea arrested all further proceedings in the court. Frequently, during this long interval, had the natives petitioned and implored to be admitted into the Pale, and under the protection of the laws; but as often was their petition rejected. On the other hand, their own sovereignty was paralyzed and rendered impotent by the invasion, and the disorders which resulted from its incompleteness. They were broken up and divided, so that they were deprived of all opportunity for social or physical improvement, by any legislative organization of their own. This sketch conveys a faint idea of the condition of Ireland during nearly four hundred years after the invasion. The English Pale, meantime, instead of enlarging its boundaries, had often been obliged to curtail them; and as late as the reign of Henry VIII. it was restricted to only four counties, out of the whole kingdom. Enough has been said, I think, to illustrate the principle with which I set out, that to assume the fiction of a conquest; to accomplish it by halves; to leave it incomplete; to repair its deficiency—which must he repaired by other means, which must be fraudulent—is the most cruel policy, as well as the most injurious to both, that a strong nation can employ in the subjugation of a weak one. If it must be done at all, it will be mercy to do it thoroughly; so that the sword shall have determined, to the conviction of all parties, the reality of the new relations that have sprung up by its decision between the conquerors and the conquered. The bad policy of the incomplete conquest of Ireland had to be repaired, or rather completed, in the Sixteenth Century, by commencing the work anew; for it was only under Queen Elizabeth, who was no half-way ruler, but who—whatever else she may have been—was, I had almost said, a king every inch of her, that Ireland was finally crushed, if not conquered.

It would have been, however, too humiliating to British sovereignty to supply the original defect, under the original name of conquest. It was, therefore, now to be accomplished under the title and form of "reducing insubordinate and rebellious subjects;" although it required the help of a strong legal fiction to regard as rebels those who had hitherto been repulsed from the protection of the law. But even this reduction could not be accomplished, it seems, without cruelties, for which the annals of mankind, in the most barbarous ages of the world, furnish no parallel. It is a singular coincidence, and full of admonitions, that, in this second conquest, British statesmen recommended—and military officers employed—and lords deputies approved of FAMINE as their most effectual instrument and ally in the work of subjugation. The occupation of the troops from year to year was to prevent the cultivation of the

land, to destroy the growing crops already planted—for "famine," says the English historian who records the fact, "was judged the speediest and most effectual way of *reducing* the Irish." The consequences were, that whole provinces were left desolate, without an inhabitant, except in the towns and villages; that those whose misfortune permitted them to escape the sword, sometimes offered themselves, their wives and children, to be slain by the army, rather than wait for that slow, horrid death of famine and starvation, which had been reserved for them; for we can all conceive that, compared with the deliberate use of this instrument of war, against a rural and scattered agricultural population, the Indian's tomahawk becomes a symbol of humanity. Meantime, the old chieftains of clans, the owners of the soil, the leaders of the people, the "great rebels," as they were called, were becoming fewer and fewer. Some perished on the battlefield: they were the most fortunate. Others gave themselves up, on the word of honor and protection, and were then impeached and executed. Some were slain at the festive board of the invading commander, whose invitation to the banquet they had accepted, thinking foolishly that the laws of truce and hospitality made all their rights not only secure, but even sacred, under the tent of a true soldier; and thus, in few years, the Irish aliens, the Irish enemies, or the Irish rebels, if you will, were indeed reduced; and now there was a prospect of the invaders being permitted to enter into peaceable possession of those estates which, by right of conquest, as *they understood it*, had been theirs from the first invasion.

Elizabeth proposed to colonize the whole province of Ulster with English settlers, but she did not live to accomplish her project.

The plantation of Ulster remained to be carried into effect by her successor, James I. He secured to himself a new and better title; he confiscated to the crown six entire counties of Ulster, in one day; and parcelled them out, chiefly among his *Scotch*, rather than his *English*, friends—the native, the hereditary population having been, of course, sent adrift. The king and his ministers congratulated themselves, and compared this act of his Majesty to the conduct of a wise and thrifty husbandman, who transplants his trees according to the soil in which they will grow best. After James came Charles I. and the civil wars in England. When other resources failed the monarch, the fragments of property, real and personal, that still remained to the Irish people, were strained into the supply of his empty coffers. He obtained from them, by royal promise, £120,000 sterling, for what was called "Graces;" the principal of which was, what every American inherits by birthright—liberty of conscience. He pocketed the money, but I am sorry to say he refused the "Graces." His deputy in Ireland projected and carried out a system for the confiscation, in detail, of private estates, under a "Commission" for inquiry into defective titles. The jury that refused to find a verdict for the crown, under this system, was punished and ruined; and as to the judges, the Lord Deputy writes to his royal master that he had got them to attend to this business, as if it were

their own personal affair, by promising four shillings in the pound to the judge who presided at the trial, out of the first year's income from all confiscated estates. Under the Commonwealth, Ireland is the scene of new exterminations—new confiscations—new foreign settlers, amidst the wrecks and ruins of the native population. On the Restoration, the loyalists of England and Scotland were reinstated in their rights; but in Ireland the loyalists were abandoned by the crown, and the followers of Cromwell confirmed in their possessions. Nay, James II. came in on the title of a Cromwellian, and appropriated to himself, in one instance, no less than from 70,000 to 100,000 acres that had been confiscated by Cromwell to punish the fidelity of its rightful owners for adhering to the cause of that miserable James's unfortunate father. Finally, that country, which had been conquered so often, submitted at last to William III., successor to James on the English throne—submitted, but still not to the *sword* of a conqueror, but to the faith of a *king*, stamped on a written instrument, mutually agreed upon by him and the last representative of unconquered Ireland, called the "Treaty of Limerick." But every article of it, autograph, royal seal and all was repudiated the moment it was safe to do so.

The enactment of the entire penal code, soon afterwards, is evidence of the entire and deliberate violation of all the articles of the Treaty of Limerick. By that code, the inhabitants of Ireland were again divided into two classes; the one consisting of those whose conscience would allow them to take the State oath, on the subject of religion: to them high privileges were secured. But penalties were enacted against those who could not, or would not, swear that oath. The great overwhelming majority of the Irish people refused the test; and the penal law came quickly to punish them, even in their family relations and domestic circle. It invested any child, who might conform to the *test* prescribed, with the rights of property enjoyed by his father. It invested the wife with rights of property over the husband. If any of those who had refused to swear purchased an estate for any amount of money, any of the others who *had* taken the oath, could dispossess him, without paying one shilling for such estate. If any of the former class owned a horse worth fifty or one hundred pounds, any of the latter class had a right, by law, to tender five pounds, and tell him to dismount. If any of the former class, by his skill and industry in agriculture raised the value of his land so as to yield a profit equal to one-third of the rent, any of the latter could enter on the profits of his labor, and take possession of his land. These laws continued for between eighty and ninety years down to the period of American Independence. And in this enactment we see what a penalty was inflicted on the agricultural industry of the Irish—what a premium was held out to encourage that indolence which British statesmen now impudently complain of.

The same system has been continued to the present day: as if some cruel law of destiny had determined that the Irish people

should be kept at the starving point through all times; since the landlord, even now, claims the right, and often uses it, of punishing the industry of his tenant, by increasing the rent in proportion to the improvement the tenant makes on his holding. If, then, it be true that the Irish are indolent, which I deny, the cause could be sufficiently explained by the penalties which a bad Government has inflicted upon them, in their own country, for the crime of being industrious. Then, if it be said, as a reproach, that the Irish are ignorant, let it be remembered that this same code of penal laws closed up the schools of popular education; that the schoolmaster was banished for the crime of teaching, and if he returned he was liable to be treated as a felon. If ignorance of the people, then, be the cause of the famine, enough has been said to point out the cause of the ignorance itself.

The melancholy training of so long a period of oppression served to bring out, in the shades of adversity, virtues which perhaps would not have bloomed or borne fruit in the summer atmosphere of national prosperity. Filial reverence, domestic affections, always congenial to the Irish heart, had here ample opportunity of proving themselves, and were never found wanting. The law put it in the power of any son, by declaring himself a Protestant, to enter immediately upon the rights of property enjoyed by his father and his family; but no son of Irish parents was ever known to have availed himself of the law. As a matter of expediency, it was customary for the Catholic proprietor, for the protection of his property, to vest the legal title in some Protestant neighbor; and, again, it is consoling to know that, notwithstanding the temptations presented by these iniquitous laws, there is no instance of that private confidence having been violated. These laws originated at the close of the Seventeenth Century, and continued in force until two years after a British general, Burgoyne, turned the point of his sword to his own breast, and presented the hilt to the hand of his conqueror, after the battle of Saratoga. Then came the only brief, bright period of Irish history—the period of her volunteers, of her statesmen and orators—her illustrious Grattan rousing the patriotism of his country, and emancipating her long enslaved Parliament; the period of her Bushe, her Flood, her Curran, and the other great names that have made Irish eloquence as immortal as the Anglo-Saxon tongue. But the sun of her brief day soon declined and set, shrouded in clouds of blood, for it closed by the banishment or martyrdom of her patriots—her noble-hearted Emmets and Fitzgeralds. It was brought to an end by a new policy, conducted in the old spirit. A rebellion had been deliberately fomented by the agents of a foreign Government, until it reached the desired point of precocious ripeness, and then it was crushed with promptness and with cruelty. Martial law for the people, gold for the senate—a bayonet for the patriot who loved Ireland, and a bribe for the traitor who did not, led to the act called the Union, in which the charter of Irish nationality was destroyed, but I trust not forever.

The rest you are all acquainted with; it has occurred in our day, and within our memory. It will be manifest, from what has been said, that the causes which have prevented the prosperity of Ireland, the development of her material resources, the cultivation of her mind, have existed from an early date; and, under one form or another, have been in perpetual activity. She has hardly been permitted to enjoy repose sufficient even for a fair experiment of improvement. During the first four hundred years after the invasion, her people were outlawed because they were mere Irish. Afterwards, when the English laws were extended to her, in 1610, her people were again outlawed or worse, not now because they were Irish, but because they were Catholics. By adhering to their old religion, their rulers supposed them to have shipwrecked their hopes of happiness in another world, which would have been misfortune enough, without inflicting punishments for their mistake so well calculated to destroy their prosperity here. At the commencement of these changes, the law required them to attend the Church and service of the State religion: if they attended, they did not understand a syllable of that service, which was conducted in the English language; if they did not attend, their property was seized by fines for their non-attendance, £20 a Sunday. Then, either by grants or confiscations, under Charles I., to whose cause they were loyal, their property was still diminished. Under Cromwell, they were punished and plundered both as idolators, and because they had been faithful to their king. Under the Restoration, all preceding iniquities as regarded the ownership of property were confirmed. Under William III. and his successors, the penal laws were applied in the same way, not to the body politic at large, but with an ingenuity of detail, to every joint, and sinew, and muscle, as if the object were to paralyze all effort at national amelioration. Just in proportion as the struggle of these colonies for independence was successful, in that proportion did the policy of the British Government relax the pressure of this weighty bondage of the Irish people.

We sometimes hear comparisons instituted between the prosperity, industry, and moral, or, at least, intellectual condition of the Scotch, and the poverty of all kinds of the Irish; and the conclusion is generally adverse to the latter, either on the score of national character or of religion. Some even assert that the Catholic religion is in reality the cause of the poverty and degradation of Ireland. I have said enough to show that it has been at least an occasion; but I am willing to go farther, and admit that in one sense it has been a cause also; for I have no hesitation in saying that if the Irish, by any chance, had been Presbyterians, they would have, from an early day, obtained protection for their natural rights, or they would have driven their oppressors into the sea. The Scotch escaped nearly all the calamities I have described; they were never conquered; their soil was never taken from beneath their feet; they merged themselves spontaneously, at their own time and on their own terms, into the State of England. They kept, also, the property of their old

religion for their own social and religious use. Already, before the change, parish schools were established in Scotland; after the change these were multiplied, improved and endowed, out of the old church property. But in Ireland, everything was the reverse; church buildings, monasteries, glebes, tithes, from year to year, all went by the board; all were subtracted from the aggregate of the national wealth. And even in modern times, we read of incumbents appointed to ecclesiastical livings, entering on their cure, or rather sinecure, penniless, and after a few years, by the probate of their own wills, leaving to their foreign heirs, in some instances, as much as three and four hundred thousand pounds sterling.

I have ventured to suggest a defective or vicious system of social and political economy as the other great cause of Ireland's peculiarly depressed condition. By social economy I mean that effort of society, organized into a sovereign State, to accomplish the welfare of all its members. The welfare of its members is the end of its existence—*Salus populi suprema lex.* It would be a reproach, to say that Christianity conceived a meaner or lower idea of its obligation. This idea, it may not, perhaps, be possible to realize fully in practice under any system; but it should never be lost sight of. The system which now prevails has lost sight of it, to a great extent. It is called the free system—the system of competition—the system of making the wants of mankind a regulator for their supplies.

It had its origin in the transition of society from that state of mitigated slavery which was called feudalism and serfage, as they prevailed in England. As regards the mere physical position, food, clothing, lodging, of the entire people of England, there is no doubt that the old system provided better for it than the present one. The old Barons never allowed their serfs to die of a hunger which they were not willing to share. As the latter emerged from serfdom, and before they were able to take their ranks with advantage, in a more honorable sphere of free labor, the Church property, with its great means, constituted a providence of protection for this class. When the Church property was distributed among the nobles of England this resource failed, and then it was that Poor Laws were enacted, and taxes began to be levied by the State, from the poor, for the support of the pauper. Until then, the aggregate wealth, of the English people, taking them altogether as members of one State, was greater than it ever has been since, or so far as we can see, is likely ever to be again. There were not indeed, those colossal individual fortunes which now exist, but neither were there, on the other hand, those abysses of physical and moral destitution, which are now yawning on every side for the new victims, whom the pressure of the present system is pushing, every day, nearer and nearer to their fatal brink. By this system England has, I admit, become the richest country on the globe; but riches are by no means synonymous with prosperity, when we speak of the social condition of a whole people. And this system, though it may work well, even for national prosperity, in certain

given times and circumstances, yet carries within it, in the palmiest days of its success, a principle of disease, which acts first on the lower extremities of the social body, and with the lapse of time will make itself felt at the very heart and seat of life. It is an appalling reflection that out of the active and productive industry of Great Britain and Ireland, provision must be made for the support of between four and five millions of paupers. This number will be increased by every depressing crisis in commerce and in trade; by every blight of sterility which Providence permits to fall on the fields of the husbandman; and the experiment of Sir Robert Peel, in imposing on the wealthy an income tax, may be regarded as a premonitory warning that, although the time may not yet have arrived, it is approaching, and perhaps, at no very remote distance, when the mountains of individual wealth in England shall be made comparatively low, and the valleys of pauperism will be partially filled up. I am aware that in speaking on this subject I shall go, as it were, in opposition to the almost universal sentiment of this age, but for the expression of my opinion I will offer you this apology, that provided you do me the honor to hear, I will not ask you to coincide in so much as one of the conclusions at which my mind has arrived in regard to it.

I know that no living man is accountable for the system of which I am about to complain; it is older than we are, it is the invisible but all-pervading divinity of the Fiscal, the unseen ruler of the temporal affairs of this world. Kings and Emperors are but its prime ministers, premiers and parliaments but its servants in livery; money is the symbol of its worship, we are all its slaves, without any power to emancipate ourselves; the dead and dying in Ireland are its victims.

It will not be disputed, I presume, that the present system of social and political economy resolves itself, when analyzed, into a primary element of pure selfishness. The principle that acts, the main-spring that sets all its vast and intricate machinery in motion is self-interest; whether that interest assume a national form in the commercial rivalship of States, or an individual form in the pursuit, the industry, and enterprise of private persons. The conqueror, indeed, carries off great spoils from the contest; but his enjoyment of them would be disturbed if he could only hear the cries of the wounded and the dying who have fallen in the battle.

The true system, in my opinion, would regard the general interest first, as wholly paramount, and have faith enough to believe that individual interest would, in the long run, be best promoted by allowing it all possible scope for enterprise and activity within the general limits. Then individual welfare would be the result, and not the antecedent, as it is when the order is reversed. The assumption of our system is, that the healthy antagonisms of this self-interest, which, as applied to the working classes, its advocates sometimes designate pompously, "the sturdy self-reliance of an operative," will result finally in the general good. I am willing to admit, that

in the fallen condition of human nature, self-interest is the most powerful principle of our being, giving impulse and activity to all our individual undertakings, and in that way, to the general operations of life. But unfortunately this system leaves us at liberty to forget the interest of others. The fault which I impute to it, however, is that it values wealth too much, and man too little; that it does not take a large comprehensive view of self-interest; that it does not embrace within its protecting sphere the whole entire people, weak and strong, rich and poor, and see, as its first and primary care, that no member of the social body, no man shall be allowed to suffer or perish from want, except by the agency of his own crime. The fault that I find with it is, that in countries of limited territorial surface and dense population, by a necessary process it works down a part of the community, struggling with all their might to keep up, into a condition not merely of poverty, but of destitution; and then treats that poverty, which itself had created, as a guilt and an infamy. The fault that I find with it is, that whilst it allows, and properly so, competition to be the life of trade, it allows it also to be oftentimes, the death of the trader. The premier of England is reported to have said not long since, "that nothing prevented him from employing government vessels to carry bread to a starving people, except his unwillingness to disturb the current of trade." Never was oracle of a hidden and a heartless deity uttered more faithfully, or more in accordance with the worship of its votaries, than in the language here imputed to the British minister, who may be fairly regarded as the living high priest of political economy. To put public vessels in competition with merchantmen, in the low business of mere trade, would indeed have been wrong and unworthy of the great ruler; but if the profits of trade had been curtailed in the proportion of three or four per cent. per annum during this crisis of the famine, it would have saved many lives, and yet not have afflicted a wound or scar on the health of commerce. The fault that I find with the system, then, is, that it not only allows but sanctions and approves of a principle, which operates differently in two provinces of the same State, divided only by a channel of the sea. It multiplies deposits of idle money in the banks, on one side of that channel, and multiplies dead and coffinless bodies in the cabins, and along the highways, on the other. The fault that I find with it is, that it guarantees the right of the rich man to enter on the fields cultivated by the poor man whom he calls his tenant, and carry away the harvest of his labour, and this, whilst it imposes on him no duty to leave behind at least food enough to keep that poor man alive, until the earth shall again yield its fruits. The fault that I find with it is, that it provides wholesome food, comfortable raiment and lodgings for the rogues, and thieves, and murderers of the dominions, whilst it leaves the honest, industrious, virtuous peasant to stagger at his labour through inanition, and fall to rise no more! Oh! if this system be all in all, why did he not, in his forlorn state, entitle himself to its advan-

tages? Why did he not steal, or commit murder?—for then the protection of our modern Christian governments would be extended to him, and he would not be allowed to die of want. I may be told that I avail myself unfairly of an extraordinary calamity to prove the defects of our present system; I may be told that the famine in Ireland is a mysterious visitation of God's providence, but I do not admit any such plea. I fear there is blasphemy in charging on the Almighty what is the result of man's own doings. Famine in Ireland is, and has been for many years, like the cholera in India, indigenous. As long as it is confined to a comparatively few cases in the obscure and sequestered parts of the country, it may be said that the public administrators of social and political economy are excusable, inasmuch as it had not come under their notice; but, in the present instance, it has attracted the attention of the whole world. And yet they call its God's famine! No! no! God's famine is known by the general scarcity—there has been no general scarcity of food in Ireland either the present or the past year except in one species of vegetable. The soil has produced its usual tribute for the support of those by whom it has been cultivated; but political economy found the Irish people too poor to pay for the harvest of their own labor, and has exported it to a better market, leaving them to die of famine, or to live on alms; and this same political economy authorises the provision merchant, even amidst the desolation, to keep his doors locked, and his sacks of corn tied up within, waiting for a better price, whilst he himself is, perhaps, at his desk, describing the wretchedness of the people and the extent of the misery; setting forth for the eye of the first lord of the treasury with what exemplary patience the peasantry bear their sufferings, with what admirable resignation they fall down through weakness at the threshold of his warehouse, without having even attempted to burst a door, or break a window.

Such conduct is praised everywhere, even her Majesty, in a royal speech, did not disdain to approve of it; and it is, in truth, deserving of admiration, for the sacredness of the rights of property must be maintained at all sacrifices, unless we would have society to dissolve itself into its original elements; still the rights of life are dearer and higher than those of property; and in a general famine like the present, there is no law of Heaven, nor of nature that forbids a starving man to seize on bread wherever he can find it, even though it should be the loaves of proposition on the altar of God's temple. But, I would say to those who maintain the sacred and inviolable rights of property, if they would have the claim respected, to be careful also and scrupulous in recognising the rights of humanity. In a crisis like that which is now passing the Irish may submit to die rather than violate the rights of property; but in such a calamity, should it ever happen, which God forbid, the Scotch will not submit; the English will not submit; the French will not submit; and, depend upon it, the Americans will not submit. Let us be careful, then, not to blaspheme Providence

by calling this God's famine. Society, that great civil corporation which we call the State, is bound so long as it has the power to do so, to guard the lives of its members against being sacrificed by famine from within, as much as against their being slaughtered by the enemy from without. But the vice which is inherent in our system of social and political economy is so subtile that it eludes all pursuit, that you cannot find or trace it to any responsible source. The man, indeed, over whose dead body the coroner holds the inquest, has been murdered, but no one has killed him. There is no external wound, there is no symptom of internal disease. Society guarded him against all outward violence; it merely encircled him around in order to keep up what is termed the regular current of trade, and then political economy, with an invisible hand, applied the air-pump to the narrow limits within which he was confined, and exhausted the atmosphere of his physical life. Who did it? No one did it, and yet it has been done.

It is manifest that the causes of Ireland's present sufferings have been multitudinous, remote, and I might almost say, perpetual. Nearly the whole land of the country is in the ownership of persons having no sympathy with its population except that of self-interest—her people are broken down in their physical condition by the previous calamities to which I have directed your attention. Since her union with England, commerce followed capital, or found it in that country, and forsook the sister island. Nothing remained but the produce of the soil. That produce was sent to England to find a better market, for the rent must be paid; but neither the produce nor the rent ever returned. It has been estimated that the average export of capital from this source has been equal to some twenty-five or perhaps thirty millions of dollars annually, for the last seven and forty years; and it is at the close of the last period, by the failure of the potato, that Ireland, without trade, without manufactures, without any returns for her agricultural exports, sinks beneath the last feather, not that the feather was so weighty, but that the burthen previously imposed was far above her strength to bear. If it be true that the darkest hour of the night is that which immediately precedes the dawn, may we not indulge the hope that there are better days yet in store for this unfortunate people. They have been crushed and ruined in all the primary elements of their material happiness, but yet they have never forfeited any of the higher attributes of a noble, generous nature. They might, perhaps, have shared with the other portions of the empire in the physical comforts and improvements of modern civilization if they had renounced their religion, at the period when the others saw fit to change theirs; but after the present famine shall have been forgotten, the high testimony which the Irish people bore to the holiness of conviction within their soul, at all risks, and through all sacrifices, will be considered an honor to humanity itself. They believed, whether rightly or not is not now the question, but right or wrong, they believed that to profess a

religion which had no hold on their conviction, would offend God, and involve them in the double guilt of falsehood and hypocracy—that it would degrade them in their own minds—that it would entitle them to the contempt of the world—and sooner than do this, they submitted to everything besides. There was this one sovereignty which they never relinquished—the sovereignty of conscience and the privilege of self-respect. Their soul has never been conquered; and if it was said in Pagan times that the noblest spectacle which this earth could present to the eye of the immortal gods, was that of a virtuous man bravely struggling with adversity, what might not be said of a nation of such men who have so struggled through entire centuries? Neither can it be said that their spirit is yet broken. Intellect, sentiment, fancy, wit, eloquence, music, and poetry, are, I might say, natural and hereditary attributes of the Irish mind and the Irish heart; and if no adversity of ages was sufficient to crush these capacities and powers, who will say that such a people have not, under happier circumstances, within themselves a principle of self-regeneration and improvement, which will secure to them at least an ordinary portion of the happiness of which they have been so long deprived? The charity of other countries, and among them pre-eminently of England herself, the sympathy of distant and free States, on this occasion, will themselves have an effect. They will show Ireland that she is cared for; they will inspire her with the pleasing hope that she is not to be always the down-trodden and neglected province, the outcast nation among the nations of the earth.

CHRISTIANITY, THE ONLY SOURCE OF MORAL, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL REGENERATION.

A SERMON PREACHED IN THE HALL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES ON SUNDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1847, BY THE RT. REV. JOHN HUGHES, D. D., BISHOP OF NEW YORK.

From the Washington Correspondence of the N. Y. Tribune.

WASHINGTON, DEC. 16, 1847.

You have already seen several notices of the eloquent sermon preached by Bishop Hughes at the Capitol on Sunday last. I trust some of the publishers may issue an authorized version of it in pamphlet form, for preservation. Should any one under-

take the task, the following correspondence, which led to its delivery, and which has not yet been published, will be worthy of a place in the pamphlet:

WASHINGTON, DEC. 6, 1847.

To Right Reverend Bishop Hughes:

Sir—The undersigned, Members of Congress, respectfully invite you to preach in the Hall of the House of Representatives on Sunday morning next (12th inst.), at 11 o'clock, unless some other hour of the day may be more agreeable to you.

We are, Right Rev. Sir, your obedient servants,

OF THE SENATE:

JOHN DAVIS, Massachusetts.
JOHN M. CLAYTON, Delaware.
WILLIAM UPHAM, Vermont.
J. J. CRITTENDEN, Kentucky.
S. A. DOUGLASS, Illinois.
CHESTER ASHLEY, Arkansas.
JOHN P. HALE, New Hampshire.
SAMUEL S. PHELPS, Vermont.
SIMON CAMERON, Pennsylvania.
ALBERT C. GREENE, Rhode Island.
D. S. DICKINSON, New York.
D. R. ACHESON, Missouri.
E. A. HANNEGAN, Indiana.
J. C. CALHOUN, South Carolina.
LEWIS CASS, Michigan.
THOMAS CORWIN, Ohio.
WILLIE P. MANGUM, North Carolina.
J. A. PEARCE, Maryland.
THOMAS H. BENTON, Missouri.
SIDNEY BREEZE, Illinois.

OF THE HOUSE OF REPESENTATIVES:

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, Massachusetts.
JOSEPH GRINNELL, Massachusetts.
WASHINGTON HUNT, New York.
J. H. JOHNSON, New Hampshire.
W. DUER, New York.
T. BUTLER KING, Georgia.
O. KELLOGG, New York.
J. G. HAMPTON, New Jersey.
HUGH WHITE, New York.
R. TOOMBS, Georgia.
CALEB B. SMITH, Indiana.
W. BALLARD PRESTON, Virginia.
SAMUEL F. VINTON, Ohio.
JOHN PENDLETON, Virginia.
JOHN A. MCCLERNAND, Illinois.
J. R. GIDDINGS, Ohio.
WILLARD P. HALL, Missouri.
JOHN WENTWORTH, Illinois.
D. WILMOT, Pennsylvania.
J. H. HARMANSON, Louisiana.
WM. T. HASKELL, Tennessee.
W. R. W. COBB, Alabama.
JAMES A. BLACK, South Carolina.
JAMES DIXON, Connecticut.
LINN BOYD, Kentucky.
JOHN M. BOTTS, Virginia.
D. B. ST. JOHN, New York.
C. J. INGERSOLL, Pennsylvania.
JAMES J. FARAN, Ohio.
E. SHERRILL, New York.
F. A. TALLMADGE, New York.
I. E. HOLMES, South Carolina.
E. C. CABEL, Florida.

WASHINGTON, 9TH DEC., 1847.

It gives me pleasure to place the Hall of the House of Representatives at the service of Bishop Hughes, in conformity with the above invitation.

ROBERT C. WINTHROP, Speaker H. R.

This list would have been much longer, but there was not time to present it to the members generally. It embraces, however, the leading men of both parties in both Houses of Congress. It was handed to the Bishop on Thursday evening. The following is his reply:

To Honorable John Quincy Adams and other Hon. Members of both Houses of Congress:

Gentlemen—I have just been favored with your note of yesterday, inviting me to preach in the Hall of the House of Representatives on Sunday morning next. I do not feel at liberty to decline a compliance with a wish so kindly expressed on your part, and so flattering to me. I have the honor to remain, gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

✠ JOHN HUGHES, *Bishop of New York.*

SERMON.

THE portion of the Holy Scriptures which I am about to read, is found in the 20th chapter of St. Matthew, beginning with the 20th verse:

"Then came to him the mother of the sons of Zebedee, with her sons, adoring and asking something of him.

"Who said to her: What wilt thou? She said to him: Say that these my two sons may sit, the one on Thy right hand, and the other on Thy left, in Thy kingdom.

"And Jesus answering, said: You know not what you ask. Can you drink the chalice that I shall drink? They say to him: We can.

"He saith to them: My chalice indeed you shall drink, but to sit on My right or My left hand, is not Mine to give you, but to them for whom it is prepared by My Father.

"And the ten hearing it, were moved with indignation against the two brethren.

"But Jesus called them to him, and said: You know that the princes of the Gentiles lord it over them; and they that are the greater exercise power upon them.

"It shall not be so among you, but whosoever will be the greater among you, let him be your minister.

"And he that will be first among you shall be your servant.

"Even as the Son of Man is not come to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give His life a redemption for many."

It is observed, Christian brethren, as something remarkable, that in all the records which the inspired writers have left us, of the life and the teachings of the Son of God upon earth, there appears to be scarcely one direct allusion to the outward condition of that fallen race, which He came to raise and to redeem. Questions of government—questions of social right would seem to have been more urgent then than they are now; and yet we cannot find one solitary principle or precept, having the amelioration of these as the direct object of our Saviour. He did not appear surrounded with the pomp and the pretension of a reformer. He did not, in propounding those doctrines which involve the hope of the world, appeal to the sanction and to the support of public opinion. He did not even sustain his maxims by any lengthened train of reasoning, although He sometimes condescended to illustrate His meaning, by reference to parables and usages familiar to the people; and yet I will not say too much, when I add, that all the amelioration which has taken place in the history of man, and all the elements by which it may still be promoted, are contained in the divine lessons which our blessed Saviour inculcated in reference to another, a brighter and a better world than this. He took occasion to convey one of these lessons from that manifestation of man's nature, which came before Him in the incident recorded by the evangelist, in the passage which I have just read. The poor mother, with the affection and the pardonable ambition natural to the ma-

ternal heart, wanted to secure in time a place of distinction for her two sons, who had already attached themselves to His teachings, and were numbered amongst His disciples; and when their application was made known, the ten, by a manifestation of another attribute of fallen human nature, exhibited symptoms of their indignation and jealousy. They were filled, says the text, with indignation at the two. As yet, the true light of Christian faith had not taken effect in their breasts—as yet, their spirits were in the condition of our first parent, when God fashioned him out of the mould of the earth, with all his features and all his corporal faculties ready, but whilst, as yet, the breath of life had not been breathed into him in the character of a living soul. So it was with their spiritual nature; since, notwithstanding the divine teachings, they could not raise their minds above the low distinctions which constituted the object of ambition on the one side, and the object of jealousy and indignation on the other. From this our divine Saviour takes occasion to speak, and in His gentle rebuke, and comprehensive instruction, He touched upon that principle which has ever been, and ever will be, when indulged, the enemy of social happiness, and the enemy of equal just rights in the world. He referred to the nations of the earth, at that time, without rule or restraint, or limitation, of supreme power. He said: You know how they lord it over their subjects; but as for you, (addressing not the future lords of the temporal condition of man, but addressing those who were to be the ministers and the founders of that other and better kingdom, which He came to establish upon earth) —whosoever will be the greater among you, let him be your minister. Thus He impressed upon his followers the necessity of imposing upon themselves the wholesome restraints of self-denial and humility.

Beloved brethren, it was at quite a late period of the week that I was honored with the invitation, which I prize so highly, to address you from this place. I had already consented to speak in one of our churches, where my presence would be more natural and more expected; and for that place I had prepared, by reflection, some remarks on a subject which I would not deem suitable, on the present occasion; for I should feel that I corresponded but poorly to a compliment so much to be valued, if I could obtrude upon you any reflections or arguments upon those doctrinal subjects, which to too great an extent, have divided the Christian world.

Allow me then to make some reflections upon *Christianity and its Author, as containing and setting forth the germ of moral, social, and political regeneration in this fallen world of ours.* For, whilst I admit it as true, that our divine Saviour seemed to regard those mighty things which occupy the whole soul of men, even of wise and benevolent men, as if He would do them sufficient justice by leaving, in the language of the inspired text, "the dead to bury the dead," yet I contend that they were by no means unprovided

for, in His teachings. The object of His mission upon earth was of a higher and holier character than the mere settlement of human government. Man had incurred the enmity of his Maker, by disobedience. Man had forfeited the inheritance for which God had originally created him; and Jesus Christ, in fulfilment of the first object of His mission, came as peacemaker between the offended Creator and Supreme Lord, and His rebellious and disobedient creature and subject. But yet, whilst, as it is remarked by a writer on laws, the direct object of Christ appears to have had reference to another life, it is singular that its indirect consequences seem to constitute the only true ground of hope and of happiness, even in the affairs of this world. And it is in that point of view that I would invite your attention to two or three reflections; the first of which will be, the condition of human nature and especially its condition at the period when the Son of God appeared as man—not only to ransom our race by the infinite merits of his atonement and redemption, but also to re-establish and open anew the communication between the immortal soul and God, who is its eternal Author. This was the direct object of His mission: and we are not to doubt that all those things which appear to us so mysterious, so inexplicable, so incomprehensible—that, sometimes we seem to derive rather the elements of scepticism from them—that all those things, in the wise providence of God, are susceptible of explanation, and fall into harmony with the general designs of His providence. The second reflection will be the principles by which that amelioration, wherever it has taken place, has been achieved—and the third, the application of those principles, so far as they have been applied to the mere transitory, social and political condition of mankind. If I speak first, then, of the condition of human nature, I speak from conclusions to which every mind must have come that is familiar with the achievements of man, unaided by the light of divine revelation, and unwarmed in his heart by the love which Jesus Christ brought from heaven, and breathed, as the spirit of life, into that society which was founded on the basis of His doctrine. We find man accomplishing, in Greece and Rome, what constitute, at this day, objects of our astonishment and admiration; and yet, both in Greece and Rome, with all the superiority of his intellect, we discover him either bowing down to gods, the creatures of this earth, and sometimes of his own hand, or worshipping abstract deities, whose history was made up of vices, the very imitation of which would have corrupted a pure nation, instead of their being models to elevate, by imitation of the virtues that Deity ought to exhibit. And how was all this? It involved a contradiction—and that contradiction still subsists in our nature. It is the contradiction by which human nature is susceptible, under certain circumstances, of such heroic and noble virtues, and by which, on the other hand, it is subject to such degrading and brutifying vices. It is the aspiration, unbounded, of the soul, in which, even in this life, if you watch its course, not all the wealth that earth possesses, can reach

the measure of man's avarice; not all the honors, can reach that of his ambition. The origin of this enigma, revelation has made known. But even if revelation had been silent, that which the ancient philosophy of Greece surmised with good reason, becomes manifest, that this humanity, this compound of contradictions, never could have come originally from the hand of an infinitely wise and perfect God, in this condition. There must have been a catastrophe, and revelation comes to teach us what that was; and in order to understand the history of this nature, and the object of the incarnation of the Son of God taking it upon Him for our redemption, we have one key:—that key is man's original revolt against God's government. It is asked sometimes, by unreflecting minds, who are puzzled by this strange exhibition of our nature, why was it that God left such awful consequences dependent upon the creature, whom He had just formed! The answer is such as we may give, according to the limited measure of our knowledge, for when we speak of God, and of God's dealings with the Universe and its inhabitants, we must speak within the limits of our capacity—we have no measure to comprehend God. Our capacity is limited, and according to that small measure only are we permitted to speak; and whilst we admit still the existence of the mystery, we may present a reasonable solution of the difficulty here suggested. It is this: God is alone the Supreme Governor—the alone eternal, independent, infinite Being. Conceding these attributes, we must admit that, consistently with them, God could not create any being, and especially a rational being, endowed with the attributes of man's spiritual nature, and leave him *independent*, as if he were to be another God.

There is no work of God that is independent of its supreme author, or of His rule, or of His government; and accordingly, though the seasons may have been altered, and the earth deformed in consequence of man's disobedience, we yet trace, as we may, with great gratification, the obedience of all things else to the government of their glorious Creator. If you turn your eyes upon the heavens, you perceive with what regularity the starry host move on their appointed way. Day by day and year by year—for ever and ever—each twinkling lamp of heaven is in its place—all in the beautiful order which God appointed for their movements. The sun fails not to rise to enlighten and warm the earth at the appointed hour; and not from want of light, but from its excess, when he sheds his effulgence on the earth, these stars seem to hide away. If you turn your eyes to the earth, the seasons—except in the mysterious order in which we have reason to believe that they were changed, when man become a rebel—the seasons themselves come at the period appointed. The earth buds forth its myriads of flowers. The warm summer ripens all that the fertile soil is destined to yield for the sustenance of man. Autumn furnishes the season for gathering its bounties; and repose is again furnished by the winter. If you look upon the ocean, you see the same unvarying obedience to the great

Creator. In all material things we see this harmony of passive subjection to the will of Him who called them into being. Man is the only exception to the universal order of obedience. And why is man the exception? Originally, we may say, that man, by the very dignity of his nature, could not yield obedience to God in the way in which it is manifested by irrational material things. Earth and sky present a book in which God has traced, with His own hands, the evidence of His power and the glory of the Creator. But that book does not comprehend itself. Man is necessary to read and interpret its contents. To him—created free, but not independent—God, even in the condition of his innocence, made known the law by which he was to shape his conduct, and admonished him of the penalty of the violation of that law. If it be said that God might have created man so as to leave him without the power of rebellion, then, what would have been the consequence? That man, with an immortal soul, with reason which can look abroad upon the works of God, and an imagination which can gather to its own chambers the majestic firmament itself, and then measure the distances, and comprehend the movements of the hosts of heaven, with almost god-like faculty, would have been identified with gross material things. He would have been subjected with them to a law of necessity, such as that by which God governs all that is material in the world. If man had been thus created, how could he have rendered unto God homage and worship worthy of either? The obedience rendered by such a being would have been only like that of the tree which bends to the blast which agitates its branches. Man would then have been reduced to the condition of the puppet strung upon the wire, and not even a mortal occupant of a throne would feel flattered by the mock homage of a machine so arranged that it could not avoid bowing in reverence to his greatness. God has, therefore, made man free, because it was requisite for the dignity of the nature bestowed upon him, that he should render a voluntary homage to the Creator. Being free, he necessarily had the power of disobedience, and there is the key which explains the other mystery—itself indeed mysterious. There is that which accounts for the introduction of evil into the world. Thus disobedience—a reversal of God's order by man's own power, an evil having its origin at the cradle of our race, and receiving accumulations of guilt and familiarity with depravity in the progress of time—accounts for the condition of mankind. God declared that there should be penalties, as marked in the book of revelation—in the book of Genesis—were so far of the temporal order. Man should die—he should have to toil—and here we have the origin of sickness, and of disappointment, and of deception, and of all the various instrumentalities by which oftentimes sorrow traces our pathway from the cradle to the grave. These are the consequences of man's disobedience. And then God seemed to have withdrawn, as it were, from the rebel—not altogether—for even our first parent beheld, through the tears of his repentance, one bright but as yet feeble ray of hope on the horizon of the distant future;

and his posterity in the order of the patriarchs, were by no means forsaken of God. He communicated to them, from time to time, the purposes of His mercy; and he made them, in the first instance, to be the long-lived patriarchs—the rulers of their family and of their posterity—so that the same individual was a teacher of religion, a high priest, and a king. But as their posterity increased, it became necessary to form the scattered families into an aggregate, called a nation. And then God did not leave them, for they were His chosen people. He did not leave them to form, at their own caprice, laws for their social and political government. He communicated their laws. He established their religion. He sent, at intervals, prophets to instruct them, and everything bore with concentrated gaze upon a point of time future, and upon a person on whose appearance the ransom and redemption of this fallen race were to be accomplished. As for the Gentiles, as the text declares them to have corrupted their way, they went forth, under the law of our nature, by which man is still a social being, destined, by an unconquerable propensity of his heart, to associate with his fellow-creatures. Consequently, social forms of existence were necessary; but they were formed in the absence of divine light, and though reason, so called, was as powerful then as now—although what we term principles of natural justice should have been familiar—yet if you look abroad upon the face of the earth at the period at which our Saviour admonished His apostles, you will find nowhere this pretended excellence of reason—nowhere that just or humane government, which the very promptings of the natural heart should seem to have dictated; but everywhere the multitude crushed to the earth under the iron-shod hoof of irresponsible, absolute, despotic power.

If, then, as in our day, men sometimes reason against religion, and if they reason with singular acuteness, I will tell them that their reasoning, and the reasoning of those whom they vindicate or follow, is not a specimen of man's intellect before it was taught and illumined by the light which God shed upon the world through the religion of His Divine Son. If you want to know what human reason is capable of in government and religion, or in any of those things upon which reason founds the highest exercise of its powers, go to the period when human reason *alone* swayed the temporal destinies of mankind, and you will find man in Egypt bowing down to the ox, and worshipping the vegetables of the field, as regards religion: you will find him, as regards government, not questioning—for he did not dare to question—his reason never aspired to the right of questioning—the arbitrary power which his rulers exercised with so relentless a tyranny. Even Rome itself, with all its pretended freedom, had degenerated into a military despotism. It is in ameliorating this condition of things that the admonition of our Divine Saviour began to have its operation and efficacy. He tells his apostles, for the correction of all this, that those who would be free must begin by imposing restraints upon themselves. He insinuates that there is in the heart of man a natural selfishness; that that

selfishness originates in the corrupted sources of his passions, and that He, at least in His own kingdom, would have His followers to restrain selfishness; and, so far from insisting upon pre-eminence, He declares that those who would best serve Him must become first the servants of their fellow-beings. It was in such a condition of the world that our Divine Saviour spoke; and though, as I have said, He did not seem to interfere with the civil Governments of this earth—whether they should be monarchies or republics, despotic or aristocratic—He treated not of these questions at all—yet we find in His teachings the germ of all that is great and glorious in the social and political condition of mankind. I do not say that their condition is, even now, what it ought to be; inasmuch as the Redeemer came, not to alter human nature, but to impart new powers for restraining its corruption by self-control; He came to infuse a new principle; He came to breathe a new spirit into those who would be guided by His light; and it is from this source that we may derive improvement in the social and political condition of the world.

It was necessary, beloved brethren, that man should be taught by authority. He had not discovered his duties by any appeal to his own breast. Until the appearance of Christ, the selfishness of his nature was the ruling law of his action. The opportunities that presented themselves for the gratification of that selfishness were always greedily seized on; and as for restraint, he knew none. If he questioned his own heart, it imposed no law of self-denial. On the contrary, it prompted him to the indulgence of selfishness—to the gratification of his evil passions. There was, therefore, no restraint, and it was necessary that the authority of God should lay down those rules for the government of human conduct which Christ conveyed in his lessons to his disciples. These laws, whilst calculated to improve and exalt the individual man, were also adapted to the improvement and elevation of his race in their social character. Such was the religion which the Divine Saviour came to teach. He appeared without pomp. His birth was humble and obscure. His lot was equally so. His death was an iniquity in those by whom it was perpetrated. Nevertheless, He was the promised One of the ancient prophets, upon whom the eyes of all antiquity, even from the darkness of paganism, with some faint recollections of primitive tradition, had rested for four thousand years. His coming was not an event which took the world by surprise. It had been anticipated. It had been shadowed forth in the belief of the patriarchs, and in the religion of the Jewish people—so much so, that His appearance was essential to confirm the truth of the same. They were, so to speak, Christians; but Christians having the object of their hope in the future, whilst we, on the other hand, for nearly two thousand years, have looked backwards with intense gaze upon His sepulchre which the prophet declared should be glorious. He established the evidence of His mission from God, by His miracles; so that man saw that in them was the teaching of

their Creator and of their supreme Lord. Let us now ask, what was the sum of the Saviour's teaching? I speak not now of the mysteries which he revealed; nor yet of those doctrines which are the dogmata of faith; but I speak of the moral part of his teaching, which has its foundation in doctrine, whilst both morals and doctrine, to be of authority, must have God for their Author.

Detail would be impossible—but let us direct our attention to one or two principles which the teachings of our Saviour distinctly conveyed, and established as the groundwork from which other consequences in infinite variety of detail may be deduced. One of these principles is that no man upon earth is irresponsible—that although his fellow-creature may not have the right or the power, or the opportunity to call him to account, yet he lives under the universal and watchful eye of his all-seeing God; and whether you refer to his actions, or his words, or the secret purposes of his inmost heart, there is a witness—a God of infinite justice, to whom he must render a personal and awful account. There is now hope for the fallen race of man—hope, if he will but practically believe this blessed doctrine; for in it the subject and the sovereign, the weak and the strong, the oppressed slave and the despotic master, are equally subject to restraint—to prescription of limits—to a witness; and all know, that according to their obedience and conformity to that standard, will be their own eternal destiny in another world.

Thus, this doctrine teaches in itself the responsibility of man to a law, and a witness that cannot be evaded. You make laws in this hall of supreme temporal power; but then can you make them binding on the consciences of men? Yes, with one condition. If men, before your laws are enacted, have, as a principle in their hearts, the belief that God sanctions authority—that subordination is necessary to society—that subordination cannot be maintained without laws—that there is a higher and holier Law-maker, who gives sanction to your laws—then they will fear to violate your enactments, even when there is no eye of executive justice resting upon them. Where will you place the security and sacredness of legislation, but in this principle of the necessity of account where deception will be utterly impossible? And yet this is the sternest view of the divine teachings of our blessed Saviour; for in other respects, he made all those virtues which constitute at once the happiness of the individual, and contribute to the prosperity of the State—made them sweet and dear to the hearts of those who were imbued with his spirit and walked in the footsteps of his example. He was the eternal Son of God—he might have chosen the high and honorable posts of the world; but then he knew that humanity had been too long and too deeply crushed not to sympathize with its humblest condition, and he conferred honor on poverty by being born and living in that state, in preference to any other.

We know that love of wealth has been the destruction not merely of the souls of those given up to avarice, but also the cause

of destruction and evil to others who stood in the way of its attainment, and accordingly, to counteract this by his example, he chose to be poor and humble. Yet wanted he no dignity to fulfill his mission. If he chose to speak according to the language of human ideas and associations, he was a King—he was an Eternal King, by virtue of his Divine character. But he was, even according to his human form, a lineal descendant of the royal house of David. And yet this King, when he goes forth among his subjects, proclaims that though the birds of the air had their nests, the Son of Man had not whereon to repose his weary head. Yes, injustice existed, and still exists in the world, and injustice so extravagant that his precursor, the Angel of the Wilderness, is the victim of his moral courage, pining in the dungeon until the dancing girl asks his head of a prince of Judah; and even in Judah, where God's law had been established, the petition is no sooner presented than it is complied with, and the head of the Baptist is furnished on a dish, and set forth before the gay assembly. So, also, in the life of Christ, injustice places him on trial, though no crime was imputed, and he also is made the victim of iniquity, at which the heart of man would have revolted, had it not been under the domion of evil. Even the Roman Governor who represented the mistress of the world, pagan though he was, had sufficient natural light to discover the innocence of the prisoner tried before him; but the moment that the question of enmity or friendship to Cæsar was mooted, that moment innocence and justice are all sacrificed to the passion of selfishness, which, once implanted in the human breast cannot be rooted out, or subdued, except by the influence of the example and precepts of our blessed Saviour. If, however, we extend our view further, we behold how these principles began to work gradually in the temporal regeneration of mankind. It was necessary that a power, superior to the fears and the hopes of the great of this world, should be manifested; and accordingly our Redeemer asked no permission of emperors and rulers to propagate his kingdom; he sought no alliance with the governments of the earth for the protection of his religion; but he took twelve humble men and commissioned them to go forth and preach his Gospel. They diffused his doctrines; and for three centuries, under the iron pressure of paganism, when it thought to extinguish the rising heresy in the blood of its first disciples, that religion struggled on victorious, showing martyrs—heroes for the love of truth—for the love of God—for the love of man—superior to the iniquitous tribunals before which they were condemned, and to the tortures to which oftentimes their tender limbs were subjected. Here was a new lesson for mankind. Although the ancient philosophers of Greece spoke in pompous phrases of virtue, they exhibited no example; they made no converts; or, if they did, their converts did not believe sufficiently in their doctrine to have ventured so much as the loss of their little finger. The religion of Christ, then, triumphed over the persecution of the pagan emperors, and at last we behold

him, who was the heir of the Cæsars, making his reverence, and acknowledging the supremacy of the Christian religion.

Looking back now from the end of the volume towards its commencement, we can find many a page more dazzling than the one which was added on the day of the emperor's conversion; yet it was a wonderful triumph when the doctrines of Jesus Christ beat back those passions of the human heart to such an extent that Constantine, of his own volition, put bounds to the authority which had descended to his hands without limits from his predecessor. Nominal laws, indeed, there were, but they were subject to corrupt interpretation. These laws could be, and had been, overruled by the rescript of the emperor, and the subjects of the once free state had been left without any recognized defense against the inhumanity and cruelty even of a capricious Nero, or a Caligula.

Constantine for the first time, out of reverence to the principles taught by Christ, decreed that the emperor should no longer have power by rescript to overrule the established law of the empire. His successor improved upon that concession. Justinian and Theodosius framed that code, which, however it may be unsuited to the changes which some fourteen hundred years have wrought in the social condition of man, yet exhibited progressive evidences of limitation—spontaneous, voluntary limitation, of what had been until then supreme and boundless authority. The events which occurred subsequently—the influx of those hardy populations of the North—their rushing down upon the once civilized plains and cities of the falling empire, with all that strange admixture of bravery and barbarism—presented, as it were, a new world of wild passions, to be again softened down and mitigated by the gentle influences of Christianity. These Northern barbarians burst forth like a deluge, and it was only the principles taught by Jesus Christ, which enabled His followers to preserve for posterity the small and feeble remnants of ancient civilization which have come down to us. Thus was infused into Christian nations the germ of regeneration, because the sacrifices which the general happiness of mankind require from each individual, of what is personal and selfish, of ease, and of distinction, and of dignity, required an adequate motive. Man acts not without motive. The Christian religion supplies the most exalted motive for human action. In vain do you search the writings of heathen philosophers—in vain do you study the splendid recompense of self-satisfaction which so-called philanthropists offer as the reward of virtue, in order to discover an adequate stimulus to virtuous conduct. It is only in the divine morality of the Christian faith, that we are furnished with a worthy motive to a virtuous and holy life. There we are taught that God is our reward—that He is the rewarder of those who seek him—that He will punish your injustice toward your brethren—that He has so honored His disciples as to place Himself, as it were, in their stead, declaring, as the beneficent Redeemer of man has declared, "Whatsoever ye do unto one of these little ones, ye do even unto Me!"

I know not, beloved brethren, whether we, in an age which has much to boast of, but which is not yet quite perfect, can form an adequate idea of the importance of this element infused into the human heart viz.: the love of God for His own sake, and the love of man for the sake of our common Father. But I do know that apart even from those sterner rules of divine justice and eternal responsibility which religion prescribes, there is infused into the doctrines and teachings of our Saviour a certain power of attraction which wins the heart, so as to make it enamored of the sacrifices by which the world's selfishness has been shamed and abated. Tell me the calamity to which man is subject that has not found a remedy under the impulse of those divine whisperings? Do you speak of age, formerly, in enlightened nations, so neglected? Do you speak of infancy, abandoned by its criminal authors? Do you speak of the horrors of war? Do you speak of the rights of nations, of the sanctity of the first government, the family, and the holiness of domestic law? Have they not all felt the hallowed influence of the religion of peace and love? Where among the ancients do you find public provision for the poor? Where were the hospitals of heathen civilization? Where do you behold houses in which to gather the broken and trampled reeds of human misfortune? Where do you find war regulated by a spirit of humanity? Where do you find a recognition of the rights of nations, or of individual man? Nowhere. And in vain do you search for any other origin of those blessings than that source from whence they sprang; God, established the word of his eternal justice, through the medium of his divine Son, upon the earth, holding man to a just accountability for his crimes, and making virtue so sweet that the very sacrifices which it demands become themselves the recompense of its exercise. Who and where is the legislator that could teach me to rush into the atmosphere of pestilence and death, in order to minister at the bed-side of him who is nothing to me? Where is the legislator, emperor, or president or congress who could induce me to relinquish the pleasure which I might share with others, in order to go forth and sacrifice myself for the relief of others? And yet the law of Christ, while we seem not to speak of it at all, has infused the power by which we have seen man, and, above all, woman, who comprehends this power in all its divine delicacy, devoting, year by year to the service of Jesus Christ, a life which too many others waste in the empty vanities of the world. Nay, more, if you look to the high governments of the world, you will witness the gradual influence of the same power. In England we behold Edward the Confessor, diminishing his own prerogatives and conceding them to the people, who, from these very concessions, were enabled to assume a bolder tone, and demand from his successor their written confirmation. Thus, by the influence of Christianity, you have secured the first great parent-character of the modern liberties of the Western World. Wherever Christianity has not gone there has been no progress. Have the emperors of the pagan world

abridged their power? Can they exhibit any instance of self-denial akin to those to which I have alluded, as the offspring of Christianity? And why is it, that with such a divine code as that of the Christian religion, Christian nations have not yet attained to the perfection of its virtue? It is because men will not obey that which has been prescribed as the rule of their conduct. It is because they choose to adhere to the side of evil; and were it not for this, it would seem as if Christian nations ought to exhibit again the example and the beauty of that condition of innocence—nay, I should say a condition almost more honorable than the innocence from which they have fallen:—for if there were not those calamaties in the world, where could generous virtue find objects for its exercises? If there were not the wounded amongst our race, where would be the opportunity for the good Samaritan to pour in the healing balm? If there were no poor to be cared for, where would be the opportunity to indulge, under Christian influences, the impulses of our heart, that make it so delightful to contribute, and especially when in deep distress, to the consolation of our fellow beings? Were we to be wisely guided by those rules which are to be deducted from the moral teachings of the Saviour, the earth would seem to be again a Paradise. Then there would be moderation in rulers, because they would know that just in proportion as their power is augmented and is bestowed for a particular purpose, in conformity with divine law, so their responsibility is multiplied. Then the laws would be made in the spirit of Christian justice, and though not always perfect, yet the intention of the legislator to make them so would be apparent. Then law would have a moral sanction, and obedience would be the dictate not of fear, but of an abiding sense of duty, truth and rectitude. But, beloved brethren, I have dwelt sufficiently, I trust, on this topic, to make it evident that whatever of political liberty is enjoyed by men — whatever increase of popular freedom is discoverable — whatever progress of equality is manifest, must all be traced to the influence of the religion of Christ. And in our own country, and under our own government, those blessings being so common, we are likely sometimes to forget them. Who can be so blind as not to perceive the obligations which we owe to the teachings of our Redeemer? Here we have the sublime spectacle of a people at once its own subject and its sovereign! Oh! how important it is that we should act in accordance with the teachings of the Saviour in the text, that he who would be first should be the servant of all! In a country like this, where every man is invested with a portion of the government, how should he be admonished in the exercise of his prerogative, by the reflection that even for the vote which he gives he will have to render an account—not to his constituents alone—that account is sometimes easily settled —but to a just and all-seeing God, who probes his motives to their very depth! In a country like this, in which we have had the benefit of one great man, who approached in the order of social and poli-

tical excellence as near obedience to the Saviour's precept as man could approach, oh! how important is it that his example should be kept before our mind! And how natural is it to believe that a country for which God raised up so distinguished, so singular, so unapproachable a public deliverer, is to be worthy of its origin, and that its destiny may become itself the medium of diffusing benedictions upon the whole human race!

At this moment another character in the world's history rises up before my recollection, and the contrast which he presents to him to whom I have just alluded impresses me with a painful interest. On the one hand I behold the deliverer of his country, awaiting her summons, undergoing many sacrifices for her, yet with a modesty and dignity that make his life an example to warriors and statesmen, a kind of solitary biography in the history of the human race—something like the very creation of the world, that can have nothing to compare with it—I see him again in the fullness of his triumph and his renown, bearing his bright and victorious sword, to return its handle to that loved mother whom he had saved, and whose chains he had broken. He cuts off, as far as depended on him, all the prospects that would have been so dazzling to the eye of others. The hour had arrived; his moral triumph is complete. There is an example which should ever be familiar—engraven upon the fleshy tablets of every American heart! On the other hand, I behold a leadership almost similar in its origin, but in its career how different, and in its end how disastrous! With the example of General Washington before him, you saw, during a revolution in a European empire, a soldier undistinguished, except by the hidden force of his own genius—without hereditary claims—without any of those early manifestations of singular talent which should have attracted the eyes of his country, seeking deliverance—but, by impulses which I need not describe, springing, as it were, at a single bound, from the soldier's tent to the throne of a hundred kings. On that throne, is it his country that he serves? Is he disposed to minister to others—to abridge the extent of his own power and greatness? No; his career is like the flight of a meteor, astonishing the up-turned eyes of the world; but it was brief as it was brilliant and glaring; and when I behold this same man also resigning his sword and taking leave of his generals, at Fontainbleau—oh! what a contrast to the man who bequeathed to this Republic the legacy of his example, only less valuable than the inheritance of freedom which he won. The European general disappeared from the theatre of his exploits amid the regrets of few, and the censures of many; his triumphs had been accompanied by the cries, and his downfall was pursued by almost the curses, of the son-less mothers of France, whose growing progeny he had torn from their sides, one after the other, as they became able to bear a weapon of death to the field of contest. I behold him at last in a condition that moves humanity; an eagle as he was, but now, with crushed pinions and broken wings, chained to a solitary rock in the ocean, and left, cruelly left, to expire as no eagle

should have been allowed to die. What a contrast between the two, and what stronger exemplification need be adduced to prove to you, that if a man would serve his country, his fellow-men, if he would procure to himself the highest enjoyment of which his own nature is capable, he will be more studious of the comforts, rights and interests of others than of his own. And let us all remember that, if we would serve our country and our kind, we must seek direction from the source of light and truth; that we must trim our lamp of duty at the sun of righteousness. If we trust to any other guidance, we shall inevitably err, reaping disappointment to ourselves, probably, and inflicting injury on those whom we receive credit for being disposed to serve.

I fear that I have trespassed on your patience; but I have had no means of reckoning how time has passed. Yet every part, almost, of these observations might itself furnish matter for a long discourse. I cannot conclude, however, without making my profound acknowledgments for the kindness which prompted the thought, and the honor conferred upon me in carrying it out, of requesting me, all unprepared as I have been, to address you from this place. Nor can I withhold my sincere acknowledgments for the patient attention with which you have listened to the remarks that I have offered; and now I would breathe a prayer to God, that he will preserve you, and that you, above all, to whom the nation and the world look with so much confidence, may be guided in your deliberations by the Spirit of God; that you may be enlightened where light is necessary, and swayed in your judgment in favor of those decisions which will at once promote the glory of our common Father, and the interests of this great and growing country, whose destinies may exercise hereafter so important an influence upon the nations of the earth.

BISHOP HUGHES—"KIRWAN."

To the Editor of the Freeman's Journal:

DEAR SIR—I see a certain work announced, and much lauded in several of the newspapers, entitled "Kirwan's Letters to Bishop Hughes." I have not read these letters, though I have twice attempted to do so. Why they were addressed to me I cannot comprehend. It is said by some who probably know and care as little about the matter as I do, that the author of "Kirwan's Letters to Bishop Hughes" is a certain Mr. Murray, a Presbyterian clergyman of Elizabethtown, New Jersey. It is of little consequence whether this be so or not. The writer proclaims himself to be a countryman of mine, and from intrinsic evidence, which a glance at his letters is sufficient to furnish, I fear his statement in this behalf is but too true. He must charge it to a lingering affection for Old Ireland, our common mother, if I take the liberty of saying that I would rather he had been any body else's countryman. But

there is no remedy. Ireland, happily, has but few such sons as he, and over what she would regard as their ingratitude, there is left to her but the melancholy privilege of shedding a mother's tear for the waywardness, in this instance, of a remote and erring child. In the ingenious sophistry of maternal affection, she would, no doubt, frame excuses for him, in that he withdrew his young limbs from those chains that have been riveted on her for centuries—in that her domestic misfortunes caused him to be snatched from her bosom, and consigned to foreign matrons who, albeit most charitably disposed toward the boy, loved not his mother. In the charity of her affection she could forgive him all that might be attributable to the mere accidents of his youth, but her heart would feel an additional pang if she were to know that any son of hers, far beyond the western horizon that bounds her vision, could be so untrue to her and to himself as in the maturity of his years to make a boast of his apostacy, and rejoice in the calamities of his childhood.

Of myself, so far as I have been able to read him, "Kirwan" has spoken in terms of personal respect. He professes to regard me as a man of talents, of whom even Ireland need not be ashamed. He has no sympathy with those men who, a few years ago, attempted to bear me down by the rudeness of their assault. In all this "Kirwan" does honor to himself; but when, on the other hand, in order to damage the church he has forsaken, he imputes to me a want of sincerity in my belief and profession of the Catholic faith, he does great injustice to the generous instinct of his Irish nature, and betrays only the bad effects of his Presbyterian training. The insinuation is, that being a man of talents like himself, I must see the pretended errors of the Catholic Church, as he does; that I have a public part to sustain, and that I sustain it, irrespective of the better light which he supposes I must have, as a private individual. This is a very injurious imputation. It destroys, in my mind, the value of any courtesy which he may have intended to use toward me personally.

I know not by what right "Kirwan" could have indulged in this strange speculation; but it suggests to me an idea, which may, or may not, be well founded. We all know that Atheists, for instance, seem impelled by some paramount interior law of their being to speak of religion as if it was any concern of theirs. We know that those who have renounced the Catholic faith seem governed by the same law, in reference to the communion which they have forsaken, and a little insight of the human heart, confirmed by the testimony of persons who have gone through the melancholy experience, will sufficiently account for what would otherwise seem inexplicable. The Protestant who enters the Church, by the increase of his belief, fills up a void in his heart, and is afterward more engaged with the fullness of faith which he has received, than with the vacuity he has left behind. But when the transition is in the other direction, as in "Kirwan's" case, the mind

becomes engaged in the unnatural attempt to expel from itself the substance of faith, and to satisfy itself, instead, with emptiness of negative belief. Such minds, in spite of their efforts, must live, in a certain sense, on the old stock of their religious convictions, even by combating what they cannot altogether destroy.

Our Protestant friends have rejoiced abundantly in the occasional fall of some unhappy priest of our communion. These were generally unfortunate men before their transition, and after struggling by a process such as we have referred to, for years, we find many of them returning again, and with tears acknowledging that their apostacy was but the act of passion; that they did not disbelieve the Church, but were angry with her; that their writing against her had a double object, to gratify their resentment, and if possible to wear out the convictions of her teachings from their troubled breasts. Whether "Kirwan's" case is analogous, it is not for me to say. But, at all events, I protest against his applying to me any unworthy test with which his own consciousness of motives may, or may not, have made him familiar.

The object of "Kirwan's" letters is to show the reasons why he left the Catholic Church, and the reasons why he cannot return. Certainly, he is at liberty to write on any subject, and give his reasons, although the public never asked for them, so far as I know; nor is it, to Catholics especially, of the least importance whether he returns or not. He would not have been missed, and even if he had, the Church has been amply compensated, in the accession of very numerous and distinguished Protestant clergymen, both in Europe and America. For his own sake alone has the question of his leaving or returning of the smallest consequence. Yet his letters appear to have attracted some attention, which is to be ascribed not to any novelty in the pretended argument, but to a certain sprightliness of style in assailing the doctrines of the Catholic Church, which renders them a pleasing contrast to the filthy volumes that have been written on the same side and on the same subject. It is even said that the writer has secured for them a portion of public attention by the fact of publishing the name of Bishop Hughes, and concealing the name of the writer. Be all this as it may, they have attracted some notice, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that many Protestants who have read them would be disposed to hear what might be said on the other side of the question. Under this view of the case, I propose to publish a series of letters in your Journal, on the same great topics which "Kirwan" has discussed—and whereas he has published reasons for having left the Catholic Church, and for refusing to return, the object of my letters will be to show that no Catholic ought to forsake his church, and that all Protestants who have zeal for their salvation ought to enter her communion with as little delay as possible.

This being the object of my letter it will be quite unnecessary for me to refer to the language, or the order and distribution of

the subjects by "Kirwan." In fact, I will use his letters, not as the cause, but as an occasion which I will take advantage of, for the purpose of giving those among our Protestant friends, who may desire to be informed on the subject, an opportunity of making up their minds on the relative strength of the arguments for and against the Catholic religion. The widely extended circulation of your paper will bring what I shall write immediately under the eyes of both Catholic and Protestant readers in different parts of the country. Neither is it unreasonable, that such a series of letters should be furnished at the present time; however much I may regret that the work is not to be undertaken by some one having less occupation and more capacity to do it justice than myself. The relative position of the Catholic and Protestant Churches, at the present time, is one of deep interest to earnest and reflecting minds among all parties. Since the event commonly called the *Reformation*, there has perhaps been no period when the Catholic religion was looked upon with so little disfavor by those unhappily separated from her communion, as the present. Much ignorance, and much prejudice, no doubt, still prevails among them; and if we see an uneasiness of mind, an almost general condition of unsettled convictions in reference to matters of belief; if we witness a yearning after something fixed and stable in doctrine; a desire for such a course of events as might lead to general unity among Christians—every good man should labor to encourage these dispositions, and point out the only means by which the object aimed at can ever be attained. It is admitted by many of themselves that Protestantism, whatever it may be as a theory, has not come up in practice to the anticipation of its founders. In Germany it has allowed millions to glide through its feeble restraints and pass into Rationalism and Infidelity, and this, too, not by opposing its principles, but by applying a bolder logic to their consequences. In England it has perverted the ancient resources of the poor, and permitted them to sink into a lamentable condition of ignorance on the subject of religion and of moral depravity. Working within itself it has given rise to doubts and divisions until the names of its sects have almost become legion. And it is only in contemplating these its results, that many sincere men desire earnestly that in the providence of the Almighty, some remedy might be found, which would arrest and repair the present disorder. From all this, it is but reasonable to suppose that a treatise which should set forth almost in any form the relative grounds of the two systems of religion, without any of the acerbity of mere controversy, would be hailed by a large portion of the public. This is what I shall aim at accomplishing.

For a week or two I shall be absent from the city, and as soon after my return as possible I shall commence, in the form of letters, a statement and review of what may be deemed most important on this great question.

✠ JOHN, Bishop of New York.

December, 1857.

The Importance of being in Communion with Christ's One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, by Rt. Rev. John Hughes, D. D.

LETTER I.

DEAR READER:

1. Allow me to consider you, as one of those, not in communion with the Church, to whom these letters are addressed; and, let me entreat of you, to meditate on their contents, as if they were written for yourself alone. They are dictated, on my part, by a spirit of charity, so far as I can be conscious of motives; for I should have but little hope of Heaven's pardon, if I were capable of writing with any other intention than that of bringing *you* to the knowledge and profession of the *whole truth* of Christianity in this life—as the appointed means of conducting you to the enjoyment of eternal happiness in the better life which is to come.

2. I do not mean to notice those trivial writings which are published from time to time, outside of, and against, the Communion of the Catholic Church. The effect on your mind, if they produce any, is to prejudice you against a faith which you do *not* believe; and to unsettle, perplex, and confuse you in reference to what you *do* believe. Besides this, the *means* employed to produce these results in your mind and feelings, are generally unworthy of Christian writers. If you are at all familiar with the style and manner of these anti-Catholic writings, you must have perceived that they are remarkable for levity; that a sneer, a sarcasm, a little anecdote, a stroke of ridicule, is deemed by their authors a sufficient argument for *that world* of readers on whom *they* intend to make an impression. On Catholics, let me assure you, they make no impression whatever, except it be one of regret and pity. What they put forth of *real* objection to the Catholic religion has been said—and better said—more than two hundred years ago, and has been often and often repeated since; but this also has been often and often refuted. So that now, there is absolutely nothing *new* in the way of objection to the *real* doctrines of the Church.

In this statement of the case, dear reader, do not accuse me of an attempt to mislead you. That whole outburst of pretended argument with which the Reformers, as they are now almost *ironically* called, astonished the Christian world, was leisurely reviewed, and logically, as well as theologically refuted, by (not to name others) the brother Wallemburgs, Bossuet, Beccani, Bellarmine of the Society of Jesus, and others. Since that period, there have, of course, been many names appended to the list, on both sides; but *the question* in dispute has ever remained the same: "*Is the Catholic religion the same which Christ revealed to that Society of men who adhered to His teaching when He was on earth?*"

Writers in the Church—that is in the Society of men originally

constituted as above—have always maintained the affirmative answer to this great question; writers *out* of the Church, with rare exceptions, have always asserted the contrary. Little if any thing *new* can be said at this time, on either part. The writers outside the Church have, individually, their own mode of presenting the objection; the writers within have theirs of sustaining the defense. In presenting the case and discussing the question, as I propose to do, in the following letters, I shall, whenever I deem it right, repeat the arguments of those who have preceded me, using occasionally, if that be possible, some of my own—and presenting the whole in my own individual way of viewing it. In doing so, I shall endeavor not to use a single word or epithet not essential to the truth and force of my argument, which may give you pain. My fixed resolution, with the grace of God, is to employ no such word. But if, through human weakness, I shall be found wanting at any time to this resolution, I crave your indulgence in advance.

3. When Christ came on the earth He did not undertake to refute, but on the contrary, professed to confirm what God had revealed, and what had been believed by the Patriarchs and the Jewish people. He did not come to oppose, but fulfill, what had been divinely foretold by the Prophets.

He came to be the perfect, but still, intermediate, term of that true, divine religion which, from the fall of the human race, had had his type, and symbol of anticipation, in the *present;* its substance, in reality, in the *future.* The same events on which the hope of true believers rested before the coming of Christ, constitute the groundwork of faith, for all true believers, after the accomplishment of His mission, on the earth—so that the coming of the Redeemer, *as* He came, was not less essential to confirm and seal the truth of the Jewish religion, until then, than it was to lay the everlasting foundation of His own especial Church. But there is this difference, that whereas Christ was only *typically* present to the Jews, *before* His coming, He is eternally and substantially present with Christians, in His espousals with His Church in the sacramental institutions with which He enriched and adorned her—institutions provided for the spiritual life of her children, the guardianship and administration of which are *hers* alone.

4. Pay attention, dear reader, I pray you, to what this blessed Saviour said and did, while on earth. This at least cannot be objected to by writers outside the pale of the Catholic Communion. On the contrary, they would unite with me in recommending you to study the words and works of the Redeemer—and at this stage of the investigation, it is important that you should do so. Now, in doing this, you will observe that our Divine Lord, in addition to the signs of the Prophecy recorded in the Old Testament, and as fulfilling a portion of them, *wrought miracles*, to attest the divinity of His character and mission. Having established this, by indisputable evidence, He entered on the functions of His public office, as a Teacher from God. He addressed the people of His nation;

some believed, others refused to believe. The believers became His disciples. Among them were some whom He had called, by a more specific and personal invitation, to follow Him. Still, they remained confounded in the ranks of discipleship until He distinguishes them from the rest by a higher order of vocation, and constitutes them *Apostles*. He speaks to the multitude in parables, but to *them* He makes known the mysteries of His kingdom. They were *Apostles*, chosen and selected by Him, to carry His words and works to the ends of the earth, and perpetuate them through all ages, until the consummation of time. So long as He remained on earth *they* shared His lessons and hung on His lips, in common with the rest of the "multitude," but when He should return to His Father, *they* were to be His teachers, sent to all nations. To qualify them for this, He kept them more around His person, as friends and intimates. Much of His discourses, as recorded by the Evangelists, is addressed to *them* especially and exclusively. He thus distilled, day by day, His divine instructions into *their* hearts, and it was not without a providential purpose that He permitted them to exhibit such vagueness of belief, such dullness of comprehension; as showing the *natural weakness* of *human* powers to understand divine things—until the day of Pentecost—when the Holy Ghost kindled the fire of the Apostleship in *their* souls, and by its light the natural darkness of their understanding in regard to heavenly things was removed and all truth, whatsoever their Master had said to them, was brought to their minds.

5. But *twelve* Apostles, invested with *equal* authority, might disturb the order and defeat the object which their Lord had appointed them to establish and secure. His kingdom was to be *one*—united in itself; His sheep were to be comprised in "*one fold*" under "*one Shepherd*," and not under *twelve*. Accordingly, out of the twelve, being all Apostles, and, as such, equal in dignity and authority, He selected *one*—Peter, and, in addition to the Apostleship, which he enjoyed like the others, conferred on him *special*, *singular* and *individual* prerogative and power, which had not been conferred on the other eleven, either singularly or collectively; and as our Lord had said many things to the multitude at large, and some things to the Apostles alone, so also He addressed many instructions to the Apostles as such, *including Peter*, and *something*, to *Peter alone*, in which the others had no *direct* lot or part. Satan, he said, desired them (all) that he might sift them as wheat, but He prayed for Peter, that his faith might not fail; and that he, being once converted, should confirm his brethren. The efficacy of this prayer of the Man-God, has been realized in His Church, from the days of Cephas himself, through the whole line of his successors, down to the exercise of the *chief Apostleship*, in our own times, by the great and illustrious Pius IX.

6. This epitome of the foundation of the Church, ought to be to you, dear reader, a subject of earnest investigation. It involves the great outline of her spiritual organization, her outward policy of

union, so to call it, as appointed by Christ. *All* were believers and professors of His doctrines. *Some* appointed teachers thereof, to preserve it for those who believed already, and preach it to those who did not—and *one*, for the sake of unity and order, to be supreme of the "some" teachers, and over the "all" believers. Nearly two thousand years have since rolled by, and yet this is still the Church's form. Other institutions have, meanwhile, taken their rise, run their career, of a few centuries, at most; have flourished, and faded, and passed away; whilst she, the Church, has retained, even in her extended relations "in the ends of the earth," her pristine form and organization as received from her Divine Founder, or, as the fathers would express it, as she came forth from the wounded side of her Spouse and Lord of the Cross.

7. As to form, order, subordination, the Church was complete at the moment of His ascension into Heaven. But as to the divine economy, by which He would kindle up the elements of her existence into spiritual life and activity, she was not meant to have been complete until the fiery tongues of the Holy Spirit should descend on the Apostles, to light the inextinguishable lamps of their mission and ministry. From that day, all the members of the Church began to understand, in a sense far higher and holier than "flesh and blood had revealed," their mutual, subordinate, and harmonious relations, one to another. Such is the outward model of spiritual government appointed by our Blessed Saviour for the purpose of preserving certainty of doctrine, and unity of spirit, among the members of the Society founded on the belief of His divine revelations to men.

8. This Society is His Church. All His best promises are made to her. She is the "pillar and ground of truth." Her Divine Builder laid her foundations on the rock of Peter, and "the gates of hell shall not prevail against her." To her ministers, as His representatives, He gave "the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven." Whoever should hear *them* should hear *Him*" whoever should not hear them, should be as "a heathen and a publican." They should "*teach* all nations," and He would be "with them all days, even to the consummation of the ages." They preached his doctrines to a world buried in sin, in prejudice and error; and as often as the word of life took effect, and began to grow in the heart of any one, it was necessary that he should *profess his belief* and seek admission into the *existing society of the Church* by the gate thereof—Christian baptism. Being once entered he was made partaker of all the fullness of truth, and all the treasures of grace, which Christ has provided *in* the Church and *not* out of her, for the sanctification of those who would be saved.

9. You may have been told that the Church became a *false guide*, and *thus* fell away from the purpose which Christ instituted her to fulfill and accomplish. But although such statements may have made an impression on your mind, yet, on reflection, you will perceive that this is not only improbable, but that, if Christ is a true

Teacher, it is impossible. We, poor mortals, have some knowledge of things *past*, but the knowledge of things *future* is wisely concealed from us. Not so, however, are we to judge of our Divine Redeemer. As the God-Man, all things were *present* to His mind. The Church and her teachings, through all generations *then* future, were necessarily known to Him. If she were to be, at any time, an erring Church, He, as a Divine Instructor, should not have referred His disciples to her guidance and communion. That He did so refer them is indisputable; so that if you believe in Christ you must believe in His Church, and if you reject His Church it must be because you have *not entire confidence* in His words and promises. That persons who do not believe in Him should adopt *this* line of argument would not surprise me; but that it should be taken up and urged by those who *profess to believe* in Him, although out of the communion of the Church, is indeed an astonishing and painful consideration. It is the same as if they said, "Christ directs you to be guided by the Church, and in order to afford divine security for your faith, *He has promised to be with the ministers of that Church all days, forever.* But *we* tell you *not to put confidence* in His words; to have nothing do with His Church; to fly from her communion, if you belong to it; and to keep away if you do not."

10. If you are told that you have the inspired written word of God, for your guidance, you still cannot dispense with the Church. For the value of the Holy Scriptures is not in the *material volume*, the paper and binding, but in the SENSE which the Holy Ghost meant to convey in the sacred text. If you are told that the *sense* is plain and obvious, you will not believe the assertion. For, if that were true, there would not be so many sects, nor such endless disputes about its meaning; and those who tell you that the sense of Scripture is plain and obvious, are themselves *living proofs* of the contrary, since *they* cannot agree among themselves, and are consequently so reduced, even in discharging the functions of Christian teachers, that they *dare not pronounce* except with a faltering and uncertain voice, on the very thing which they tell you is obvious! They give *their opinion*, indeed; but with befitting modesty they acknowledge that they have *nothing more* than opinion to give. Now, in the communion of the Church the case is very different. The Church dates from the *day of Pentecost.* She is *older* than the Scriptures of the New Testament. Their meaning was written in characters of divine and everlasting faith, on her heart, and in her soul, before the *first* of the Evangelists took up his inspired pen. You might as well say that a man could not comprehend the meaning of *his* own manuscript, without the interpretation of it by his own readers, often his enemies, as to say that the Church should or could be ignorant of the sense of Holy Writ. The Church is a *body* as well as a *soul.* The Scriptures (I speak here of the New Testament) are a transcript from her living faith committed to parchment for the edification of the outward *body.* The writers of the sacred text were *her* members and pastors, the

readers were *her* pastors and members. To the latter, *her* aggregate inspiration, as a divinely appointed living *teacher*, was sufficient security for the right interpretation of their meaning. She knew those by whom they were written; she knew those to whom they were addressed; she knew even the handwriting of their authors; she knew that they were but transcripts from them of faith inscribed on her own living soul, by the *Redeemer*; she knew their meaning and has never ceased to proclaim it. In short, so conspicuous is Christ's fidelity to His Church, that by an overruling Providence you are indebted to her for the very Scriptures which "some wrest to their own destruction;" in such a manner that without *her* testimony, the authenticity and inspiration of the New Testament, and even the Old, would be to you, out of the Church as much a subject of doubt and disputation as the meaning of the sacred text itself.

11. I pray you, dear reader, to reflect seriously on these considerations. I bring them forward in my first letter, and number them by paragraphs, because in subsequent pages, it will be necessary for you, and perhaps for me too, to refer to them.

In religion there are but two principles of guidance for the direction of the human mind—authority and reason. Reason is the boasting guide of those who, out of the Church, "search the Scriptures" for themselves. And whereas reasons is not competent to the investigation of spiritual and heavenly things, it happens as a necessary consequence that, *out* of the Church, religion has degenerated into mere human opinion. In the Church, on the other hand, *authority* is the principle—even the authority of God; speaking directly by His Son and by the Church, which He founded with guarantee of His own abiding veracity. The members of the Church, therefore, have all the security which the attributes of God can furnish; so that so long as Christ cannot deceive, so long is it impossible for them to be mistaken. Hence, the various articles of our Saviour's doctrine are believed by them with *divine faith*, and with that *supernatural certainty* which the heavenly gift of faith creates in the soul. This gift may be weaker or stronger; it may vary in degree, but in its *nature and principle*, it is eternally the same. Its language is uttered in this wise: "The Son of God revealed this doctrine, requiring that it should be believed; and the *organ appointed by him*, the 'Witness in Jerulsalem and in Samaria, and to the uttermost parts of the earth,—the ever-living and ever-teaching Church, ATTESTS THE FACT." Here is a *basis of faith* which is not reason, but is rational. How different the process, *out of the Church;* "Christ revealed this doctrine, if my interpretation of such and such passages of Scripture be correct." In every article of Christian belief, out of the communion of the Catholic Church, that cruel "if" is necessarily expressed or understood. In the one case, the thing to be believed is a FACT, susceptible of *proof*, as such; in the other, it is a *hypothesis*, essentialy involving that element of uncertainty, which leaves the mind to be tossed about by every wind of doctrine.

12. Pardon me, dear reader, if again I solicit your deep attention to the several consecutive paragraphs of this letter. Are you one of those who have *religious opinions?* one of those who are willing to endorse the teachings of Christ, so far, and *only* so *far* as they agree with your interpretation of the Holy Scriptures? If so, lose not a moment; appeal forthwith to God, by earnest prayer, and a strong cry for the light and the life of better things. You know that without faith it is impossible to please God; and you will not rejoice at the conduct of a man who boasts that he has shipwrecked that faith, and that he is now floating at large on the ocean of opinions and uncertainty. It may be that you are called to occupy in Christ's kingdom, first on earth, and then in heaven, the place which he has left vacant by defection. But at any rate, as regards *faith within the Church*, and *free* opinions without, I shall have more to say in my next. Meantime, you will not be offended if, without knowing you, I pray that God may bring you to the true light; and that you may be "added to the number" of those who will be saved.

LETTER II.

DEAR READER:

13. You have seen from what has already been said, that the faith of the first disciples of our Lord was founded on His miracles. You have seen that by the Divine appointment these first believers became a distinct Society, and in proportion as the preaching of the Gospel made new converts, they were aggregated to the communion of that Society, which is the Church of Christ. It was founded on His word; it was organized by His wisdom; it was the depository of His institutions; the witness of His doctrines, and the organ of His Divine ministry, through all time. From that day it became easy for the simple-minded and the learned, who, from the preaching of the Gospel, should be imbued with a general belief of Christ's Divine mission to distinguish the Society through which the fullness of His truth and the plentitude of His sanctifying grace were to be received and appropriated. The organization of the Church was appointed for this especial purpose. If He designated Apostles to be the dispensers of His mysteries, as well as the preachers of His word; if He ordained that one should be supreme in authority over all, the lambs and the sheep, of His flock, it was not their personal advantage, but it was for the common good of all the members of which this His mystical body is composed.

14. The Church thus divinely instituted as an organized external visible Society was to remain so forever. Such a Society must be essentially and at all times visible; and among the illusions which prevail out of the Church, there is, perhaps, not one more at variance with the reason of man or the veracity of God than that which as-

serts the Church to have become invisible. It is the same as if you were told that a ship is always afloat on the ocean, but *on* one important occasion she was, during a few centuries, beneath the waters, although she afterward rose to the surface with fresh rigging and a novel crew. The assertion betrays its own absurdity. They admit that the Church of Christ is perpetual; that it cannot perish, but that it has been at times invisible. If it was invisible, by what right of common sense can they assert its existence, unless by the right of the sentinels placed at the Saviour's sepulchre, who testified as witnesses to an event, and that they were asleep when the event occurred? But on this point it is unnecessary for me to insist. The outward preaching of the Gospel; the promulgation from time to time of ecclesiastical discipline; the conversion of new provinces and nations from century to century during eighteen hundred years; the succession of pastors; the ordination of new levites for the recruiting sanctuary; the holding of council's, both general and provincial; the suffering martyrs; the founding of churches; the defections of heretics; the contentions against principalities and powers; the disputes—even the scandals of her members—all attest the visible perpetual existence of the Church as a continuation of the same Society instituted by our Blessed Lord himself. Consequently the promises made of His abiding presence with that Society by its Divine Founder have been fulfilled, and in that case you are bound, as you believe in Him, and value your salvation, to seek life through her, or else His promises have not been fulfilled, and then it would be, not the Church which deceived, but the Redeemer himself!—a thought which would be too blasphemous for you to entertain.

15. It is manifest from this that no outward society can claim to be the Church of God, which received its form and organization at any period subsequent to the days of Christ; hence, one of the signs of the Church is, that she is *Apostolical*. Any society depending on a subsequent date for its origin necessarily stamps itself spurious and counterfeit. Its doctrines must essentially be different from those of the true Church; and being different must essentially be novel doctrines, unknown to the elder Society, and being novel must essentially be false; unless that it be pretended that a new or another Christ descended from heaven to reveal them as contradictions to what *our* Christ had revealed. Here then, dear reader, is a striking attribute which God has made a peculiar and exclusive sign of His Church on the earth. Read over again what has just been said. Study and reflect on the argument, and see its bearing on your own condition. The true Church began and was constituted an outward visible Society in the days of Christ and His Apostles. When did the Society of the so pretended Church to which you belong take its rise, receive its form, and commence its functions as a visible Society? It must have been many centuries too late. The doctrines on which it is founded must have been, at the period of its commencement, *new* doctrines, and therefore necessarily unrevealed

by that Saviour whom we adore. This test is universal. Heresies have existed almost from the origin of the Church, but their authors separated from her communion, and such persons as they had been able to involve in their secession, have endeavored to form a separate church on a model of their own invention, and framed it with a view *to* give greater extension and development to the errors into which they had fallen.

16. Again, the Church must be essentially *one*, as a visible Society. The reason of this is obvious. God, who originally revealed her doctrines is *One*, truth is necessarily *one*, and the Society founded by our Divine Saviour, and imbued with the belief of that truth, which is one, and which Christ had revealed to His Church, must necessarily produce unity of faith among her members. As long as they abide in the truth of Christ's teaching, there cannot be divisions or antagonisms of belief. If there be divisions on tenets of Divine Revelation, it will be because one section or other will have departed from the truth and embraced error. The part so embracing error will necessarily cease to belong to the Society which had been founded on the belief of the truth. The defection may be as great as it was in consequence of the Arien heresy; the defection may diminish the numbers of those who, until then, had been included in the communion of the Church, but the unity of that Church, that is, of those who remain faithful to what had been the common belief of all until then, is by no means broken up or disturbed. A diseased limb has been stricken from the tree; but the tree itself, with its root and trunk, its flowers and fruit, remains as before, except in so far as the spread of its boughs have been outwardly diminished by the amputation of the diseased part. The test of this unity in the visible Society of the Church will be the belief of the same tenets of religion, originally revealed by Christ, and witnessed by the Church herself. In this respect, whilst the Catholic Communion is supposed to number at least two hundred millions, of all nations and tribes and peoples, there is no division among them, nor has there been from the beginning of Christianity. And as the rays of light which illumine our globe are traceable back to the sun from which they emanate so the faith of each individual in the whole Church, is identical with each and all the other members, in regard to the tenets of Divine Revelation made known by the Son of God. All believe in, and have recourse to the same sacramental institutions of the Saviour. All recognize and revere the same organization of pastorship, the same *one* priesthood, the same one episcopacy of Christ, represented and vicariously exercised by so many throughout the world; the same one individual primacy ordained by Christ, and conferred on Peter and his successor alone. Such is now, and such has been, uninterruptedly for eighteen hundred years, the unity of that visible Society, which is the Church of Christ.

17. But there is another sign, still, by which you may distinguish the Church from all other societies; it is Universal or Catholic. It

is not universal in the sense of its being necessarily in all places of the world, at all times. This was not the purpose of our Redeemer. But it is Catholic, because, 1st. The truth on which it is built is, by its own nature, essentially universal. The doctrines which our Saviour revealed and taught the Church, being true when He uttered them, were, and will be true in all places, as well as in Jerusalem; will be true through all time, and all eternity. 2d. Because His commission to His Church was to make known to "all nations," through "all days," until "the end of the world." 3d. Because under the commission its promulgation was not to be successfully impeded either by the rage of the Gentiles, the vain deliberation of the people, nor the fruitless and combining assemblies of kings and princes against the Lord and against His Christ. "All nations" were the field of its operations. Its missionaries were not to be effectually arrested in carrying the knowledge and means of redemption to our fallen race by any barrier; neither the expanses of ocean, nor the height of mountains, nor the dangers of travel, nor the rigor of climate, nor the barbarism of savages, nor the cruelty of tyrants, could deter them from preaching the Gospel to "every creature." 4th. The Church is called Catholic because, as a matter of fact, she is spread throughout the entire world. As an outward, visible Society, she is Apostolic in origin, One in faith, Catholic in extension.

18. At all times she was and now is *Holy*. Nor do the bad lives or scandalous morals of her individual members, or even some times of her eminent pastors, destroy or diminish her rightful claim to the attribute of sanctity. The reason is obvious. God does not apply the coercive force of Almighty Power either to bring men into the communion of the Church, or to make them personally holy when they have entered. To those who are without He offers the grace of vocation and of faith that they may believe and come in; for those who are within Christ has provided all the means and grace of sanctification. But in neither case does He impart grace in such a manner as to destroy the exercise of man's voluntary concurrence and free co-operation. Hence, therefore, the sanctity of the Church is by no means involved by the want of sanctity of some of its members. For she is called Holy, because: 1st. Infinite holiness is the essential attribute of her Blessed Founder. 2d. Because the doctrines she received from Him, and which she preaches, are holy. 3d. Because Baptism, by which all men enter her communion, cleanseth the soul of those who receive it with proper dispositions from all that is opposed to Holiness. 4th. Because all her moral teachings are conducive to the same end. 5th. Because the efficacy of her sacraments, and above all the divine character of the sacrifice, which is her highest art of public worship, were instituted as means of applying the merits of our Saviour's death for the sanctification of her children. 6th. Because, in, fine, whatever appears evidence of eminent holiness; the constancy of martyrs; the courage of confessors; the purity of virgins; the love of God; a spirit of

self-immolation to promote the welfare of man, have distinguished, and still distinguish millions of her members, and indicate, even in the practical exhibition of it, her claim to be called *Holy*.

19. I might enlarge, dear reader, on this subject, but what I have here said is perhaps sufficient for the present. I would only remark before I proceed to other considerations, that so far as it has been accomplished, the Catholic Church alone has realized the objects for which Christianity was instituted. She alone converted Pagan nations to the faith of Christ. For you well remember that large portions both of Asia and of Africa were made vocal by the preaching of her messengers, and the canticles of her saints, ages before the imposter of Mecca had raised the crescent of dominion or unsheathed the sword of extermination against her children. She had converted those countries from Paganism to Christianity. You will remember that all the Christian nations that have been converted, in Europe or America, from Paganism to Christianity, were converted by the efficacy of her Apostleship alone. You will remember that no other Christian association has ever been blessed of God with a power to convert so much as one single Pagan nation to the light of Divine truth. It may be said that the Sandwich Islands are at the present moment an exception to the truth of what has just been asserted. But the experiment here referred to is so incomplete that it cannot be adduced as any exception. For, unless travelers of unexceptionable character misrepresent the facts, the population of those islands is rapidly wasting away, whilst the wretched remains are said to have imbibed more of the vices than the virtues of the Christians who have gone among them. So that, as a general proposition, history attests the truth of what I have just said.

20. Read them over and reflect seriously upon the subject that has been treated, and the reasonings that have been adduced in the preceeding paragraphs of this letter. There is here presented to you a brief outline, not only of the Church, but of those peculiar attributes by which God originally, and through all time, constituted her a distinct, united, universal society, easily distinguishable from all other associations calling themselves by her name. If those outward tokens of her Divine identity through all ages should not at first impress your mind as strongly as they will do when you shall have reflected more upon them, it may not be amiss for you to bring any other religious association to the test of comparison by the standard. Did it receive its outward organization and visible form from Christ and His Apostles when they were visible on the earth? If not, who had the right to usurp the functions of the Redeemer? What was its origin? Again, is it united, even during the period of its brief existence, as a religious society, in the belief of its own *original* doctrines? Are its members now united in believing all the doctrines which the Society profess even at this day? Are its principles calculated to hold its members in the spontaneous *unity* of truth? Or rather, are they not calculated to divide

them into multiplicity of opinions, without its venturing to claim for itself, even the consciousness of "what is truth?" Has it, either by its doctrine or its extension, any claim to call itself "Catholic," or universal? Has it converted nations? Has it furnished martyrs? Or, if it does claim such, were they martyrs (that is *witnesses*) for the faith of Christ, or were they martyrs simply for their *own opinion?* As to the other test—*Holiness*, it is almost unnecessary that I should make any remarks. Sanctity out of the Church is judged by a very fallacious and very arbitrary standard. Nor would I feel authorized to urge an uncharitable scrutiny into the lives and conduct of individuals for the purpose of eliciting an answer to this question.

21. Neither is this necessary. Examine any one of these humanly organized societies, which calls itself the Church, or a Church, or a branch of a Church. Examine it, in the date of its origin; in the principle of its constitution; in the character of its founders; in the mode of its propagation; in the uncertainty of its preaching; in the disputations among its members concerning its doctrines; in their divisions and sub-divisions; in its dependence on human support; in the vagueness and ambiguity, and fluctuations of its creed; in the general sterility of its efforts to discharge the functions, and accomplish the purposes for which the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church was instituted, and it will be no difficult matter for you to distinguish between the human imitation and the Divine reality. The very names of these societies sufficiently determine their character. They are sometimes called after individuals who founded them—sometimes after the civil State, the Government of which created or adopted them. Again, you will find them designated by some minor point of practice among early Christians, to which they attach peculiar and paramount importance; or by some peculiarity in their ceremonies or mode or worship. Now, if you will take the pains to trace back the historical thread of these societies to their origin, you will find that in all cases, and without a solitary exception, they were built on the mere opinions of their respective founders. This statement may appear to you startling, at first sight, but examine it strictly, and you will find it to be indisputably true.

22. They claim new revelation from God. Now, were there connected with their origin, either a new Christ, or new miracles, or new Apostles? What, then, was the basis of credibility on which their new doctrines were founded? Simply the opinion of the individual who discovered a new reading of the Holy Scriptures, and succeeded in inducing others to strengthen that opinion by the endorsement of their own. When these opinions became strengthened still more, by the approbation of a larger number of persons, the next thing was to systematize them in a code, and reduce them to a conventional formula, called a creed, articles of belief, confession of faith, etc. Here, then, was the platform which was to support the faith of the new church. No one, however, at the present

day, considers himself bound by these primitive formulas of sectarian profession. Articles, creeds, confessions of faith, are no longer heard of, except when some unfortunate minister is under trial for heresy, or in those countries where the civil government has made the creed a portion of the laws of the land; it may be said, indeed, that the opinions of the creed, as expressed in the formularies, have lost all authority, and that each individual is governed by his own views, and not by theirs. This is decidedly consistent, for it would have been absurd to have rejected the authority of the Catholic Church—to have emancipated human reason from the yoke of *faith* in her teachings, merely to bring it into slavish subjection to the religious *opinion* of unauthorized men. Out of the Church there is no consistency, under the principle alleged to justify the separation, viz., that every one has a right to read the Scriptures and judge for himself—except in the conduct of him who puts away all human authority from between him and sacred text, reads it as often as he will, forms his opinions from day to day, with the well understood privilege of altering or abrogating them, as old light fades away, or new light breaks in.

This process, dear reader, necessarily destroys what is most essential in the belief of Christ's teaching, viz., its certainty. His doctrines are presented to you in His Church as facts, and not as speculations. And out of His Church you cannot by possibility have them guarantied as facts, but you must receive them as speculations alone. Is not this an uneasy and unnatural state of the human mind? Do you not feel that your spirit yearns after some permanent anchorage of Divine faith? That it longs for some *solid* and *secure* resting place? That it cannot be thus always on the wing, sustaining its solitary flight in searching after truth through the boundless regions of opinion? Will it not at last be fain, like the dove of old, to return with weary pinions, and drooping plumage, to the ark from whence it went forth—enjoying freedom, indeed, but finding no repose.

23. But you say you have the Bible to fall back upon. That there, at least, you may drink from the living fountain. Alas, dear reader, in your present situation, you cannot derive from the perusal of the Scriptures the benefit you anticipate. The true sense of the Scriptures is one thing—your interpretation of that sense is quite another. If you build your faith in Christ and your hopes of salvation on your unaided interpretation of the Scriptures, you are still building not on the Saviour's teaching, but on your own fallible opinions. Of this, however, I will treat in my next.

LETTER III.

DEAR READER:

24. In the preceding letters your attention has been called to the Church of Christ, to the outward form which she received from her Divine Founder, and to those marks or features in her organization which will enable you to distinguish her from all other religious societies. Enough has been said on that subject. From the day of her foundation to the present hour, she has never been without opponents who have denied her doctrines, and wielded all the powers of the human mind for the accomplishment of her overthrow. These opponents have been called by different names in the different ages through which she has passed. They were always loud in their denunciations, subtle in their modes of assault, oftentimes formidable in their banded associations. Many of them have long since passed away, but as error is inexhaustible in its variety, others, with new pretensions, have never failed to rise as successors in the work of opposition. If you would learn the various names by which these combinations of error have been known, you have but to read the list of the sects and heresies which are found in the annals of ecclesiastical history. This opposition began in the days of Christ himself, when some were offended at his language, and exclaimed among themselves, "This is a hard saying and who can hear it?" They walked no more with his disciples, and placing these seceders at the head of the list, you may trace the succession downwards from century to century, until it may close with those last victims of a common delusion, who a little while ago began to doubt the truth of the Bible, because the world did not come to an end in the year 1846, as, according to their notions, it should have done.

25. As I have already mentioned, there are but two principles of guidance for the direction of the human mind in determining the doctrine of revelation, and the true meaning of each tenet. These are—authority and reason. The word authority is, as you know, connected with the word *author*. Christ is the Author of Revelation. We believe the fact of His having revealed it, because of the authority of the Church as a living, perpetual witness, reaching from the individual believer in all ages back to Christ himself. This authority, in its human form, does not exclude whatever is excellent in human reason, but represents it in its aggregate, functions, and character. But the Divine element, which raises it above all other orders of human testimony, is the fact that the Author of Revelation identified Himself with His appointed witness, the Church, in such a manner that the authority of the one is essentially implied and exercised in the authority of the other. Hence the Catholic belief, on all matters of revelation or of doctrine, is as firm and unwavering as in the work of God Himself, on which it is built. It is therefore not mere human persuasion of the truth of a proposition, but it is Divine faith resting on the veracity of God.

26. The principle which takes the place of this authority among

sects out of the Church, is the principle of private reason. Thus the seceders, in the days of our Lord, rejected His authority, and followed their own private opinion, in determining to walk no more with Him. Thus Ebion and Cerinthus rejected the authority of the Apostles, and sought from their own individual opinion a Christian religion which, in their mind, should rest on the approval of their private reasons. So with Arius and his followers. So, in fine, with all heresies and all opponents of the Church of God, from the beginning until this hour. It is important, then, to elucidate this principle; and, to avoid the use of any term which may give offense, I shall designate those who are now, or have been at any time, out of the communion of the Catholic Church, as *Private Reasoners*, advocates of the only principle which is common to them all. It matters not what was the specific nature of the error by which they were distinguished, whether they denied the Divinity of the Son of God with Arius, or the validity of infant baptism with some modern sect, or whether they denied the trinity of persons in the Godhead with the Swedenborg, and asserted, in opposition to Arius, that Christ is the "alone Jehovah;" no matter what may have been their differences, they all agree in one principle, viz., that of private reason; so that, without using any other terms of distinction, I shall designate as Private Reasoners all those who are out of the Communion of the Church, and opposed to her authority as the only living competent witnesses of the truth and meaning of Christ's revelation, appointed between God and man, regarded in his individual capacity.

27. I may here remark that, so far as the teachings of Christ are evidence, there is no promise of truth, Divine guidance, the means of salvation, or eternal life, except through the doctrines, sacraments, and sanctifying grace, for the convenience of which His Church is the organ and appointed channel. There is not a single expression of Holy Writ that can warrant the opponents of the Church—the Private Reasoners of any age, whether past or present, to believe that they can be saved so long as they willfully reject her commission, and trust to their own individual opinions for the attainment of truth, and the means of spiritual life and participation in Christ. It is in vain for them to say that they belong to the Church, if that association which they call Church be a fabric of their own construction, based on the principle of private reason. There is but one Church, if there be but one God, for the same Deity could not be the author of two. And if they do not belong to the communion of the one Church which He established, then are they necessarily out of the way that leads to eternal life. How far their dispositions to embrace the truth, if they knew it, may plead for them in another life, it is not by any means within my province to determine.

28. Now that we have brought the parties to this controversy fairly out with their distinct and antagonistic principles, the Catholic Church on the one side, and the Private Reasoners on the other, (with the Bible lying open between them, if you please,) we shall

begin to have a clearer view of the state of the question. The Church, you perceive, is united as one man in her decision of the points at issue. The Private Reasoners, on the other hand, agree among themselves in nothing, except on the principles from which their disagreements arise, viz.: every man on their side, from Simon Magus to Father Miller, has the right, and that it is his duty to interpret the Scripture for himself. The Church, however, even when so exhibited, does not by any means recognize the dispute as between her and her equal. She does not forget her divine origin. She does not forget the responsibility of her office. She was originally the recipient, and was to be the preserver, the disseminator, and continuator of the work of Our Blessed Lord, in redeeming, not only the generation in which He lived, but all generations. Her spiritual, invisible life is but the communication of His Holy Spirit, which she never can lose the consciousness of. She says to the unchristian world without: "Here is the message of your God; here are the proofs that it comes from Him; believe and be baptized for the remission of your sins. To those who have believed and been baptized, she says, "Here are the treasures of the merits of Christ's redemption, and here are the things you must do, in order that they be applied for the communication of Divine Grace, and the sanctification of your souls."

29. The Private Reasoners, on the other hand, say: "Here is the Bible, the written word of God; let every man forsake the Communion of the Church; reject and despise her authority; take up the sacred volume, read its contents, form his own opinion as to what they mean, and so judge for himself." Private reason is thus erected into a tribunal of higher authority with its advocates, than the Church of God.

30. Such has been the principle or rather the fountain of all principles, so called, among the Private Reasoners, from the beginning of the Christian Church. If we pass them in review, according to the order of their chronological succession, what a singular chaos of contradictions and confusions do they exhibit. Some hundreds, perhaps thousands of sects, each of them possessing some truth, which they carried forth from the Church at the period of their separation, but no two of them agreeing between themselves on the errors which caused them to separate; so that a rigid analysis would exhibit them mutually refuting each other, and thus, without the Church's interference, neutralizing among themselves the reasons of their common hostility to her teaching. If you test the sects that now exist by the same standard of their mutual contradictions, they too will refute each other in the same manner. For instance, the Catholic Church maintains episcopacy as a Divine institution of ecclesiastical government. Now this institution is assailed and denied by many of the sects, but a majority of those separated from her communion, even in their capacity of Private Reasoners, decide that the Church is right. In like manner, as to infant baptism. The Church maintains its validity. Some of the Private Reasoners op-

pose her on this subject, but the majority defend her decision, and pronounce her to be right. All these sects and denominations have the same Bible, but they so torture it by decisions obtained at the tribunal of private reason, that practically it has not the same meaning for any two of them.

31. In elucidating the cause of these contradictions, I shall have occasion to show the palpable fallacy of the principle on which they all depend. If writers among them wish to seduce persons from the safe anchorage of Catholic faith, let them put away that style of clever scurrility, in which letters have lately been addressed to me, and adopt the defense of the principle, which is the fountain of all their errors, and all their mutual contradictions. Let them furnish me with some basis of faith in their system on which to ground my belief of what they call *Christian truth*. Where I am, reason, that is, rational motive founded on the evidence of facts; the words of Christ, attested by the Church and recorded in the Scriptures; the perpetuity and triumph of the Church; the constancy and identity of her teachings; the precision and positiveness of her doctrine; the unity of her members; the order, the subordination and harmony of her ecclesiastical government, all unite in binding me to the Catholic Communion. But stronger than all these, or rather giving these efficacy in producing this conviction, must be reckoned what is promised to all the members of that Communion—the *supernatural gift of Divine faith*. I can feel no sentiment but one, of sorrow and pity for the inconceivable delusion, and, in some cases the exceeding impudence of persons who call on me to forsake the Church of God, in order to turn Private Reasoner on the meaning of the Holy Scriptures, and thus, perhaps, add another melancholy chapter to the religious wanderings of the human mind.

32. The Bible is, indeed, the inspired written word of God. But since it is written, it falls necessarily under the same laws which determine the value of documents of importance which are entirely human. To those who received it, as its several books came from their respective writers, the Bible had in the circumstances, immediate proofs of its authenticity. But to all other persons its authenticity required proof, by the intermediate testimony of an unbroken chain of witnesses, reaching from the writer to the reader. It is for a like reason that human documents of importance are recorded in public offices, so that in case of doubt, their authenticity may be duly attested. Now, without the testimony, that is, the authority of the Church, it would be impossible, at this day, to prove the authenticity of the Bible. But the Private Reasoner denies the authority of the Church, and thus deprives the written word of God of her testimony as to its authenticity and inspiration, and consequently of the first condition essential to prove its Divine character. I ask any one of them, the more learned the better, to prove that the book which he offers to me as the Bible, is authentic; except by deriving the proof from the authority of the Church which he denies. For me that authority is sufficient, but for him there is no other; so that on.

this point, if he be consistent with his own principle as a Private Reasoner, his argument will be: "the Bible is the Bible because it is the Bible, and every body says so."

33. But suppose, what is impossible, that they could prove the authenticity of the Scriptures. I pass to a second difficulty, which the Private Reasoner cannot meet without invoking the authority of the Church. What we call the Bible is a book made up of common paper, ink and binding, which might have been employed for any other literary purpose. What is revealed in it is the sense or meaning which the Holy Spirit intended to convey. This sense or meaning was originally committed to parchment under written signs, the exact value of which, as expressive of the meaning, was liable to be misunderstood by the reader. Eighteen hundred years have passed since these signs were formed in the autographs of the original writers. It has been necessary to copy them by pens, not inspired, during the whole period of fourteen out of the eighteen centuries. But not only has it been necessary to transfer them; it has also been necessary to copy them; it has also been necessary to transfer the sense from the signs of the language in which they were first written to the signs employed in writing other more modern languages, and in these, also, to renew the work of copying with the hand. Can any of our Private Reasoners prove, without the authority of the Church, that the signs have not been altered? that the text has not been adulterated by interpolations of the copyist? that the sense has not been changed by the willful or accidental addition or omission of words? On their principles such proof is utterly impossible; and thus they necessarily sap the foundation of their own religion by depriving the written word of God of those outward necessary attestations of its inspiration, its authenticity and the substantial integrity of its text. And they consider themselves friends of the Bible, forsooth!

34. But passing over this also—for among Catholics there is no doubt on either of these points—what is the practical condition of the Bible in the hands of these Private Reasoners? The sacred volume is like all other written documents, a silent and dumb oracle until it is brought into contact with the living intelligence of its reader. He puts his mind into communication, so to speak, with the writer of the sacred page through the medium of the written signs by which the latter intended to convey his meaning. When he misinterprets the signs, the writer is not there to correct his error. The Church, indeed, was appointed to discharge the writer's office in that respect, but the reader is a Private Reasoner, and will admit no help from the Church. If he says that, according to the Bible, Christ is God, the Bible speaks not. If he says that Christ is not God, the Bible is silent still. If he says there is a hell for impenitent sinners, the Bible makes no reply. If he says that, according to the Bible, there is no hell, the sacred volume itself still remains as mute as if it acquiesced in his interpretation. Now let him take any of these interpretations. Let him be a leader among

the Private Reasoners. Let him preach his interpretation with all the eloquence of which human language may be made the vehicle, and what will it amount to? Not to what the Bible says, for the Bible has no power of utterance to say any thing, but his preaching will be simply his own private opinion, or, in other words, the Bible having no living voice of its own, he puts *his* tongue and speech into the mouth of the oracle, and makes it seem to say just what he wishes to express. Here is the fundamental fallacy of the whole system of Private Reasoners. There is necessarily as little contradiction in the true meaning of what the Bible teaches, as there is in the living teaching of the Church, or in God himself, who is the Author of both.

35. The great evil of this system is, that contradictions of the different sects into which the Private Reasoners are divided, are charged on the Bible itself. There is a subtlety in their first principle which allows it to evade detection by the popular mind. The orthodox blame the heterodox for holding erroneous doctrines, but they do not perceive that both rest on the same foundation—private opinion, and that this private opinion, in both cases, is presented to them as what the Bible says. The consequence is, therefore, that whereas in the Church every doctrine is held and believed as a matter of fact revealed by Jesus Christ, and therefore infallibly true, the same doctrines among the Private Reasoners, by the essential nature of the process through which they arrive at their religious belief, are reduced to the basis and uncertainty of opinion. Now God has revealed no opinions. The Bible contains no opinions, and yet, on the principle of the Private Reasoners, it is obvious that what is called religious belief is not, and cannot be, any thing more than opinion. The Rationalists of Germany have pushed this principle to some of its frightful consequences. Their more timid brethren in this country are, as yet, far behind, but are necessarily moving on in the same direction. But the end is not yet.

LETTER IV.

DEAR READER:

36. In what I have said in my last letter, you must not understand me as denying that there are many things in the Holy Scriptures which private reason is by its own light competent to understand. Our Blessed Saviour condescended to appeal to it, in certain cases. When He refuted the charge made against Him, of casting out devils in the name of Beelzebub; when He appealed to the knowledge His hearers had of the ancient Scriptures, respecting the signs of His coming; when He directed their attention to His works, as bearing testimony to Him, the appeal was, in every instance, to their private reason. You perceive, however, that in all this, He addressed persons not yet aggregated to the Society of His

disciples; not yet fully convinced of the divinity of His mission and character. But in revealing those doctrines which He communicated to His disciples, already convinced that He is the true Teacher from God, there is not a solitary instance of an appeal to the private reason of any man. We have a remarkable instance of this, in the case of the seceders at Caphernaum. The Private Reasoners found the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist a hard saying, but Christ made not a single remark to render it what they would call more rational. He seemed prepared to witness the departure of the others, as appears by the question He put to them, "will you also go away?" Simon Peter answered in the name of the rest, "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life." Here then, is the first striking instance of the difference between faith and opinion; beteen the Church of Christ, and those whom we have designated a Private Reasoner on the doctrines of Revelation.

37. We may illustrate the principle of this difference by analogies derived from the exercises of ordinary prudence, in the concerns of life; taking care, however, to remember that no human comparison will be a complete illustration. If a man is sick, he will use the best information within his reach, and the best light of his private reason, in selecting a good physician. But when he has found him, he will not subject the prescriptions to his private reason, rejecting some altogether, taking only parts of others; and so, making the doctor's science subordinate to his own opinion. In like manner, if a man has an important suit at law, he will exercise his private judgment and reason in soliciting his advocate; but having selected him, he will act under his advice, and be guided by him. Now such comparisons are defective, inasmuch as both the lawyer and the physician are fallible, and liable to be mistaken; whereas Christ, the true advocate, and true physician, is essentially infallible. And you perceive accordingly, that in the system of religion all that goes to indicate and determine His character when He was on the earth, and His Church, as representing Him, after His ascension into heaven, comes within the province of private reason, until men are brought into the light of faith, the community of discipleship, and the unity of the Church. There they are under God's teaching; there they learn the doctrines which Christ revealed; there they ascertain what are the true Scriptures, and what is their true meaning; there, in fine, they are taught in the language of our Saviour himself, "to observe all things whatsoever He had commanded" the Apostles, under the promise that He would be with them all days, even to the consummation of the world. The Church has not revealed the doctrines; this was not her office. She was and is the witness, and teacher, extending through all days, filling up the whole period of time between the individual believer, and the Divine Author of Christianity. She bears testimony to the fact, that such and such doctrines were revealed by Him. If Private Reasoners pervert the doctrine by erroneous explanations; she bears testimony to the true meaning, and against the error. Every doctrine

thus proposed as a matter of fact, revealed by Jesus Christ, is held by her children as infallibly true. This is *Divine* faith, *because* the motive of it is the veracity of God.

38. The Private Reasoners, that is, persons out of the Church, profess equally to found their belief on the veracity of God. But instead of appealing to the Church, as the witness appointed by God to attest what doctrines Christ revealed, they appeal to their own private opinion, as founded on what *seems* to *them* the sense of Scripture. The immediate object of their belief is their own *opinion*. They seek for Divine truth *within themselves;* for the Bible has no meaning for them, until its supposed sense is ascertained and approved by the tribunal within. Hence, although every doctrine revealed by our Saviour is a fact, and to be proved by competent testimony, as other facts are, it is essentially changed by the Private Reasoners into an opinion, before they can appropriate it as an article of belief in their own minds. In the abstract, they profess to believe in Christ; they profess to believe what He taught. But in practice, they deny any competent provision for determining what He really did teach, and assume, as a matter of opinion, that every one must "search the Scriptures," guess at their meaning, and so form a kind of religion for himself, as if Christ had left his work a blank, as to all certain means for its divine attestation, until the Bible should fall under the individual perusal and interpretation of each separate Private Reasoner. For the truth of this, I appeal, dear reader, to your own experience. The Private Reasoners tell you to read the Scriptures and judge for yourself. Now, as a test, take the text, "I and my Father are One," and the other text, "The Father is greater than I." Here appears to be a contradiction. Now, judging for yourself, you will lean to one or the other of these two; and when you have decided in favor of that which establishen the Divine equality of the Son with the Father; or in favor of the other, what will be the nature of the conclusion to which you will come in your own mind? Evidently it will be an opinion, and this opinion will be the object and matter of your belief.

39. If, then, according to this mode of ascertaining the truths of revelation, you come to the conclusion that Christ is *no* God, what is the direct thing which you believe? Something that Christ has revealed on the subject? No; it is simply your own opinion. If, by the same process, you arrive at the opposite conclusion, what is it you believe? Your own opinion again! But in neither case can you say that you believe it on the authority of God revealing it, but simply on the approval of your own private reason. Can there be, then, such a thing as Divine faith among believers out of the Church? Impossible! Now every Catholic believes in the Divinity of Christ as a positive fact of Divine revelation. And why does he believe? Because God has revealed it. He believes it therefore on the authority of God, and believing it on God's authority, he holds it as a matter of Divine faith, and not as a matter of opinion. The fact is proved to him by the testimony of the Church, which has

always believed and always taught this doctrine. And so with regard to every dogma that enters into the deposit of Christ's revelation. When one of the Private Reasoners says he believes in the Divinity of Christ, he cannot consistently say that he does so *because* God *has revealed it*, for this would be believing it as a fact which, as such, must necessarily depend on outward testimony for its proof, but he must believe it because he has searched the Scriptures for himself, and has come to the conclusion, in his own mind, that the text which says, "I and my Father are One," ought to prevail over the other text which says, "The Father is greater than I." In other words, he believes it because it is his own opinion.

40. Neither is it of any use to say that God speaks to us in the Scriptures. The statement is not true. It is one of those piously fraudulent phrases which the Private Reasoners employ to impose on the simple-minded, and to cover the delusiveness of their own principle, under reverence for the Divine Book. It is not true that the Bible has been given to us for the purpose to which they adapt it, that of degrading the revelations of Christ into a chaos of human opinions, mutually contradicting each other. But even if this were true, it would still be fallacious to say that God speaks to us in the sacred volume. It would merely be true that he writes to us; and between writing to us and speaking to us, there is a great difference. On the side of God the Scriptures are all that they were intended to be—an inspired collection of historial and biographical incidents connected with the lives of our blessed Saviour and His Apostles, including, however, a written attestation of many, if not all, the doctrines of Divine revelation. In so far as doctrines are concerned, the Scriptures are but an outward, and I might say, a duplicate form of the living faith which Christ had implanted, as the life-pulse, in the heart of His Church before the book of the New Testament had been committed to writing. They emanated from the Church herself. The authors were inspired to write, but the manuscript was intended for her use, to be preserved as a part of her faith and teaching; and under the light of the spirit of truth, which she received from her Founder, to be perfectly understood and infallibly expounded by her alone. It is manifest that if God had authorized the abuse which the Private Reasoners make of his written word, He would have authorized thereby the overthrow of what is most valuable in the teachings of our Divine Redeemer, viz.: their intrinsic infallibility, and the certainty of the faith which that infallibility inspires. He would have been allowing His Divine Son to lay the everlasting foundations of his Church, to authorize His Apostles to build it up, whilst He would be at the same time authorizing others, by private reasonings on the Scriptures, to pull down the edifice, remodel its form, and reconstruct it according to the dictates of their private opinion. He would be authorizing some to preach that Christ is God, and others, that Christ is not God; some, that bishops are of Divine institution—others, that they are not; some, that there is a hell—others, that there is not, and so on through all

the multitudinous errors of sects into which the Private Reasoners are divided.

41. If God had appointed the Scriptures to be the guide of the human mind, through the medium of private interpretation, He would have provided the *reader* with a measure of Divine inspiration corresponding with that of the writer. But although they were thus written, they are not thus read, and among all the schools which have grown out of the principle of private reasoning, there is not one whose system provides for this moral deficiency, except that of the Society of Friends. They assume that God will give His Holy Spirit to open the interior eye of the true meaning of inspired written Word. This idea also prevailed among some of the earlier Private Reasoners of other denominations, and is still clung to by individuals of a more pious or enthusiastic temperament. But its fallacy is palpable from the fact, that the interpretations arrived at, through the Spirit of God in the reader, would be uniform; whereas their interpretations are as diversified and contradictory as the individual opinions on which they are founded. I have dwelt on this subject longer than may have seemed to you necessary. But I deem it important that I should do so, in order to give you a clear and distinct idea of the difference between authority and reason—between faith and opinion—between the Church of God and the Private Reasoners who are now, or have been at any time, separate from her Communion. This distinction is a Divine line between the truth of Christ and the heresies that have opposed it, from the days of the Apostles. The Church comes down to us through the succession of intermediate generations, continuously, as one and the same society—the successors of the other Apostles, succeeding under the title of bishops, surrounding as their common centre, and revering as their common visible head, the successor of Peter, on whom the Church was built; around the bishops the clergy of the second order, with the faithful people, teaching and believing perpetually, unanimously, and universally the same truths down to the present day. Coeval with the commencement of the Church you find the Private Reasoners, in the seceders of Caphernaum, and then, following the stream of time downwards, you find their successors in Cerinthus and Ebion, Marcion, Arius, Nestorius, Eutyches, Pelagius, Berengarius (for a time), Wyckliffe, Huss, Luther, Calvin, Bucer, Cranmer, Knox, Socinus, Wesley, Swedenbourg, Joanna Southcote, Mother Ann Lee, Joe Smith, Father Miller, and Kirwan.

42. In this enumeration, dear reader, I do mean to say that the several errors into which private reasoning has betrayed the different persons whose names are mentioned, were of equal enormity, or of equal estrangement from the truth. They all agreed in two things, and it is by their agreement only that I classify them in the same catalogue, and in asserting the right of private reason to determine the meaning of what is written in the Scriptures. Their systems of doctrine were mutually opposed and repugnant to each other—the errors of some were far more enormous than those of others,

all of them contained some truth, and even much precious truth, but truth unfortunately transferred from the basis of revelation as a fact to that of their opinion; and by a singular law which pursues the work of Private Reasoners through all the wanderings of their errors, the school (that of Socinus, for instance,) which has most consistency with their common principle, has the smallest residuum of truth; whilst, on the other hand, the school (that of Cranmer, let us say,) which has the maximum of truth, out of the Church, possesses but the minimum of consistency with the same organic principle, viz., the right of private reason as interpreter of the Holy Scriptures. In my last letter, I set forth the parties to any controversies which now exists, or by possibility can exist, between the Church and her opponents. In this, you see clearly stated the nature of the subject, or the matter in controversy between those parties. You perceive, manifestly, that the Church adheres to her Divine warranty, to her doctrines, as facts of revelation, which are not to be disputed by men who believe in the Author of Christianity, and who admit the authority of moral evidence. The Private Reasoners, on the other hand, cling to their own interpretations, and oppose to her their own opinions, with every display of Scripture misunderstood, of texts distorted, by the various obliquity of the several interpreters. What, then, is the nature of an objection to the Catholic Church on any one doctrine of revelation? It is necessarily an opinion opposed to a *fact*. The matter, therefore, involved between these parties is positive fact on the Catholic side; positive opinion on the side of the Private Reasoners.

43. Another consequence follows. Among the Private Reasoners there are churches, so-called. On what are they founded? Evidently on the simple opinions of their respective founders. The concurrence of other opinions with that of the founder, cannot, by any means, strengthen the foundation of the pretended Church, although it may have tended to give plausibility to the delusion, and increase the members of the new association. Yet, even experience has proved the vanity of attempting to build an ecclesiastical edifice on such a sandy basis. Now it gives way at one angle, and now at an other. And, at the present day, there is scarcely one of these human constructions that is not rent in twain, like the veil of the Jewish Temple, under God's displeasure at the incredulity of the people, when His only begotten Son was in agony for their redemption. It was a necessary consequence of the principle, which might have been seen *a priori*, and which experience has fully established, that no amount of civil power, on the part of apostate rulers of this world; no amount of learning on the part of those architects who planned the edifice, could give stability to the superstructure; no accession of new members could give strength or security, so long as the original foundations rested on the opinions of the Private Reasoners, who first separated from God's Church. There is an "original sin" in the very first principle of the Private Reasoners, which taints and vitiates all its consequences. Has any one

of these schools, which have grown out of it; a moral certainty, such as reasonable beings require, as to any one Christian institution connected with it? I speak not now of its preaching, for the preacher himself does not profess to give out from the sacred desk any thing more than his own opinions. But I speak of those institutions which, although cut down and mutilated, are still supposed to have been appointed of Christ—have they any valid sacraments? have they any true ministry? have they any one of the Divine institutions which the Saviour of the world appointed as means of grace—channels through which His infinite love of mankind, would convey the merits of His death and passion, to the soul of the individual, who should most desire, or stand most in need of it? On their own principles, all this is doubtful, since all this is founded on opinion, and since opinion necessarily implies doubt, or, at least, does not exclude it.

44. The objections, therefore, which we have to answer in repelling the opposition of the Private Reasoners, are simply the objections of opinion. And as opinion varies from one individual to another, and oftentimes in the same individual, it is impossible to write so as to meet the specific form in which these ever changing, inconstant, capricious, and oftentimes contradictory conclusions are presented. The Church has had but one method from the beginning, and that is, to establish and declare the fact against which the opinion of the Private Reasoner had been arrayed. Now, it is a fact, which I will mention by way of illustration, that about the middle of the Seventeenth Century, Charles I of England was executed, and the mode of his execution was by having his head cut off on the block. Supposing our Private Reasoners were to fill volumes in intending to prove thereby, either that the monarch was not executed, or that he was executed by shooting or hanging, would it be necessary to refute all the silly opinions contained in those books, in order to establish the certainty that he was beheaded, and in this manner put to death? Certainly not! It would be quite sufficient, for all reasonable people, to prove the fact, and the proof of the fact would be the refutation of all opinions against it. Now, in a similar manner I shall proceed in these letters. I shall endeavor to establish the facts of the Church, and of the several doctrines which she teaches as revelations from God. And just as the people of England are competent witnesses, according to the laws of moral evidence, of an event which concerned them, and which occurred two hundred years ago, so shall the testimony, not only of one nation, but of all Christendom, attest and establish the facts of the Catholic Church and the Catholic doctrine. This furnishes a sufficient reason why I do not take any direct notice of the trash which has lately been addressed to me, under the title of "Letters," in a public newspaper. The opinions of the writer are all that they express, and certainly the man who would undertake to refute or correct all the foolish opinions that are abroad on religious, as well as on other matters, would undertake a very absurd task. I do not say that a

respectable writer, out of the Church, might not present his opinions in that measure of apparently good faith, that dignity of style and sentiment, that moderation of tone and manner, which should entitle them to be respectfully noticed. But there is nothing of this kind to recommend the letters just alluded to. No doubt, every man so disposed can bring together scandals from every age of the Christian Church, beginning with the avarice and treachery of Judas. It is the easiest thing in the world to find materials to work up into a pamphlet of reproach upon the social and moral character of any community; and yet the publication of the police reports of New York would give but a false idea of the virtues that still subsist in this community, but which find no place on such register. Yet it is, I fear, in such a spirit that the author of the letters to me was induced to launch his shallow bark on the ocean of ecclesiastical history; and with the peculiar industry of persons like himself, who have given up Divine faith for human opinion, to collect the scum which floats upon its surface, and distribute it through the newspapers to the admirers of such commodity. It is but a poor compliment to the boasted progress of our age, to discover that it has founded such appreciation.

LETTER V.

DEAR READER:

45. From what has been said, you perceive the difference between the condition of those who are within the Church, and that of the Private Reasoners, who are beyond the pale of her communion. On the one side, there is faith; on the other side, there are opinions. The Private Reasoners have destroyed the essential basis on which alone faith could rest securely. They do not deny the revelation itself, but they reject the only testimony by which its contents may be identified and discerned; and instead of appealing to competent witnesses, such as Christ had appointed in the organization of His Church, they appeal to their own private speculations. You need not be surprised, then, at the errors and contradictions respecting revelation into which they have fallen. In those States in which the sovereign espoused their principle, the civil government has taken into its own hands, by sacrilegious usurpation, the power which lawfully belonged to the successors of the Apostles, and of Peter, by the appointment of our Saviour. Thus in England, Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden, not to speak of other States, the secular authority determines and enforces what the Private Reasoners shall believe, or at least profess. The rules of the Government in England were made less stringent than in the other States, and accordingly England has swarmed with all kinds of sects, schisms, and heresies. The same is the case in this country, where there is no restraint at all. A large number, perhaps a majority, of those who have inherited the birth-right of reasoning out their doctrines of

Christ, by reading the Bible and judging for themselves, have no fixed ideas of religion whatever. Those of them, on the other hand, who profess some formulary of creeds, and confessions of faith, either effervesce into fanaticism, so as to drive out sober-mind people, or else sink into indifference, so as to tolerate the most glaring contradictions, as the only way to escape disputes which, as they have no certain method of determining truth from error by the process of private reasoning, generally end in a split, producing two sects instead of one.

46. In the Catholic Church the process is that which the Saviour appointed, that which the Apostles taught and practiced, that which their successors through all ages, and in all nations, have never ceased to inculcate and employ. If you would desire to be instructed in the fullness of Christ's revelation, if you would desire to be made partaker of the riches of His grace, and of the merits of His redemption, you have only to seek admission, and to become a member in the discipleship of Christ by communion with His Church. She is spread throughout the world; and you have but to apply to the nearest of her priests or bishops, to learn from him what is her doctrine. He will not, in his reply, give you *his opinion*, but he will give you the attestation of her belief as received from Christ and His Apostles, and as held during eighteen hundred years. You may consult other priests and other bishops; and on these points of revelation you will find no doubt, no discrepancy, but all will speak as with the same voice, and give you the same reply; so that, in the attestations of the individual Catholic pastor, you have the universal attestation of the whole Catholic Church; the same as if its two hundred millions of witnesses stood by, saying, "Yes, that is the faith which we have all received, which we believe and teach."

47. If you had lived in the Fifteenth, or in the Seventh, or in the Third Century of the Christian Church, and desired to know what Christ had revealed, on similar inquiry you would have found a corresponding process and answer. I do not say that you would have found the Catholic faith, in the Seventh or in the Third Century, presented in the same written form of attestation which it received at the Council of Trent. I speak of it as to its substance, and not its form; I speak of it as the living consciousness which, at all periods, subsists most intimately and most perfectly in the Church herself. But the reason of this formal difference is that the form in which her doctrine is presented, from one age to another, is more or less determined by the nature of the peculiar errors, which the Private Reasoners have brought out at different times to oppose, or vitiate, the truths which she had received from her Divine Founder, of which she was charged by Him to be the guardian, the witness, and the channel of communication to generations and generations of our fallen race, then and still unborn. A revelation had been made by external means, and, so to express it, in a human manner best suited to the conditions of our nature, as composed of a soul and a body.

Our Divine Saviour employed the human voice as Man, to communicate through the sense of hearing the knowledge of His Divine doctrine. His miracles, too, fell under the cognizance of the senses. The manner of His life, death, resurrection, and ascension, were not exceptions to this law. When He departed, those to whom His Apostles carried the message of His revelation had to depend on the intermediate authority of those witnesses appointed by Him. But as they were sent forth to represent their Divine Lord in carrying on His work, He armed them with the credentials necessary to confirm their statement, by the power of miracles, which they also performed.

48. To the unconverted they had to preach a new doctrine, on the part of Christ and of God. The principal question, then, was whether God had sent them. This they proved, as their Divine Master had proved to them His mission, by miracles. The witnesses of either were as competent to testify to their miracles, as they were to testify to any other public occurrence depending on the evidence of the senses. It is remarkable that Christ gave an efficacy to the preaching of the Apostles, more striking than had ever been manifest in His own, when they, after having received the Holy Spirit, also through an outward and visible medium preached in Jerusalem, we read of three thousand at one time, and five thousand at another, who immediately renounced the fallen synagogue and joined their communion. They appointed and associated with themselves new Apostles. Mathias was designated in place of the traitor Judas; Paul, after his miraculous conversion, is associated; Timothy and Titus, and others, are mentioned as new links in the Apostolic chain. In the mean time the faith is radiating and extending to larger and larger circles, with the increase of new adherents to the new society; and the Church had already extended to the east and west—had penetrated many of the Roman provinces, and become known in the Imperial Capital itself before the Scriptures of the New Testament were written. Since they recorded several of the things of which we are speaking, and since such events must have preceded the writing in which they are recorded.

49. Thus, truth of revelation, proved by the testimony of God himself, in the miracles of Christ and His Apostles, became the foundation of the Church; the very life and consciousness of her being. The doctrines which they have received were facts, since they had been revealed. And these, once establised by miracles, and once become a species of Divine Incarnation of the Word of God, in the consciousness of the Church, were to be sought and received, exclusively, from her authorized testimony and teaching. In her alone they had existence. She alone had received them from Christ. And although, composed of mortal beings, her members and pastors were subject to the laws of our common mortality, yet, as an external, visible society, organized on the plan of our Redeemer, her moral identity is instruction; whilst the spirit of truth, divinely given, constitutes her inward and immortal life. She is the same witness to-day, and the same teacher, of the same truths

that she has been from the commencement. The only difference is that the *formal mode* of presenting her doctrines had been more or less determined, from age to age, by the special character of the several heresies which it was a part of her duty to condemn and repel. Thus, if the errors brought forth by the Private Reasoners of the Sixteenth Century had been proclaimed by Arius and his adherents in the Fourth, the *form* of her doctrines, suited to preserve and maintain the deposit of faith committed to her by Christ, would have been substantially the same, emanating from the Council of Nice, as from the Council of Trent.

50. Now, it is manifest that, if Christ appointed a Church to preserve and communicate His revelation, that Church must be infallible. That He commanded His Church to teach all nations is undeniable. The precept is, indeed, addressed to the Apostleship of the Church, but out of the communion of that primitive, united, and universal Society, which we call the Church there is not, and cannot be, any true Apostleship. Reasonable evidence for proving the Divine mission of those to whom the command of our Lord was addressed, being once furnished, the obligation, on the part of those to whom they were sent, of being instructed in the Christian faith; in other words, of being taught by those who were appointed teachers for them, is a necessary consequence. So that, whoever would know all things, "whatsover Christ had commanded them," is bound by the acknowleded precept to seek the Apostleship, and learn the things of revelation from those whom Christ had appointed teachers thereof, in His own stead. This is the principle of the infallibility of the Church. He has commissioned her to go to all those who were not present, when He spoke Himself to carry and convey His teaching, declaring that He would be with them all days, even till the consummation of the world. Catholics, therefore, do but honor Christ in recognizing the infallibility of His Church. It is not for the exaltation of her ministry, but for the good of her members, for the security of all, that He invested her with this essential of His own nature. In fact, it is the infallibility of Christ which constitutes the in-errancy of the Church.

51. This she herself has ever attested as a fact. It is a portion of her doctrine. This she has never ceased to attest. It was but in the exercise of this prerogative that she would have dared to condemn the heresies that sprang up in the Apostolic age, or in any of the ages that have since intervened. The unity of her doctrine, its universal extension, the deep and religious reverence for the authority which she exercises, are but consequences of it. It is attested by every decision of hers, determining the difference between the original deposit of revealed truth, and the human opinions which unfaithful men have from time to time, put forth in opposition to her teaching. It is attested by the advocates of all heresies that have ever opposed her—in the only way in which heretics could afford such testimony. Whenever she condemned their errors, then they discovered that she was not only a *fallible* but a *fallen*

Church; but not before. They invariably, as soon as they were numerous enough, arrogated to themselves her authority, and attempted to play the Church of God, by enacting and enforcing laws of an ecclesiastical character, with a tyranny over their own members, unparalleled in her annals. They could not rise to her eminence, but they would drag her down to their own level; by denying her that infallibility, which they might not dare to claim for themselves. In every page of the early Christian writers which illustrates her doctrines, her infallibility is supposed as a matter of course, and beyond the reach of cavil. It would not be consistent with my purpose in these letters to multiply extracts from their writings, to prove the truth of what I have just stated. But I shall make it convenient to do so, if any one of our Private Reasoners professing to be acquainted with the early writings of Christian authors, shall deny what has just been said.

52. But in truth, dear reader, there are some among these Private Reasoners so blindly prejudiced against the medium through which Our Saviour would have us to be instructed and sanctified, that they would sooner reject revelation itself, than receive it through the teaching of the Catholic Church. For them it would be of no use to quote the admirable testimony of the Augustines, the Ambroses, the Cyrils, the Gregories, the Basils, and the Chrysostoms, of the earlier ages of the Church. These illustrations and saintly writings attest the facts of religion in their time, and in reference to the Church, their language is stronger than Catholics in our day are accustomed to on the same subject. But our Private Reasoners do not wish facts, opinions are sufficient for them, and their own opinions especially, are highest in their estimation. Their opinions have decided that the Church is fallible. If any thing could be found in the early writers going to corroborate this view, that would suit them; but facts, such as found in the pages of those authors are fatal to their position. Yet it is surprising to me that professing belief in Christianity, they do not see the necessity of an unerring authority, even by the light of private reason; that they do not see the fact of its institution in the Holy Scriptures. What could Our Saviour have meant when he said to his Apostles, "Go ye into the whole world and preach the Gospel to every creature?" Mark xvi. 15. What could He have meant when He said, "He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me?" Luke x. 16. What could He have meant when He said, "And I will ask the Father, and he shall give you another Paraclete, that he may abide with you forever, the Spirit of Truth whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, nor knoweth him; but you shall know him, because he shall abide with you, and shall be in you?" John xiv. 16, 17. What could He have meant when He said, "But when he, the Spirit of Truth is come, he will teach you all truth; for he shall not speak of himself; but what things soever he shall hear, he shall speak; and the things that are to come,

he will show you?" John xvi. 13. What could He have meant when He said, "All power is given to me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and, behold, I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world?" Matthew xxviii. 18, 20. What could He have meant, when He said, "And if he will not hear them, tell the Church. And if he will not hear the Church, let him be to thee as the heathen and the publican?" Matthew xviii. 17. What could the inspired writer have meant, or rather the Apostles assembled in council, when they said, "It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us, to lay no further burden upon you than these necessary things?" Acts xv. 28. And again, in the forty-first verse, "And he (Paul) went through Syria and Cilicia, confirming the churches; commanding them to keep the precepts of the Apostles and the ancients?"

53. I might multiply passages of this kind from the pages of the inspired writings. But it is useless addressing the Private Reasoners with such questions, inviting them to give out their opinions, instead of the meaning which I ask for. You, at least, dear reader, believing in the Holy Scriptures will understand the importance of the true meaning of these several passages. Before they were written, the Church was in possession of the Divine prerogative which they express and testify. Whether the words had been put on record or not, she would have been equally in possession of that prerogative, namely, the vicarious authority to teach unerringly, universally, perpetually, until the end of the world, the doctrines of Christ. She did not receive this prerogative *because* the Scripture records some portion, at least, of the terms in which Our Lord has expressed and conveyed it, but because it had been so expressed and so conveyed before it was recorded in the Scriptures. But I ask you, being out of the Communion of the Church, what, in your opinion—for unfortunately you have nothing else to appeal to—do these passages mean? If you are not satisfied with your own opinion, elicit that of your neighbors. Ask the learned in theology among the Private Reasoners what is the meaning of these passages, if it be not to invest the official teachers of the Christian religion with the necessary portion of in-errancy, in other words, of infallibility, by its Divine Author?

O, if the Scriptures contained evidence that Our Lord had given instructions for the propagation and perpetuation of His religion, according to the modes which the Private Reasoners adopt, the Catholic Church would lose all authority for me. If He had said, "Go ye, therefore, write the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles and the Apocalypse, unite them with the writings of the Old Testament, until they compose what shall be called the Bible, invent printing, discover the properties of steam, apply both to multiply copies of the Bible, distribute these among the disciples, send them to the heathen, telling each and all to search the Scrip-

tures and judge for themselves, and behold I shall be with the Bible, and the readers thereof, no matter how contradictory may be the opinions to which the perusal of it shall give rise in their minds, all days, even to the end of the world;" if, I say, Christ had so spoken, and the Scriptures had so recorded the fact, I, too, should promote my poor temporal interests, by giving in my humble adherence to the principle of the Private Reasoners. But as it is, I cannot forget another admonition of Our Blessed Lord, "What doth it profit a man, if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?"

54. Now, dear reader, if these reasons be sufficient to hinder me from forsaking the One, Holy, Catholic Church, after the example of the fallen writer who has addressed letters to me from the place of his apostacy, should they not be equally good reasons for you to seek communion in the Church which he has forsaken? Is your soul less dear to you, than mine is to me? And if, excepting my own unworthiness, I am in the way of eternal life, which Christ has ordained, and to which he has opened the entrance for all mankind, why should not you be prepared to enter upon it, and be the companion of the journey through life with so many united millions, in the harmonious unity and Communion of God's Church? Why should you still have to grope your way through the mists of error and private opinion, outside her Communion, when within you could have the certainty of truth, and the promise of your very Saviour, as a pillar of the cloud by day, and a pillar of fire by night, the one to enlighten the darkness of your natural reason, the other to shield you from the false and deceitful glare of human science which is not according to God. O, how glorious and admirable are the consistency and identity of that religion, in which it is my privilege to borrow, in reply to the appeal of the unhappy man who has addressed me, the language with which St. Augustine rebuked a Private Reasoner, fourteen hundred years ago: "In the Catholic Church, not to mention that most sound wisdom, to the knowledge of which a few spiritual men attain in this life, so as to know it in a very small measure, indeed, for they are but men, but still to know it without doubtfulness—for not quickness of understanding, but simplicity in believing, makes the rest of the masses most safe—not to mention this wisdom, which you (Manichæs) do not believe to be in the Catholic Church, many other things there are which most justly keep me in her bosom. The agreement of peoples and nations keeps me; an authority begun with miracles, nourished with hope, increased with charity, strengthened (confirmed) by antiquity, keeps me; the succession of priests from the chair itself of the Apostle Peter, unto whom the Lord, after his resurrection, committed His sheep, to the present Bishop, keeps me; finally, the name itself of the Catholic Church keeps me—a name which, in the midst of so many heresies, this Church alone has, not without cause, so held possession of (or obtained) as that, though all heretics would fain have themselves called Catholics, yet to the inquiry of any stranger, Where is the meeting of the Catholic Church held? no

heretic would dare to point out his own basilica, or house. These, therefore, so numerous and so powerful ties of the Christian name—ties most dear, justly keep a believing man in the Catholic Church, even though through the slowness of our understanding, or the deservings of our lives, truth show not herself as yet in her clearest light. Whereas, amongst you, where are none of these things to invite and keep me, there is only the loud promise of truth, which, if it be indeed shown to be so manifest as not to be able to be called into doubt, is to be preferred before all those things by which I am kept in the Catholic Church, but which, if it be only promised, and not exhibited, no one shall move me from that faith which attaches my mind to the Christian religion by ties so numerous and so powerful."—*St. Augus. Contra Ep. Manichæs.*

LETTER VI.

DEAR READER:

55. The order, according to which our Divine Redeemer proceeded, in the establishment of His Church, is well worthy of your deepest consideration. He alone is, in His own right, the true Bishop and Pastor of souls. Whatever spiritual powers have been exercised by the ministers of His Church, are powers not originating in themselves, nor conferred by human authority, but are delegated by Him, so that through them, as ministers of God, and dispensers of the Divine mysteries, He is still propagating the knowledge, and dispensing the mysteries of man's redemption, through merits of His passion and death. He first, as you have seen, brought over to belief in Him, those who are spoken of as His "disciples." For their sake, He selected, from among themselves, some to be "Apostles." From among the Apostles He selected one, "Peter," to be their Chief, their superior visible Head on Earth, the common centre of their Union, and the great Keystone, so to speak, of the Apostolic arch, which should bind all the parts of the Christian edifice together. Thus, the order which He prescribed, and authorized by His own example, is, that *all* should be disciples, in the first instance; and then, that the Divine call given to some, by His Spirit, to higher states in the Church should be outwardly recognized and approved by the *pre-existing authority*, with which He had invested her. Otherwise there would be no protection for His fold from the inroads of wolves, presenting themselves in sheep's clothing. Otherwise, any one might pretend that God had called him to the work of the Christian ministry, and laying hold of the Bible, might rush to the first pulpit he found vacant; there to give out, as the doctrines of Christ, the dreams of his own opinions. In fact, something very like this has taken place, and become general, among the Private Reasoners.

56. But Our Redeemer took precautions against this, both in the

example of His own ministry, and in His injunctions to His Apostles. He did not enter on His public ministry even on the strength of His miracles; for, the great object of His miracles was to prove that God had *sent Him.* He did not pretend to teach of Himself; but "whatsoever things He had heard of the Father," He made known to them; or if intimating for their model, that His preparation for His public ministry was in the condition of a disciple; one who *learns* first, and *is sent* to *teach* afterward. And, accordingly, when He delegates the office of teachers in His stead to the Apostles, He prescribes the order in which it is be carried on: "*As the Father has sent me, so also I sent you.*" And again, "*you have not chosen me, but I have chosen you that you go and bring forth fruit, and that your fruit may remain.*" It is this way that the Apostles themselves, and their successors, down to the present day, have ever proceeded in recruiting the sanctuary, and continuing the Apostleship of the Church. The individual candidate for the holy ministry, even though inwardly called of God, required to be outwardly recognized and approved, by the proper authority pre-existing. Thus Mathias, Timothy, Barnabas, Titus, Clement, and others, were associated to supply in the order of the ministry, the spiritual wants of the still increasing discipleship.

57. To the importance of this economy, I cannot too earnestly call your attention. It opens up the evidence of a great principle of Divine wisdom, in the establishment of the Church, and of great comfort in consolation to those who are in her sacred communion. By the light of this principle and the facts of history, the learned, or the illiterate Catholic, can trace his relation to the work of spiritual regeneration, wrought by Our Redeemer, through an unbroken connection of outward historical evidence, back to the days in which the Saviour of the World preached the perfect, and in one sense, new order of God's goodness, by the well of Jacob, or from the bark of Peter on the lake of Gallilee. Such Catholic is under the pastorship of a clergyman who has been sent by his Bishop; that Bishop has been sent by other Bishops, *pre-existing* in the Church; and under the appropriation and confirmation of the successor of St. Peter in the See of Rome—associated to the Apostolic body—each one of those Bishops had been sent in like manner, and so on, in the ascending series, until you reach the Apostolic age; whilst by a singular, special, and most remarkable providence of Christ over His Church, the direct line of the successors of St. Peter, is as traceable, name by name, and from age to age, from the days of Christ, as the successive names of the English sovereigns since William the Conqueror, or of our presidents since the adoption of the American Constitution. In no case, from the Sovereign Pontiff in the See of Peter, down to the humblest grade in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, has any one ever been allowed to rise from the lower, to the higher grade, of ecclesiastical subordination, except by the approbation and confirmation of the *pre-existing* authority of the Church. So that by a Divine institution,

our pastors *are sent* by older pastors who had *been sent* by others, in perpetual succession, until you reach the Apostles, who had *been sent* by Christ, who had been sent by God.

58. But it was not enough that they should have been sent, or approved, by the pre-existing authority of the Church; for as Judas had fallen away, although called by Christ to the ministry, and as any individual Priest or Bishop was liable to fall away, it was necessary to provide for the safety of the flock in such contingency. And that provision was made in the very conditions on which the Church conferred pastoral powers, and recognized the official character in each of her ministers. The individual was supposed to have learned, as a disciple, what he was to teach, in his ministerial capacity; namely, all things whatsoever Christ had commanded His Apostles. The living and universal Church, at the period of such appointment, was in conscious possession of what had been thus commanded by Our Lord. So that, the new minister was bound, not only by the conditions of his appointment, but also by his own most solemn oath and vow, to teach the doctrines of the Church, and to teach, *as doctrine*, nothing besides. Hence, if, as in the case of Nestorius and other fallen Bishops, any one of the Episcopal Order should embrace novel or heretical doctrines, the fact of his having been sent, in the first instance, by proper authority, could not avail him in an attempt to lead the portion of the flock over which he had been placed, into poisonous and destructive pastures. That flock had belonged to the Church, before his appointment; and the Spouse of Christ would have been left unable to protect her children, if the flock were thus exposed to be involved in the apostacy of the faithless shepherd, who had been placed over them, not for *his* sake, but for *theirs*. In all such contingencies, the *Church revoked the mission, and withdrew the jurisdiction*, of the hireling shepherd, "whose own the sheep were not." It remained for all such pastors, and their adherents, to renounce the Church, and to turn Private Reasoners; both of which they seldom failed to do.

59. Now, dear reader, if you were a Catholic, you would be filled with gratitude to the Divine Founder of Christianity, for having (in the organization of this Church) thus fenced and guarded round about the sacred deposit of His revelation, with such precautions, and such means of security. You have seen already, that Christ had identified His own voice with that of the teachers, whom He commissioned to carry on His ministry, "He that heareth you, heareth Me," and what is recorded in the beginning of the tenth chapter of St. John is as true to-day, in the Catholic Church, as it was when first declared by her Divine Founder: "Amen, amen, I say to you; he that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up another way, the same is a thief and a robber; but he that entereth in by the door is the shepherd of the sheep. To him the porter openeth; and the sheep hear his voice; and he calleth his own sheep by name and leadeth them out. And when he hath led out his own sheep, he goeth before them, and the

sheep follow him; because they know his voice. But a stranger they follow not, but fly from him; because they know not the *voice* of *strangers*."

60. It has, perhaps, never struck you that the Greek word, Apostle, simply signifies *one sent*. So also the word *missionary*, derived from the Latin verb, *mitto*, signifies the same—*one sent*. Hence, as you have seen, our Divine Saviour taught on earth as the *Apostle*, or *the sent*, from God. This mission from the Father he conveyed to those whom he *sent*, and they, as being the depository of the Divine Authority to send, conveyed it to others in proportion as the wants of the Church, and the succession of time, required. You perceive how intimate is the relation between this economy and the principle of *faith* and *doctrine*, as set forth in the preceding letters. God had appointed that men should receive and believe the doctrines of revelation from the teaching of those who were thus commissioned to make them known. The *ear*, and not the *eye*, was to be the inlet of the soul—and this St. Paul eloquently and beautifully sets forth in the Epistle to the Romans: "How, then, shall they call on Him in whom they have not believed? Or, how shall they believe Him of whom they have not *heard?* And how shall they hear without a preacher? And how shall they *preach* except they are *sent?* . . . . *Faith*, *then*, *cometh by hearing*, and hearing by the words of Christ." The opinions of the Private Reasoners are very different from this. According to them, faith cometh *by seeing*, and the true preacher is the voiceless Bible; and, accordingly, their Apostles are the *colporteurs*, who sow Bibles over the world in order to reap, not the harvest of *faith* but the contradictory speculations of private opinion. Still, the Bible had its divine use of unspeakable value—this being only the abuse of it. In the Epistle to the Hebrews the inspired writer lays down the rule for the assumption of the ministerial character in the Christian Church: "Neither doth any man take the honor to himself but he that is called by God as Aaron was." Now, Aaron was called by God through the *pre-existing* authority and outward appointment of Moses. In the eleventh chapter of the Apostles' Acts, Barnabas is *sent* to Antioch, and there with Saul he "*taught* a great multitude," so that at Antioch the disciples were first named Christians. After the dispute respecting the Gentiles and the law had been settled, in the Council of Jerusalem, the disturbers are spoken of in the twenty-fourth verse of the fifteenth chapter as "some *going out* from us . . . . to whom *we gave no commandment*, i. e., whom we had *not sent*."

61. In short, there is no instance on record in which the *mission* did not emanate from the *pre-existing authority* of the Church, conferred in an outward manner, except in the case of St. Paul. His mission was, in some sense, an exception to the established order. He had been miraculously enlightened with a knowledge of the faith and doctrines of the other Apostles, and received his authority to preach and teach the same from Jesus Christ himself. But yet even this did not occur in an invisible manner. There were wit-

nesses of the light and of the sounds which suddenly changed the persecutor into a vessel of election, and an Apostle of the Gentiles. Besides this, he confirmed his mission by miracles, the power to operate which conferred on him in attestation of *his having been sent.* A similar power the Almighty never failed to confer on the prophets or other extraordinary messengers, under the Jewish dispensation. But in the economy of the Christian Church the Apostleship of St. Paul is the only instance, and that is sustained by its own supernatural evidence. In all other instances the mission, i. e., the ministerial character and officer of teaching and preaching the revelations of Christ, was derived from the authority *pre-existing* in the Church, and which had descended from God, through Christ and his Apostles, as we have already seen.

62. In this exposition, dear reader, I have directed your attention especially to two points. The *mission* of those who are to teach the word of God; and the revocation of powers when any of those sent cease to discharge the functions of his appointment. The mission, as the term is used here, implies a *pre-existing power* and *authority to send.* It implies a person to be sent to ministerial duties, which he might not lawfully undertake without such appointment and deputed authority. Besides, it supposes that before he is sent, he is inwardly called of God, and is instructed in the extent, and limitation also, of the office which is conferred upon him. In all this, however, I speak but of the visible organization of the Church, effected by divine wisdom and goodness to preserve to us the word of God, as such, and the spiritual means of grace which he has appointed for the progressive and perpetual regeneration of mankind, by applying to them individually in communion with the Church, the merits of his sufferings and death. These means have reference to the interior spiritual life, of which I shall treat hereafter. Compared with these precious institutions of our God, the outward organization of the Church is, one might say, but as the casket to the jewel within—valuable on account of what it preserves. The preservation of the jewel depends on that of the casket; and the Private Reasoners may perceive, if they are not too blinded by prejudice to recognize the fact, that in breaking one they have destroyed both—albeit, they "search the Scriptures" in quest of the rejected and lost treasure.

63. Let us apply to them some of the tests which are so positively enjoined, so universally adhered to, in the Primitive Apostolic and Catholic Church. You have seen already that what they call "faith," "doctrine of the Bible," etc., is nothing more than their own opinions. These opinions have been exaggerated in certain formularies of belief, called Articles of Religion, Confessions of Faith, and the like. These collected and concentrated opinions they support on a *living traditional opinion,* to the effect that the symbol contains the exact meaning of the written Word of God, and although the Holy Scriptures, as they pretend, are plain and intelligible to all, yet they present to their several schools the symbolism of

their opinions expressed in their Confession of Faith, as—if they will excuse me for so saying—the Bible made easy.

Doctrines, as positive facts of revelation, they have none; and, on their principle of private opinion, cannot have. But supposing that they had doctrines among them, has any of them the right, consistently with the order which Our Lord established in His Church, to teach or preach them in His name? Observe, I do not say, especially if the matters were of less sacred consequence, that they have not a right to preach their opinions to all mankind. But in that case, too, candor and fairness should induce them to proclaim that they promulgate, not the doctrines of Christ as facts of revelation, but simply their own opinions as to what those doctrines are. The wrong which I think they do to the simple-minded, is in seeking to have their opinions received as the teachings of Christ himself. If they had received the true mission, this would not, could not have been the case. They would have been great in their generations, by their associations with the Apostolical and universal ministry of the Catholic Church, in preaching the doctrines which she received from Christ and his Apostles; but *personally*, and of themselves, they would have been as insignificant as the echo of truth which their voice prolongs. The most educated congregation in the Catholic world would be stricken with horror, if its minister dared to put forth *his opinion*, no matter how learned he might be, as, or instead of, *the doctrines of Christ*, which he was supposed to have learned before his admission to his sacred office, and was bound to teach afterward. But private reasoning has changed all this. The world at this day, or at least in the language which we are accustomed to hear, recognizes the man who dresses in grave and reverend costume, and who volunteers such views as occur to his mind, from reading a passage in the Bible to any public audience that may listen to him, as a "preacher;" then a preacher is "a minister of the Gospel;" then a minister of the Gospel is an "ambassador of God;" here they will tell you to "see Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles and the Apocalypse," chapter and verse; and thus, by a deceptive sliding scale of the human language, and a direct perversion of the Scriptures, they come to be regarded as persons whom Christ had *sent* to carry on the work of His ministry.

64. I would not have you disregard the conventional usages of society, or the courtesies of social life, by which the character of the sacred ministry is recognized as such. But, speaking according to the truth of God, and the eternal interests of immortal souls, it is altogether necessary to scrutinize the claim, and investigate the basis and foundation on which it is supposed to rest. By whom were these supposed ministers of Christ *sent?* This is a test question. The Church of God is older than they. Did *she* send them? Assuredly not. Had she sent them in the first instance, when they ceased to be faithful to their appointment, she revoked their mission, and canceled their authority. Did God himself send them, as

extraordinary envoys? Then, like St. Paul, let them appeal to miracles to prove their mission, and like him to preach the doctrines which he had revealed to the Church. It is certain that, in the first instance, they were *not sent* by any recognized *pre-existing* authority in the Catholic Church, or of any other pretended Church on the face of the earth. For instance, when Arius, or Nestorius, Eutyches, or Pelagius, or Waldo, or Wickliffe, or Luther, or Cranmer, or Calvin, went forth, from what possible authority could either of them derive a mission to propagate the several schools of private opinion into which their adherents have been, or are, divided? Who sent them? Not the Church; for they either left, or were expelled from her Communion. Not God; for this would be authorizing them to pull down the Church His Divine Son has instituted. Not themselves; for no man can send himself. Who, then, sent them? Not their followers; for it was only in consequence of a pretended mission that they could have followers. Not the Emperors of the Eastern Empire, nor of the Western; for emperors of the earth are earthy. Not the Princes of Germany, not the Parliaments of England; for they have no such power or authority to confer. *By whom*, then, were they sent in the first instance? Evidently they had no mission from God; they were not sent, and could not be sent, by any other.

Now, dear reader, give, I pray you, this letter a second and more attentive perusal, and study deeply the importance of its contents. There is, at the present time, a certain form and order of mission for those who assume to be preachers of the Gospel among the Private Reasoners. But, in the sight of man, there is no reasonable evidence of the warranty by which it is carried on; nor can there be in the sight of God, according to the want of evidence before us, any reality. Examine this question. The economy of God in the organizing of his Church is manifested as you have seen; "how can they preach unless they are sent." Nor does this vary in its analogy with the outward display of His almighty power in the material creation and government of the world. Every beam of light reflected from the earth must have a *sun* from which it proceeds. Every tree that grows must have a root by which it derives nutriment to renew its vernal foliage. Every stream or river that is seen gliding onward must have a fountain to supply the flow of its waters. Every minister of the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, both at present and at every period, *has been sent*, in regular order, by those who were sent by the Apostles, who were sent by Christ, who was sent by God. But not so with the ministers of religion among the Private Reasoners. If they are a tree, where is their root? If they are a river, where is the fountain from which they flow?

LETTER VII.

DEAR READER:

65. Truth does not change by lapse of time. In studying this question, then, take your stand-point of scrutiny at the period when Luther turned Private Reasoner, say 1517—exactly three hundred and thirty-one years ago. The year previous there was but one United Catholic Church in Christendom. Its people had been originally converted from Paganism to Christianity, but subsequently had continued to receive the faith, as it were, by inheritance, from their Catholic parents and their Catholic education, in which the aggregate of families had been formed into a parish; the aggregate of parishes into the diocese; the aggregate of these, under the chief apostleship inherited by the successors of St. Peter, into the Universal Communion of the Catholic Church. All recognized the same pastors, acknowledged the same sacraments, believed the same truth of Christ's revelation. The belief was *faith*, and not opinion; for Christianity as a revelation was, as it ever has been, received on the *authority of testimony*, and not on the speculation of *private reasoning*. The whole Church of God, from the rising to the setting sun, was a witness of its belief and doctrine. Among those who had been sent no man was daring enough to propose, *as what Christ had revealed*, the results of his own reading. Every minister in the Church of God, from the sovereign Pontiff down to the cleric in minor orders, had been called from the lower to the higher grade, by an acknowledged authority *pre-existing* in the Church. Those to whom the ministry of religion had been delegated, *had been sent* according to the order and appointment of our Lord himself. The Greek schismatics were sank, or sinking into spiritual slavery under the pressure of civil despotism in Northern and Eastern Europe, as well as Western Asia. But even in these regions there were innumerable Catholics, whilst the Church herself, in the sense which her Catholicity has been explained, surrounded the globe, like the atmosphere which men breathe, without any recognition or distinction of geographical boundaries. From the east to the west, from the south to the north, there was the universal attestation of one Lord, one Faith, and one Baptism. Men might differ from each other, as they did, in forms of government, in climate, in local habitation; but as regards religion there was no difference. One *Catholic Hymn* of faith, of worship, of church government, of unity, rose in universal harmony from all parts of the earth, in which the name of Christ was known and adored, without a note of discord. Other topics there were of human origin; and in regard to them it was lawful to entertain *honest opinions* and honest differences. But religion was the work of Christ; it was *all*, if it was any thing; it had been during fifteen preceding centuries transmitted *as a fact;* and about the reality of facts, so attested, there is no room for opinion or differences.

66. But now comes the year 1517; and from that period the practice of modern private reasoning takes its origin. Luther gave *his opinion* at great length, both orally and in writing; Carolstad gave *his*, differing from Luther; Zuingle and Calvin theirs, in many respects differing from both; Socinus gave his, and did not agree with any of them. Thus the schools were opened, and what the masters had taught, certainly the scholars had a right to learn. Here, then, was furnished the primitive stock of opinions from learned and eloquent men; and although they were mutually contradictory of each other, still they were severally ascribed to the *same* Bible. Who was to be the judge. Their answer was the Bible. But the Bible cannot be a judge of the meaning of what is written on its inspired pages, except through the medium of living interpretation. Who then shall be interpreter? The Church! Not at all. The appeal was *from* her judgment and *against* her testimony. Who, then? "Every man for himself," was the unanimous reply. Hence, every man, by their principle, and of right, if that principle be correct, reasoned within himself on the written words of the Bible, until he formed *some opinion* of his own on the supposed meaning, and then erected *this, his own opinion*, into a dogma of Christ's revelation, and quoted Scripture to support it. Three hundred years have since elapsed, and you see the consequence. In Germany, Socinianism, Deism, Atheism, Pantheism, are enthroned in academic chairs, and installed in pulpits, once Christian. This right of substituting human opinion for the truths of revelation, and in their stead, was secured by the first principle of what was called the Reformation, and draws the great first line of separation between the Catholic Church, and the Private Reasoners, who are excluded from her Communion. This principle does not profess to make or authorize infidels, so that they shall oppose Christ, or the Bible, directly, in that open, honest, candid manner, which would put believing men on their guard. It merely authorizes them to oppose *the Church*, and then to take up Christ, and explain away his attributes; to take up the Holy Scriptures, and pushing aside His doctrines, substitute *their own opinions*, to be sustained by "chapter and verse."

67. You have seen that according to the order established by Christ, the ministers of religion were to be approved, ordained, and commissioned, that is, SENT by the pre-existing authority of the Church. As regards the founders of the Private Reasoners in the Sixteenth Century, this authority revoked their commission wherever it had been given. From that moment they found themselves, in reference to the Church of God, very much in the position of the American Commissioner or negotiator of peace from this country, who is now in the city of Mexico. He has received from the supreme Executive power of the State, such portion of the country's authority as would enable him, within the limits of his commission, to discharge the functions of his appointment. This commission being but a delegation of power, was necessarily revoca-

ble by the authority which had composed it, and it has been revoked accordingly. So that Mr. Trist is now a private citizen, having no more authority to discharge a public ministry in the name of his Government, than any private individual. This is precisely an illustration of what happened between the Church and the first Private Reasoners of the period of the Reformation. They all had been born, or at least baptized and educated in the Catholic Church. They all had been taught in the unity of the faith. Some of them commissioned to preach her doctrines, and to minister her sacraments. When they turned aside to substitute their own private reasoning, instead of the faith, which, as disciples, they had learned, and which they WERE SENT to teach. She, to protect the flock committed to her care, revoked the authority of the faithless commissioners, and left them, in reference to the Church, much in the same situation which Mr. Trist now holds toward the Executive authority of the United States.

Now the question is, in their case, deduced to a very simple dilemma. Either they were sent by some new authority, hitherto unknown in the Church, or they were not sent by the Church, is manifest. That they were sent by other authority, there is not the lightest evidence. Now, if they admit this, they grant my whole argument. And it follows, as a necessary consequence, that they neither preach nor minister by the authority of Christ; that they preach without their being sent, contrary to the Divine injunction; that they take this honor to themselves without being called of God, as Aaron was. This is all that I require. Their learning I do not care to dispute. Their private or personal character I have no desire to call to question. Their eloquence in the pulpit, as public speakers, I am as ready to admit as their warmest admirers; but their derivation of any spiritual authority, to preach the Word of God, or to administer His Sacraments, I utterly deny, for the reasons already stated. Calvin never having attained priest's orders in the Church, organized the principles of his school, and the discipline of his scholars, according to the exigency of his own position. He himself had not been sent, and they who claim, under him, can have no pretension to Divine mission. Luther, having been a priest would keep the position of the ministry as high, at least, as the grade to which he belonged. But from him and his, the authority of the mission had been withdrawn, and no supply of new authority as claimed from any other source. In England the mission was revoked, and the authority withdrawn from Cranmer, and others of the Episcopal order, who at a later period, imitated his example. They, however, in the exercise of their private reason, came to the conclusion that the temporal sovereign of Great Britain possessed through the medium of some hidden virtue in the crown which he wore, the right to supply authority, and the power to send, which the Christian Church had derived from God through Christ and His Apostles.

68. The history of these associations, down to the present day,

exhibit the consequences of this principle in perfect keeping with the antecedents. A fictitious imitation of the Church, as respects the principle of authority and mission, has also prevailed in different ways in these several communions. They have ordinations of the minister, and a form of sending, as if they could transmit the original Apostleship. Can a dry well supply the flow of a perpetual stream? Can they transmit what they never received? Can they impart powers which they never possessed? Even admitting that those of the present day among them who exercise the functions of the ministry, such as they understand it, can point to the period of their mission, and to the authority by which they were sent, still, if, in tracing the derivation of that pretended authority backward, you arrive at a period where a great link in the chain of its transmission is wanting, you discover such a flaw in the title as renders void every right that is claimed under it; then it is manifest that the forms of ordination, but still more of the mission, become a mere empty fiction among the Private Reasoners. You can proceed very well, according to one order, until you reach Calvin; another will conduct you with sufficient accuracy until you reach the prime mover of what is called the Reformation; by a third you can establish a succession of Bishops under the British crown as far back as Parker and Elizabeth. But here, in each case, the link which should connect the several parties with the pre-existing authority of the Catholic Church, or of any other visible community of Christians, is wanting. Here is the defect, IN RADICE—"EX NIHILLO NIHIL FIT." If these heads of departments amongst the Private Reasoners had no authority themselves, how could they give authority to others? And is it not a bold stretch of impudence in such a writer as "Kirwan" to invite Catholics to relinquish, not only the doctrines of the Catholic Church, for the silly opinions which he has adopted on the meaning of the Bible, but also to forsake that pastorship of the Church, in which they recognize as ministers of God only those who are sent, and can prove their mission from the days of Christ and His Apostles, to put themselves under the spiritual guidance of men whom God has not sent at all.

69. If Calvin, or Luther, or the Prime Minister of England, were invested with power and authority to ordain ministers, and give them mission or jurisdiction in the Church, let the "Kirwanites" and Private Reasoners furnish Catholics with some proofs of the fact. Let them refer to and establish such proofs for the satisfaction of their people, whenever they present themselves as ministers of the Gospel. Let them acknowledge the authority, and the only authority, by which they are sent. Let them be frank and candid in a matter of so much importance to the souls of others, as well as their own. Let them admit honorably that the derivation of their power dates only from the period, and is derived from the parties already mentioned. Let them not disguise the fact that at the period, the unhappy period, as I must call it, of their separation from Catholic unity, the Church revoked the powers of mission and of jurisdic-

tion, as effectually as the Government has revoked the powers of Commissioner Trist. And that, in neither case, can the work for which such powers had been conferred be lawfully carried on, or continued, after their withdrawal.

It is on this account, among others, that the mocted question of Anglican ordination is, after all, but a point of minor consideration, and of secondary importance. For, supposing what is best, but extremely doubtful, that the validity of ordination survived the shock of private reasonings at the period of the change, still the question arises, how can they take the honor to themselves unless they were called of God, as Aaron was? And still more, how can they preach unless they are sent? By whom have they been sent since that time? Either by the people as such, or by the secular power of the State. The crown in England, for instance, has usurped the authority of Moses, as the medium by which Aaron was called of God. The crown has usurped the authority of Christ and His Church, in sending or giving mission to the ministry of the State religion. By what title does the crown ever become possessed of such authority? And with what conscience can men of enlightened minds pretend that authority in the work of the ministry, derived from such a source is the authority which Christ left to His Church, to be communicated, restricted, and, when necessary, revoked, as you have seen in my last letter. The lawfulness of the mission, the rightful order of sending those who are true ministers of Christ, is one of the most important subjects of the Christian religion. We have, even whilst we write, an example which is pronounced to be a melancholy one by all parties. We have the Prime Minister of England inflicting on what is called the Church in that country a Bishop, who is declared by a large number of his Episcopal colleagues a heretic of the Socinian order. They remonstrated at having the souls and the spiritual interests of the flock in the Diocese of Hereford abandoned, or given up to the care of such a shepherd; but Lord John Russell, the present fountain of missionary authority in England, knows the right qualifications for a Bishop, and the true spiritual interests of his countrymen, better than they do, and accordingly he makes out, or causes to be made out, the necessary documents for the consecration and mission of the new prelate, with as much *nonchalance* as if he were regulating some item of the national debt, or the appointment of a civil magistrate. The Bishops may protest, but if any of them refuse to impose hands on their Rt. Rev. Brother-elect, the Minister of the crown has but to whisper in their ear "*præmunire*," and the magic sound of this word will instantly cause their scruples to subside.

70. But, in fact, as to the right of the question there appears no ground why they should entertain scruples on the subject. Dr. Hampden is to be consecrated and invested with mission by the identical authority through which they received and exercise both. But yet all this might pass if they stated to the world the nature and character of their authority just for what it is and no more.

The wrong which I think is done, is in assuming and allowing a simple-minded people to believe that the spiritual authority both of ministerial ordination and pastoral jurisdiction, of which Lord John Russel was the dispenser, under the crown, is the same authority which Christ imparted to his Church, for the perpetuation of the sacred ministry; and which could not depart from her. In the Catholic Communion, the primitive order has never been changed, the succession has never been interrupted. The communication of powers has always been regulated by the same principle and practice. It is very true that in some Catholic countries the civil ruler has been permitted, by a condescension of the discipline of the Church, to nominate and recommend candidates for the Episcopal order. But the Church never could part with the right to reject them, when in her judgment they were unfit for the office. She has never allowed, and never will allow, the powers of this earth to usurp the authority which she received from Christ, for the rightful perpetuation of his Apostleship, his Priesthood, his Ministry of spiritual life in the preaching of Divine truth, and in the administration of Divine sacraments. Here, then, are two orders of Bishops preaching against each other; the one, according to the mission of the Catholic Church; and the other, according to the mission of the British crown. God certainly never sent both; which, then, of the two did he send? If the crown of England has become the channel through which the missionary authority delegated by Christ is to be transmitted, then the claim of the Catholic Church is null and void. But if, on the other hand, that authority flows on in the original and Apostolical channel through which it has descended even for the Christians of the British Isles, in the Church, during the first fifteen hundred years of Christianity, and in which it still flows through her universal communion, it follows that the pretense of the British crown, to be the dispenser of it, is a sacrilegious usurpation, and that the authority of clergymen deriving jurisdiction therefrom is utterly illusive and invalid. It is hardly necessary for me to add that the principle of this argument applies with still stronger force to the supposed ministry of the other denominations into which Private Reasoners are divided.

71. This, dear reader, is one of the most important subjects to which you can apply your attention. It would be calamity enough that the doctrines, so called, of Private Reasoners were nothing but opinions; but if, in addition to this, you consider that those who as clergymen are not, for any thing appears to the contrary, authorized at all to speak officially in the name of Christ, or as delegates of His Church. then the case becomes still more deplorable. If, then, they are anxious to convert Catholics from the blessed unity of the faith, and the Holy Communion of the Apostolic Church, let them present motives for such conversions worthy of the soul whose salvation their advice would put in jeopardy. Let them deal with us as rational beings, although not Private Reasoners. Let "Kirwan," if he will, address the faithful flock from which circumstances, per-

haps the calamities of his youth, induced him to separate; and such as "Kirwan," who, under names are as numerous as the contradictory sects to which they belong, tell us what advantage, not of this life, for its advantages would be but a base temptation, but in reference to the life to come—what advantages would be secured to us by forsaking the ark of spiritual salvation in which we enjoy the happy certainty of faith, the concord of union in belief with our brethren, the evidence of being under the guidance of those who have been successively sent, from the days of the Apostles and of Christ, to extend to all nations and to prolong through all time the preaching of His truths, the works of His ministry, and the application of His merits on the Cross. What spiritual advantage could we derive from the opinions so conflicting and so contradictory which constitute the Christianity of the Private Reasoners? To what sect should we attach ourselves? Which denomination, by their own confession, is superior to any other? What is the character of their ministry? Who ordained them? And by what right? Who gave them their mission? Who SENT THEM when they were ordained? These are questions which if "Kirwan," or any one else among them can answer, will do more to convert the poor benighted Catholics than a hundred descriptions of St. Patrick's well, or other objects of popular devotion, perhaps superstition, in the remote districts of otherwise oppressed, ruined, but still Catholic, faithful Ireland.

LETTER VIII.

DEAR READER:

72. It does not fall within the purpose of these letters to enter into any extended minuteness of detail on the questions involved between the Church and those who are separated from her Communion. Accordingly you must have perceived that certain topics have been rather stated than proved, rather glanced at than discussed and exhausted. Nevertheless, you will find that, without the encumbrance of multiplied and learned quotations, the *pith* of the matter has been brought out, on the subject treated of in the preceding letters. That the facts and reasonings contained in them will be called in question, and denied, by some of the Private Reasoners, is quite probable. The individuals who will stand forth from their broken ranks for this purpose, will trust less to their success in refuting either, than in their appeals to your anti-Catholic prejudices of education. When this comes to pass, do not be troubled; or if you be troubled, pray. Appeal from both sides to God and His Holy Spirit. Ask for light, ask for direction, ask for interior guidance, from the Divine Source of all truth. Ask in that spirit of high Christian disinterestedness, which puts this world aside in such important questions, and then follow the light which God will shed

upon your soul, turning neither to the right hand nor to the left from worldly considerations. This you are bound to do, and I ask no more.

73. The explanation of this warfare between the Church and those separated from her Communion, is this. At the birth of the several denominations of Private Reasoners, those who brought them forth, not in the Lord, attempted to justify their proceeding. Scripture was perverted by bringing it down to the tribunal of individual judgment; and learned men, now fallen from the faith, worked out injurious, plausible, and pride-flattering opinions, from the inspired text. Viewed in the abstract, there was no reason why these opinions might not be as true as the doctrines of the Church which they expressly contradicted and opposed; and the system of the Private Reasoners required that they should be viewed exclusively in the abstract. To this was exhibited, in reply, the practical teaching of the Church, during all ages preceding the dispute. But the Private Reasoners were not to be outdone so easily. They, too, appealed to the history of the Church, with the same privilege of making the tribunal of individual opinion (the incense of flattery offered to man's natural pride, with a view of seducing him,) the arbiter of every dispute that has taken place between the Church and the schismatics who violated her unity, or the heretics who denied her doctrine from the beginning. Now, the events of many centuries would furnish, naturally, a vast deal of matter to spin out discussions, and multiply words withal, against the Church, against the Lord, and against His Christ. This they have done; and this they will do again, even in pretending to refute these letters. But I think it proper to observe, at the same time, that there is not a single scriptural or historical objection which they can bring against what I have said, or shall say, that has not been already urged and refuted. If I, then, were to multiply *proofs* on one side, state and refute objections on the other, I should do two things—make this work too unwieldy for your perusal, and, on the other hand, not reach the author of the objections; for, although his pretended facts should prove to be false, and his pretended reasoning from them should prove to be not only illogical, but absurd, you being a Private Reasoner by system, or personal interest, he could still take refuge in his individual opinion, and say, "You have not *convinced* me, I am a Private Reasoner still." Thus, he could repeat the same refuted allegations as often as he pleased. He admits no judge but himself. But besides all this, there is not a single topic of difference between the Catholic Church and those who, in modern times, have strayed away, or been cut off, from her Communion, that is not discussed and cleared up to the satisfaction of unprejudiced minds; and to enter into such a discussion in these letters, would be only to give out a new edition of what has already been said. Hence it is that I content myself with placing before you a general view of the whole question, reserving special proof and refutation for special objections, when they shall have been brought to a close.

74. From what has already been said, you must begin to have some idea of the Catholic Church, as she is conceived of and understood by her own children. You have seen that in her those who are now *teachers*, were but lately *learners*, that they are not authorized to preach what they had not been taught. That the interior call to the ministry could not be availing, unless outwardly sanctioned, recognized, and approved, by the authority *pre existing* in the Church. That by virtue of this authority alone could they preach, for how could they preach unless they were sent? And that the commission conferred by this authority was universally revoked, whenever any of them undertook to preach what he had not learnt. So has it been ever in the Church of God; and this for the obvious and fundamental reason to which I have more than once alluded, that the sum of Christian teaching is a body of facts revealed, or confirmed, by our Saviour, of which the Church is the witness, and of which her ministers are appointed to bear testimony. But among the Private Reasoners all this order is reversed. There are no learners, there are no teachers. There is no mission, except of a modern and purely human character; there are no orders for the work of the ministry, except such as mere human authority could give; there is no standard of orthodoxy, except a human symbol, imposed through a direct violation of their first principle, which proclaims the "Bible alone" as their rule of faith; there is no independence in their ministry, for if they do not please those whom it should have been their duty to *instruct* and *teach*, they are dismissed like other public servants; there is no responsibility, except to whatever may happen to range, for the time being, as the majority, or at least the average agreements, of opinion in the congregations they address. See what a chasm of difference all this makes between them and Catholics!

75. In the organization of the Church our Redeemer did not vary in principle from the order established by Heaven for the social existence and well-being of the human race. The organic exercise of sovereign power and authority, whether in the family or in the civil state, is narrowed down both by Divine and human institutions, from its widest range and extent to smaller and yet smaller circles, until they reach a centre in some one individual. Thus the father is the head and centre of the family, representing the unity of domestic government. Thus the Mayor is the head and centre of municipal authority in the city. Thus the Governor, in the State. Thus the President, as the head and centre of the United States, represents the concentrated power of the confederation in its essential form of unity. If this principle, as directly ordained in the family, by the appointment of God himself, and as indirectly at least, sanctioned in the civil state, be so necessary that society could not be held together without it, it would be strange if our Blessed Saviour left his Church exposed to the anarchy by which the absence of it could not have failed to introduce.

The grand idea of the Church, as proposed by her Divine Foun-

der, was to unite all mankind in one brotherhood of a common faith, a common hope, and a common charity, mutually held together in the most intimate communion of those spiritual affections which religion creates in the soul. But such a society could not exist without some supreme individual head and centre, as the representative of its unity and power; and it is singular that the very name given to the Supreme visible head of the Church expresses the proper relation to such Christian brotherhood; since he is not called King, or Emperor, or President, but Pope or Father.

76. As successor to one of the Apostles, he is simply Bishop of Rome. As, however, that Apostle was not merely one of the twelve, but Peter, the first and chief of the Apostolic body, so the Bishop of Rome has ever exercised the prerogatives of the common Father, and the universal Primate of the Catholic Church. He is the visible centre of the Unity. The visible Head of her communion; her supreme visible Ruler upon earth. The other Bishops of the Church are no less of the Apostolic order than he; but inasmuch as St. Peter alone was invested with power and commission which had not been given to any other Apostle individually, or to them all collectively; inasmuch as to Peter alone the care of the entire flock of Christ had been committed; inasmuch as Our Lord had prayed for him alone, that his faith should not fail, and commanded him alone, being once converted, to confirm his brethren; inasmuch as in language like this, Peter alone was divinely ordained the supreme Pastor on earth of the Christian fold; inasmuch as the unity and authority of the Church, extended throughout the world, required for its organization and exercise some individual supremacy; that function has always been claimed, and always been exercised, by the successors of St. Peter alone. This supremacy of the Pope is as much an article of Christ's revelation, an article of Divine faith, in the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, as is the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity.

77. We see in this economy the wisdom and the goodness of our Blessed Redeemer. For by it the Church is provided with a supreme authority, exercised under Divine appointment, and guaranteed by Divine and infallible promises. Without it the Unity of the one sheepfold, under the one Shepherd, could not be maintained. Without it the believing people of Christ's fold could not be preserved from the doctrinal errors which apostate or heretical bishops might introduce and impose on them, as the very teachings of their Saviour. Without it, in the absence of responsibility, the rite essential for the ordination of priests and the consecration of Bishops might be disregarded. Without it, as we see in England, a Prime Minister, even though he should be himself an infidel, (which we have no reason to suppose is the case at present,) would become the source, necessarily the barren source, of spiritual power and jurisdiction to persons still calling themselves Bishops of the Church of God. Without it, the Episcopal body would soon be divided among themselves, and preach in opposition to one another, even as is the case among the

Private Reasoners. Without it an Arius would have triumphed over an Athanasius; and the great Confessor of Alexandria would have been crushed by the factions of heresy which his zeal for the truth had caused to rise against him. Without it the principle of local majorities would enable Bishops to tyrannize over minorities; and in the wantonness of irresponsible power, which that principle secures in ecclesiastical matters, enable them to degrade and trample upon their weak and erring brother, leaving him without appeal, without resource or remedy; an object of scorn and of scoffing for the profane; an object of pity and commiseration for the virtuous. Without the supremacy of the Pope, in short, the doctrines of the Church would degenerate into mere human opinions; the government of the Church into every species of anarchy, tyranny, and confusion.

78. Our Blessed Lord, no doubt, could have organized His Church on different principles, and could have provided for its safety and perpetuation according to whatever principle He might have adopted. On the principle of the Private Reasoners, the idea of a Supreme Pastor, in the government of what they call the Church, would be a supreme absurdity; and as they are very wise, in their own estimation, they no doubt, look upon Catholics as singularly blind in not regarding the supremacy of the Pope as they do. The authority of the Pope, however, does not result from the advantages which the recognition of it secures to the Catholic Church; but it results from the authority of Christ, delegated to St. Peter, individually in the first instance, and through him to his legitimate successors in all ages. It is a portion of His Divine revelation to man. It is His institution, as a part, an integral part of the Church which He founded, to which all other institutions had an essential reference, and without which they would have been not only incomplete, but also ineffective. Now, as a historical fact, it is beyond all controversy that the Bishops of Rome have, in all ages of Christianity, been acknowledged by their cotemporaries, as the certain and legitimate successors of St. Peter. Nor should it be overlooked by you as something, which attests to Catholics the especial protection of God to the line of that succession, that the other Episcopal Sees, founded by the Apostles, have, in the revolutions of the world, disappeared, that all possibility of identifying the Episcopal succession as derived from any other one of the twelve in particular, has passed away, whilst that founded by St. Peter still remains, and the direct succession of the principality which Christ conferred upon him, in the government of the whole Church, has descended from one to another, in the line of his successors, name by name, with as much regularity as is discoverable in the history of any temporal sovereignty in the world. Neither is this order disturbed by the rivalship of different claimants which sometimes scandalized the Church. All recognized, even then, the supremacy of Peter, in the legitimate successors of his Apostleship; and the only question, was a question of fact, which further evidence never failed, ultimately, to determine.

79. As I have remarked already, it does not fall within the purpose of these letters to collect the historical testimonies by which the supremacy of the Holy See is established, as a matter of fact, in the several ages which have elapsed since the origin of Christianity. And I can the more willingly omit such testimonies, as a work expressly devoted to this subject, from the pen of the learned Catholic Bishop of Philadelphia, is announced as being now in press. It is enough for my purpose to state that I am not acquainted with any period of time in which the Bishop of Rome did not exercise powers which are utterly inexplicable, except on the hypothesis of his acknowledged supremacy whether that word was in use to express that power or not. From the very beginning we find him *interfering*, to use an expressive term, in matters which, if right, would seem to belong to the other Bishops complaining of the interference, or denying his right to take cognizance of what was going on in the several portions of the Church subject to his jurisdiction. It is true that remonstrances have been sometimes addressed to him by other Bishops, but always in the respectful and deferential language due to superior authority, and what is most remarkable is, that these remonstrances never questioned the substance of his right to interfere, but always had reference to the form, or some incidental circumstance of that interference. I find in all ages that his interference was invoked and appealed to as the sovereign by which alone, the evils and disorders that afflicted the Church, to the furthest bounds of Christendom, might be healed, or removed. I find that whilst, in the earlier ages, the first or the primitive Christians, and his own humility may have rendered it unnecessary and inexpedient to define, either in speech or in writing, the extent, or the nature of the supremacy, which, as the successor of St. Peter, he was charged with, he exercised nevertheless, whenever the occasion required, the power which that word implies. I find Nestorius appealing to him, in the Fifth Century, on behalf of his new doctrine, just as Luther did, in support of his, at the beginning of the Sixteenth; and we may reasonably conclude, that if he had not condemned the errors of both, neither of whom would ever have denied his supremacy. I find that in all ages the blessed Apostle, St. Peter, was regarded and spoken of, as having been distinguished from the other Apostles by special and peculiar honors and prerogatives which the Divine Master conferred on him alone.

80. Thus the evangelist St. Matthew: "Simon Peter answering said: Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God. And Jesus answering, said to him: Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona: because flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but my Father who is in heaven. And I say to thee, That thou art Peter: and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, it shall be loosed

also in heaven." St. Matthew, xvi. 16, 19. What is here narrated by the inspired writer had taken place several years before. It is not the record of the text that gave this prerogative to the chief of the Apostles, but it is recorded as a historical fact *which had taken place* in the life and ministry of Our Divine Redeemer. You perceive that it has reference to Peter alone. What does it mean? The answer to this question Catholics have ever had, and have, in the teaching and practice of the Church. The answer to this they would have had, whether St. Matthew had written his Gospel or not. Again, we find in the twenty-second chapter of St. Luke, that when Satan desired to have the Apostles, that he might sift them as wheat, Our Divine Saviour prayed, but the prayer, as the text remarks, was for Peter alone, as if in his safety there was security for them all. Had this conduct and language of Our Blessed Saviour no meaning? If it had not, why was it employed? If it had, what else could it be, than what the Church has ever taught upon the subject? Again still, in the twenty-first chapter of St. John, after our Saviour's resurrection, twice does He command Peter to feed the sheep of His fold. Thus Peter alone was made the shepherd of the entire flock, and in this was fulfilled what Christ had elsewhere said in the tenth chapter of St. John: "And other sheep I have that are not of this fold; them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice; and there shall be made one fold and one shepherd." I might call your attention to many other passages of the Sacred Writing, in which the pre-eminence and primacy of St. Peter are most distinctly recorded. But these will be sufficient, and especially taken in connection with the whole history of the Catholic Church, in which, *de facto* as well as *de jure*, the successors of St. Peter have always exercised the primacy and pre-eminence thus conferred on him, with the universal approbation of the Church, and without a reclamation, except from the Private Reasoners of the different ages, whose heterodox opinions it was the duty of the Popes, both as the supreme guardian of the faith, and as the official organ of the Church, to condemn and anathematize.

LETTER IX.

DEAR READER:

81. The whole of this subject of the Church, certainly the most important in the entire range of Christian theology, may after what has already been said, be comprised in a few paragraphs. The great difference between Catholics and Private Reasoners is this; the former naturally, and by the institutions of Christ, look for the truth of revelation in and through that visible Society of men originally receiving it from Him, and perpetuated with a moral identity of continuation, until the present day. The Private Reasoners, on the other hand discard society altogether, and seek for the truths of religion without intervention, prepared to build up what they call

a Church formed from the results of their individual private interpretation of Holy Scriptures. The Church of God on earth is composed of men, but to these men Christ imparted the deposit of eternal truth, with command to preserve, and authority to propagate the same until the end of the world. Now Catholics know, as well as Private Reasoners, that men, as such, are fallible ; but, they do not suppose, with Private Reasoners that the fallibility of man's nature is to triumph over the wisdom and the power of Christ in the preservation and perpetuation of those saving truths which were originally communicated by Him for the salvation of the world, and the knowledge and certainty of which were as essential to all generations, as they were to that in which He spoke and taught.

82. Remark accordingly; that the Holy Scriptures and the early Christian writers, in their reference to the doctrine of Our Saviour, constantly point to the Society that had received those doctrines, and never, at least, in a sense, that would exclude the Society, to the doctrines themselves in the abstract. The principle involved in this mode of reference is analogous to that by which one would reach the soul of some fellow-being. Man is so constituted that he can take cognizance of the body in which it dwells, but not of the spirit itself, except through its manifestations in the body. Now, the inspired written Word of God frequently designates the Church as the Body of Christ, as if to adopt the great institution of His Spiritual kingdom of the earth to the actual condition of our nature, so that we may not, like the Private Reasoners, be as children tossed to and fro, by every wind of doctrine, looking for the Spirit; but that seeing the body around us, and in the midst of us, wherever the Church is found, from the rising to the setting of the sun, we may there find, with certainty, what they seek for elsewhere in vain. Where the Body of Christ is, there is His Spirit, there are His promises, there is His doctrine; and as the soul in man manifests itself through corporal faculties, so also the truth, and the teaching, and the knowledge of God, as the soul of the Church, exhibit themselves in a sensible manner through the organic faculties of this, Christ's Mystical Body. The Church's manner of teaching is human, and such also was the manner of the Apostles, and of the Saviour, by whom she has been founded; but this is only her earthly phase; this is only the process of bringing out to the visible world the Divine light once kindled, and now inextinguishable in her conscientiousness and in her intelligence. The medium, if you please, dims, in the transition, the brightness of the heavenly illumination which it transmits; but it is fitted and adapted to the feebleness of human vision, so that when the eye of the mind comes to rest upon the awful mysteries which the Church teaches, the economy of God's institution is such that the brightness does not overwhelm us. Men live and move in the light of day, but it comes to their sight reflected and not by direct beams, as if their eyes were strong to encounter the glare of the noon-day sun.

83. The Church is composed, therefore, of two parts; the one representing the Body of Christ, the other His Soul. Inasmuch as this Body is composed of men, it is human; but inasmuch as it is animated by the Spirit of Him whose Body it is, the Church is Divine. She proceeds in all her official acts, either in determining the truth that God committed to her keeping, or in condemning the error specially opposed to any portion of that truth, in a two fold manner. The first decision which she ever gave, in her corporate capacity, is that recorded in the fifteenth chapter of the Apostles' Acts; when some "coming down from Judea, taught the brethren that except you be circumcised after the manner of the law of Moses, you cannot be saved." Here was a small specimen of what we have called Private Reasoning. Paul and Barnabas were present, and for a moment involved in the discussion. But instead of deciding the question, either by appealing to the Bible, or to the authority of inspiration, which St. Paul undoubtedly possessed, the matter is referred to the Church in the aggregate of her prerogative. This is the proceeding according to the human form of the Body of the Church. Statements and counter-statements having, no doubt, been observed, and pains taken, after the human manner, to sift out from extraneous matter, the true and precise proposition on which a decision was solicited. This done, the Church is about to pronounce, and Peter, in the name of the Church, utters the decision also in a human manner, but, at the same time, with a direct leaning on the Divine and invisible element which constitutes the source of her eternal in-errency. "And when there had been much disputing, Peter, rising up, said to them: My brethren, you know that in former days God made choice among us, that by my mouth the Gentiles should hear the word of the Gospel, and believe. And God who knoweth the hearts, gave testimony, giving unto them the Holy Ghost as well as to us. And put no difference between us and them, purifying their hearts by faith. Now therefore why tempt you God, to put a yoke upon the necks of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we have been able to bear? But by the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ we believe to be saved, in like manner as they also. And all the multitude held their peace."—Acts xv. 7–12.

This may be regarded as the preamble, or introduction to the final sentence which the Church was about to pronounce. But when that sentence is to be uttered, you perceive that it is not men alone, since, in the 28th verse we read, "For it hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us to lay no further burden," etc.

84. This example, which is recorded in the inspired volume, must necessarily have taken place in the practice of the Church, anterior to its being committed to writing. The Church has never deviated from the practical rule here laid down by her founders. At whatever period error appeared and was advocated, so that any portion of the Church of Christ was liable to be led from the faith, by its delusiveness, the Church, either by the assembling of the na-

tions under the primacy of Peter; or by the mouth of Peter, in the person of his successors, employed diligence to investigate and study more thoroughly the relations of the primitive doctrine on the question agitated, as also of the error opposed to that doctrine, and all this in the human manner; but when, finally, the sentence was to be pronounced, discriminating between the article which was of faith, and the new heretical proposition, the judgment was always substantially uttered in the same language: it hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us. After the sentence was pronounced, there was no excuse for those who forsook the Church and attached themselves to the Private Reasoners of the several ages that have since elapsed. And as the human body, when in a sound and healthy condition, drives forth the noxious humors, and repels the infections that would taint it, so the Church, by God's appointment, economized the fullness of its interior life, by removing all the excrescences of private error, which would at once have deformed its comeliness and wasted the resources of its spiritual health, if they had been allowed to adhere to it. They might live, or seem to live, for a little while by the power of their great communion with her. But presently disputes among themselves, errors more extravagant than these first thought of—division and sub-division among them gave manifest evidence that in leaving the Church, they carried forth with them no perennial fountain of spiritual vitality. So it was with the Judaisers mentioned in the text; so with the Ebionites and the Nazareans; so with the Gnostics, Nicolaitans, the Cerinthians, the Basilideans, and Saturninians, the Valentinians, the Carpocratians, the Marcionites, the Montanists, the Manicheans, the Sabellians, the Arians, the Nestorians, the Eutychians, the Pelagians, the Albigenses, the Wyckliffeites, the Hussites, not to name thousands of other sects that seemed to live a little while, until the remnant of vitality which they brought forth from the Catholic Church was exhausted. Whilst they seemed to flourish they were actually fading away; and so it is now with those who have been seduced from the Church by the private reasoning of Calvin, Luther, Socinius, Cranmer, and the others in the land of Luther, his followers have glided, almost unconsciously to themselves, into rank infidelity—whilst they read the Bible, however, and then reason upon it. In the land of Calvin it is the same. In England there is a genteel conformity among the genteel people to certain statutory forms of religion; the ungenteel, that in the lower classes, remaining enveloped in the thickest folds of brutal ignorance and vice. In this country the actual condition of Private Reasoners may be described in four words; indifference in part, fanaticism in part smaller still, with a large portion of infidelity on one side, and a small counterpoise of calm and sober "religiosity" on the other. But whether you speak of Germany, Switzerland, France or America, the word which expresses the general condition everywhere is confusion! Confusion!! Confusion!!! That is to say, religious disagreement, religious controversies, religious divisions, to the end of

the chapter. Such is the harvest which the enemy of truth is reaping from the labors of those who were separated from the Church in the Sixteenth Century.

85. It is a great relief to the mind to turn away from this melancholy state of things among the Private Reasoners to the calm, steady, and uniform course of the Church for a period of more than eighteen hundred years. She sends the same message of salvation to the east and to the west, to the north and the south, until she shall have delivered it to all nations, and have imbued with its heavenly meaning the hearts of all people, and tribes, and nations. When individuals, or even mighty nations with their rulers, prove themselves unworthy of such an inheritance, she cuts them off, be they prelates, kings, nobles, or peasants. She knows no distinction, and when such interests are involved, she has no consciousness of fear, no calculations of the contingencies of futurity. Nor is it necessary that the cause should involve the denial of all her doctrines. It is enough that any one doctrine of the deposit of Christ's revelation should be obstinately denied, to entail that sentence by which the infected member shall be separated from her communion. If by an extravagant supposition of an impossible contingency, all the Bishops of France, Germany, and Italy, should deny obstinately any one doctrine defined by the Council of Trent, she would excommunicate them with greater pain, but with as little reservation as if they were but as Rouge in Germany, or "Kirwan" among ourselves. On the other hand, while she is animated with the most ardent and tender zeal for the gathering of souls into the fold of Christ, she could not abate one jot or tittle of her doctrine to secure the return of the nations that have fallen from her faith, or the conversion of the whole world. If she were capable of doing the one or the other, she would not be the Church that Jesus Christ established on the earth.

86. These remarks, however, apply only to the deposits of faith over which she has no control, except that of Divinely appointed guardian, witness, and unerring expositor. Here is the distinction in the Church betwixt matters that are of originial and Divine authority, and those which result from ecclesiastical legislation. The Church had a right to arrange the outward form of her self-government according to the exigency of times and of circumstances. Certainly, when she offered the Holy Sacrifice of her liturgy at the tombs of martyrs in the Catacombs and hiding places of Pagan Rome, she did not appear to outward vision the same as when she performs her symbolic rights surrounded by the pomp and magnificence—if any thing that man can do in the worship of God deserves to be called magnificent—under the mighty dome of St. Peter's. So, with regard to all ecclesiastical laws enacted simply by her authority; so with regard to her whole code of canonical legislation; so with regard to her entire discipline, so far as it derives its authority from her enactments—it is manifest in all these matters, that the same power which enacted the law, has the right,

in certain given cases, to dispense with its observation, or if the ex igency required, to abrogate it altogether. The Church, herself as the witness, and the doctrines received by her from Christ and His Apostles, constitute, together, the things of which testimony is to be borne and the witness who is to testify. These are unchangeable; these are indestructible; these are infallible. Infallible truths revealed by the Son of God, and an infallible witness and teacher of them until the end of time. And hence nothing that has occurred in this world since the days of Christ and His Apostles can be made the foundation of any article of Divine faith in the Communion of the Catholic Church.

87. We cannot help smiling, therefore, when writers so ignorant, or so erudite as "Kirwan," impute to us the belief of the Catholic faith on account of any miracles that have or may have taken place in the Church, since the days of the Apostles. Every Catholic believes that many miracles have occurred. He believes that in the Church there is an abiding promise, through which God does manifest his power, according to the faith of individual members, when and in what manner he pleases. But if you ask whether any Catholic is bound, as a Catholic, to believe that this or that other special event, since the days of the Apostles, is, or is not, a miracle, my answer is, that he has a right to judge according to the evidences presented to his mind. In certain cases, the evidence is so strong that according to the ordinary laws of the human mind he is compelled to believe. But when this does occur, his belief is an act of human or personal, but necessarily of Divine or Catholic faith. Such events being posterior in their occurrence to the days of the Apostles, are not proposed to us as the foundation of any one dogma, or article of Divine belief. That many really miraculous events have occured, cannot be doubted. That many others pretending to be miracles, but which were either accidental, or intentional illusions and deceptions, no one wishes to deny. On all these subjects the minds of our Private Reasoners, for the most part, when otherwise well informed, are exceedingly ignorant. There are two reasons for this. One is, that *naturally* they do not know what the Catholic faith is; and the other, that in their mode of learning they are sure to arrive at a distorted, false, confused and unreal idea of it. It would be an easy matter to give them a knowledge of what the Catholic faith is, if their minds were now in the neutral condition of simple ignorance. But as it is, it would be necessary for them to have removed from their imaginations the false ideas which a systematic training in the wrong direction has created in regard to Catholic faith. "Kirwan," however, is but one of a class infected with the same malady. To attempt to refute the nonsense of their conceptions is but to aggravate their disease. And the only cure for them is information and instruction, which they could find in the Catholic catechism.

88. Such ignorance, among the mass of Private Reasoners is, to some extent, excusable, whilst it is quite the reverse in those who

set themselves up as leaders and teachers of Divine truth. How will they answer to God? How will they answer to the souls whom they undertake to guide, for such perversions in regard to the Church of Christ, in which alone is the fullness and perfection of spiritual life? They ought to be acquainted with the writings of the Christian Fathers of the early ages who speak of the Church, not as an imaginary fantasy of an invisible Church, but of the Church as an outward Society, such as she has been described in these letters. But if they make it a point to disregard Christian historical testimony on this subject, you at least, dear reader, should ponder on the meaning of those passages of the Holy Scriptures referring to the glorious institutions of the Church of Christ. For instance:

"In the last days the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be prepared on the top of mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills: and all nations shall flow into it."—Isaias ii. 2.

"The stone that struck the statue became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth. * * * * * But in the days of those kingdoms, the God of Heaven will set up a kingdom that shall never be destroyed: and his kingdom shall not be delivered up to another people: and it shall break in pieces, and shall consume all these kingdoms, and itself shall stand for ever."—Daniel ii. 35, 44.

"And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be prepared in the top of mountains, and high above the hills: and people shall flow into it. And many nations shall come in haste, and say: Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob: and He will teach us of His ways, and we will walk in His paths; for the law shall go forth out of Sion, and the word of the Lord out of Jerusalem."—Mich. iv. 1, 2.

That these passages are to be understood of the Church, appears from the allusion of Our Blessed Saviour, St. Matt. v. 14: "You are the light of the world; *a city that is set on a mountain, cannot be hid.*" So the early Fathers have understood and spoken of those passages, as referring to the Church.

89. From all this, it is manifest that whoever would be guided in the way that God had appointed must unite himself to the *visible communion* of the Church, otherwise he will come under the description given by St. Irenæus, of the Private Reasoners of the Second Century.

"All these are very much later than the Bishops to whom the Apostles delivered the Churches, and this we have proved, with the greatest care, in the third book. Therefore the aforesaid heretics, because they are blind to the truth, are under the necessity of wandering irregularly, first in one, and then in another path, and on this account the traces of their doctrines are scattered without any uniformity or connections. But the pathway of those who are in the Church, circles the whole universe, for it has a firm tradition from the Apostles, and gives us to see that the faith of all is one and the same."—Adv. Haer. L. v. c. 20.

This description is quite applicable both to their condition and to that of the Church at the present day. The Church is spread through all nations. The Church is a visible Society. The Church is One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic. The Church is indestructible. The Church is infallible, unless, indeed, the Private Reasoners go so far as to say that Christ, her Founder, was fallible.

90. I can imagine some of them saying, all is assertion, mere human reasoning, or, at best, authority of the Fathers, whereas *we*

want to have *Scripture* for *our* belief. "To the law and to the testimony," is our motto. And the Word of God says to us, "Search the Scriptures." I have to remark that in this last sentence it is not clear whether the text should read, "Search the Scriptures," or "You do search the Scriptures;" but in either case the searching the Scriptures was not for the purpose of studying out any doctrine of the Revelation, but simply to ascertain and to determine a fact, viz.: whether Our Saviour was the person spoken of in the Scriptures of the Old Testament as the Messiah, or not. So, also, with regard to the Church. The Scriptures bear ample testimony as to the fact of her institution, of her office, as the living and unerring teacher of God's Word, of her perpetuity, and other attributes. In all of which, we are enjoined to hear and be taught by her instead of searching the Scriptures for ourselves. Thus, already in the Apostolic age, St. John, the last of the Apostles, writes in his first Epistle, chap. iv. 1, 6:

"Dearly beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits, whether they be of God; because many false prophets are gone out into the world. . . . . We are of God. He that knoweth God, heareth us; he that is not of God, heareth us not. By this we know the Spirit of truth and the spirit of error."

In Hebrews, chap. xiii. 7 and 17: "Remember your Prelates who have spoken to you the word of God: considering well the end of their conversation. . . . . Obey your Prelates, and be subject to them. For they watch as being to render an account of your souls."

Again to Timothy, Ep. 1, chap. iii. 14–15: "These things I write to thee hoping that I shall come to thee shortly. But if I tarry long, that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God, which is the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth."

These instructions are addressed not to the immediate disciples of Christ, but to the dispersed converts, who were the disciples of the Apostles. When their teachers were absent, they supplied by writing, in these instances, instructions which they would have given by word of mouth, if they had been present. Thus St. Paul writing to the Ephesians, chap. iv. 11–14:

"And some, indeed, began to be Apostles, and some prophets, and others Evangelists, and others pastors and doctors: for the perfection of the Saints, for the work of the ministry, unto the edification of the Body of Christ: until we all meet in the unity of faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the age of the fullness of Christ: that henceforth we may be no more children tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, in the wickedness of men, by cunning craftiness, by which they lie in wait to deceive."

In the Acts of the Apostles, chap. xx. 28:

"Take heed to yourselves and to the whole flock wherein the Holy Ghost hath placed you Bishops, to rule the Church of God, which He hath purchased with His own blood." And, in like manner, in chap. xv. 28–41: "For it hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us to lay no further burden upon you than these necessary things. . . . . And he (Paul) went through Syria and Cilicia, confirming the Churches, commanding them to keep the precepts of the Apostles and the ancients."

91. If we pass now to the primary authority of the Gospels themselves, in which the words, not of an Apostle, but of Jesus Christ

Himself, are recorded, we shall find such declarations as the following:

St. Matt. xxviii. 18–20: "All power is given to Me in Heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: And lo, I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world." And again:

Luke x. 16: "He that heareth you, heareth Me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth Me; and he that despiseth Me despiseth Him that sent Me." And Matt. xvi. 18: "And I say to thee that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." Again, Matt. xviii. 17: "And if he will not hear them, tell the Church; and if he will not hear the Church, let him be to thee as the heathen and the publican."

That the power thus conferred was intended for all future time, is evident, from St. John xiv. 16, 17:

"And I will ask the Father, and He shall give you another Paraclete, that He may abide with you for ever. The spirit of truth whom the world cannot receive because it seeth Him not, nor knoweth Him, but you shall know Him because He shall abide with you and shall be in you."

Innumerable other passages might be adduced, proving beyond all controversy, as a fact, the institutions of the Church of God, as an outward and visible Society, from which alone, the truths of revelation ascertained, in communion with which alone, the individual man is to be incorporated with the Mystical Body of Christ, to receive light, and life, and salvation through Him. If our Privato Reasoners were sincere in pretending to take the Scriptures for their rule of belief, these testimonies would be quite sufficient to prove to them that the Bible, in every page, directs them to cease from their wanderings, and to seek security in God's One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church.

"KIRWAN" UNMASKED.

A REVIEW OF "KIRWAN" IN SIX LETTERS, ADDRESSED TO THE REV. NICHOLAS MURRAY, D. D., OF ELIZABETHTOWN, N. J., BY THE RIGHT REV. JOHN HUGHES, BISHOP OF NEW YORK.

To "Kirwan," alias the Rev. Nicholas Murray, D. D., of Elizabethtown, New Jersey:

Dear Sir—So long as you wore a mask, which no honest man need ever wear in a free country like this, I was excused, on your own admission, from any obligation to notice you. Now that you have cast it aside, I feel no longer bound to adhere to my first resolution.

Your letters purport to explain the reasons why you left the Roman Catholic Church and became a Presbyterian. The object of mine will be to review those reasons. If I shall succeed in re-

futing them, and assigning others more in accordance with the facts of the case, I will not trouble myself with answering those in your second series under the head of reasons why you do not return. If the deserters from the American flag in the Mexican campaign, (among whom, I am sorry to say, were some Irishmen,) can justify themselves for having fled from the ranks of their country, the world will readily dispense with *their* reasons for not returning. The enemy, no doubt, received them with that mingled feeling of joy at the treason and contempt for the traitor, which, on the whole, is rather honorable than otherwise in the character of human nature—whilst the gallant army they had forsaken had the consolation to know that after their departure, it contained in each case, at least one coward less than before. But friends and foes would take it as a matter of course that such persons would have good reasons for not returning.

The Catholic Church, however, has a mother's heart, and not a warrior's. If at any time, moved by the grace of God, you should knock at her gates, as a penitent, she would receive you as such, and rejoice at your restoration. Considering the importance which you attach to your going out from her communion, thirty years ago, never, never, to return, you must admit that she has borne your absence with great resignation; in fact, amidst the numerous defections from the faith which loneliness and poverty entail on juvenile immigrants and orphan boys of Irish and Catholic parentage in this country, an individual case like yours might easily have escaped her notice. But you have taken from her the bliss of ignorance in the premises. "Kirwan" tells her that you, Nicholas Murray, now a Presbyterian clergyman, gave her the cold shoulder, when you were quite a boy, thirty years ago. Nay, more; he says that one of the means employed by her for arresting the progress of sin, was by you turned into an opportunity of additional sinning—"you always found," he says, "that you could *play your pranks better* after confession than before." . . . This inward reading of yourself, at so early an age, should have convinced you that already, and unknown to yourself, you were a genuine Protestant book, done up, some how, by mistake, in Catholic binding.

I honor the man who, under his responsibility to God, has the moral courage to change his religion, when, after mature investigation, he conscientiously believes that he is passing from error to truth. It is a great and solemn act. When it is attended, as it sometimes is, by the greatest sacrifice of worldly interest, and is manifestly done for the soul's and God's and truth's sake, it becomes, in my estimation, the most heroic and sublime act that man is capable of performing on the earth. I do not say that it is always insincere even when the convert promotes his temporal interests by the change. But, in the latter case, it loses much of the influence which, as an example, it would otherwise exercise on the public mind. Neither do I regard it as improper that he who has experienced such a change, should assign the reasons that brought it

about. But in assigning them, all serious men would expect that they should be good and true reasons. Now, I propose, in reply to your letters, to prove that the reasons assigned by you are not good reasons in themselves, and that even if they were, in the nature of things, they found no place in the circumstances of your supposed conversion from "Popery" to Presbyterianism.

Your letters, so far as regards the grammatical construction of phrases, and a correct and almost elegant use of Anglo-Saxon words, are not unworthy of the country which produced a Dean Swift or a Goldsmith. They are also pervaded by a silvery thread of wit, which is unmistakably Irish, but which too often, in your letters, runs into profanity. As a logician, you are entitled to little praise. As a theologian, even on the Protestant system, to less still; whilst as an upright, candid adversary, honestly laboring to overthrow doctrines believed to be erroneous, you can lay claim to none whatever.

Two things, at the outset, tell very badly against you. You represent me as teaching a doctrine which I do not believe, and yet, in various unexpected forms, you profess to render me the homage of your respect. Now, dear sir, let me say, that if you believe me to be a deceiver of my fellow-Catholics, you cannot have entertained any respect for my character, unles your moral perceptions are too dim to discover any difference between vice and virtue. If you profess a respect, which you do not feel, it is equally manifest that your standing of morals is artificial, subject to the control of your will and your pen. In either case you are inconsistent, and it is, perhaps, well for you that you did not write your letters under the solemnity of an oath, in which case something like perjury would come out on the cross-examination.

By what right, sir, did you assume that I am not sincere in the Catholic faith? And if you did assume it, by what rule of hypocrisy and falsehood did you stultify yourself by professing respect for my character? You could find the premises of such a false and uncharitable conclusion only in your heart, or mine. To mine you have had no access, and you should have been cautious in proclaiming such discoveries as could have been derived, only by analogy, from your own.

I believe the truth of the doctrines taught by the Holy Catholic Church as firmly as I do my own existence. Nay, more. I believe that, as containing the fullness of Divine revelation, it is the only true Church on the earth—although many true Catholic doctrines are found floating about as opinions in the religious atmosphere of Protestantism. This is my profession of faith, of the sincerity of which the Almighty is my witness; and I am not aware that I have ever given you, or any other human being, reason to infer, by word or action, that I believed otherwise.

I must decline, therefore, the tender of *your* respect for my character. But I would not have you on that account to regard me as an enemy. On the contrary, I would be your friend; and the highest proof of this which you have left in my power to offer, is the

sincere declaration that, as a fellow-being, you have my pity—and best wishes withal. I shall begin to analyze your reasons next week. ✠ JOHN HUGHES, Bishop of New York.

LETTER II.

To "Kirwan," alias the Rev. Nicholas Murray, D. D., of Elizabethtown, New Jersey:

DEAR SIR — The merit of your letters, if they have any in the eyes of sincere Protestants, is in the supposed fact that you were brought up and instructed in the Catholic religion; and that your testimony is more trustworthy, on this account, than if you had been born and brought up a Protestant.

This is, in fact, the ground which you have taken. You speak of *yourself*, of *your* knowledge and experience of the Catholic religion, of *your* reasons for renouncing it, from the beginning to the end of your letters. *You* are the witness in the cause; *you* are the hero of the romance; and it will be impossible for me to do justice to the review, without paying attention to the prominent personality which you have established for yourself, in assigning the reasons of your conversion.

The first position which I intend to establish then, is, that [illegible] never produced a peasant more ignorant of the Catholic religion, than you were when you renounced the creed of your fathers and became an infidel. For the proof of this position you shall be my witness. Turn to your first letter and read your own words:

"I first became an infidel. Knowing nothing of religion but that which was taught me by my parents and priests, and thinking that that was the sum of it, when that was rejected infidelity became my only alternative."—page 11.

"On reaching the years of maturity my mind was a perfect blank as to all religious instruction."—page 30.

"With my Missal I was somewhat familiar; I said the Catechism when I was confirmed, at the age of nine or ten, and that was the amount of my religious education. At the age of eighteen years the catechism was forgotten, and the Missal was neglected, and as my conscience was uneducated, and my mind unfurnished with religious principles, the only test of truth left me was my common sense."—page 31.

This was precisely the age at which you left the Church and became an infidel. Your "mind was a perfect blank as to all religious instruction." In other words, you were perfectly ignorant of the religion which you were about to reject, and, if we can trust to your own language, this ignorance was the only reason going before and determining your conversion to infidelity.

The reader may suppose that in proclaiming your profound ignorance of religion, your meaning is, that you understood the

Catholic faith, in which you were brought up, but that you were as yet ignorant of the pure evangelical doctrines which you have since embraced. But this would be a mistake. Your meaning is, that you were entirely ignorant of the Catholic religion, as well as of all others. For this also we have your own testimony, in the following words:

"Some book or tract, now forgotten, gave rise to some inquiries as to the Mass. I asked, What does it mean? I could not tell, though for years a regular attendant upon it. Why does the priest dress so? What book does he read from, when carried now to his right, and now to his left? What means those candles burning at noonday? Why do I say prayers in Latin, which I understand not? Should I not know what I am saying when addressing my Maker? Why bow down and strike my breast when the little bell rings? What does it all mean? *The darkness of Egypt rested upon the questions.*"—page 33.

Never did man forsake one religion and join another, who had contrived to be so profoundly ignorant of the forsaken creed as you, Nicholas Murray, prove yourself to have been, in regard to Catholicity, when you renounced it and became an infidel. Whatever you know of it now, true or false, you have learned as other Protestants do, outside of the Church and from her enemies.

It is imputed to our countrymen that they *act* first, and *reflect* afterward. I am sorry, sir, that *your* conduct, when you renounced the creed of your humble, but, I have no doubt, virtuous and respectable parents, goes so far to justify the imputation. It is certain, on your own testimony, that *when* you ceased to be a Catholic and became an infidel, the Catholic religion might be true, or might be false, for all you knew about it. It is equally certain that *when*, in 1847, you published a series of smart, if not learned, reasons, for your conduct thirty years ago, you have been again *acting more Hibernico*—and sorry I am that during so long a period, with the advantages of American and Presbyterian training, you have not yet outgrown the national weakness. But, sir, no genuine Irishman would attempt to justify his act by reasons which, in the order of time, occur to his mind thirty years after the act had been performed—as you may have done. A genuine Irishman would consent to be laughed at, and would join in the laugh with right good humor, rather than attempt the trick of reversing the wheel of time, and assigning the reasons of 1847 as the motives of his conduct.

The chronology of the events which make up a case is oftentimes very important. Previous to your conversion you knew nothing of the Catholic—nothing of the Protestant—religion. The reasons assigned in your recent letters, may or may not be good reasons, but whether good or bad, they had nothing to do with *your* change of religion. You *blundered* out of the Church and into infidelity, without knowing why or wherefore—and your reasons are all out of date. They might be styled with great propriety, "An

Irishman's motives for becoming a Protestant, arranged according to the order imputed to his countrymen, that of *acting* first, and *reflecting* afterward."

You may blame your priests or your parents, as you please, for the peculiar absence of religious knowledge which preceded your conversion.. But the *fact* of your profound ignorance of all religion, at the period of your change, *is the material point*, and you have been candid enough to establish that point beyond all dispute.

You seem to be troubled with a peculiar weakness of memory —and this is a great misfortune in a Christian man who writes for the edification of the public. After what we have just seen of your mental condition at the period of your apostacy from the Church, into what an awkward exhibition of yourself does this short memory betray you at the end of your first letter, where you profess "to state in a series of letters to my Right Reverence *the reasons which* INDUCED *you* to leave the Roman Catholic Church, and which prevent you from returning to it."—page 11. Now, dear "Kirwan," we are told in logic, that, of two propositions which mutually contradict each other, *one* must be *false*. If your mind was "a *perfect blank* as to *all* religious instruction," as you assure us it was, (page 30,) how could you have had "reasons that induced you to leave the Church?"—page 11. Have you forgotten in the one page, what you had affirmed in the other? Now, however, that I have called your *recollection* to the mistake, pray be serious, and tell the public *which* of these contradictory statements you would have it to believe. Why, sir, your own great stand-by, "common sense," revolts at the insult of religious "reasons" offered from a mind which, as to religious instruction, is a "perfect blank!"

Some persons may think that you are quizzing the public. I think not. Your memory appears to have been but poor from your childhood. And here allow me to pluck up a nettle which you would have planted on the graves of "your parents and priests." Thanks to their charitable efforts for your instruction in the Christian doctrine, you "knew your Catechism by heart, at the age of nine or ten years, when you were confirmed."—page 31. Now I would call this a good, almost an extraordinary memory in a child of ten years. It had taken in and retained the waters of Christian knowledge which overspread the pages of the entire Catechism which you knew by heart. This was no trifle. But the first subsequent evidence of its failure is the fact that you have *forgotten* to tell us of the sad catastrophe by which it became a cracked and leaky cistern immediately after confirmation; so that the "Catechism itself was forgotten" when you arrived at the jumping-off period of eighteen years.—Ibid. Pray, might I ask, whether it was this, your precocious talent of *forgetfulness* which caused you to be "even talked of as a candidate for Maynooth?"—page 31.

But, after all, dear sir, this memory of yours puzzles me amazingly. I turn to page 98, where, having given me up, you address the Irish Catholic Laity in such tones of winning tenderness, that

Blarney Castle never tipped the human tongue with sweeter. "Your present feelings, as to your Church, I have had, and in all their force. I can entirely appreciate them. I have cordially *hated* Protestantism and Protestants; and I have seen the time when I regarded the man as a personal enemy who would utter a word against my religion. But those were the days of my youth and my ignorance. When I became a man I put away childish things."—page 98. Why, this is queer. You had forgotten at eighteen what the Church had taught you; and you remember at nine-and-forty your *hatred of Protestants, which she never taught you at all!* You remember that when you became a man, you "put away childish things" and "became also an infidel." Yet you forget that you had told us before, that when you became a man, there were no "childish things" left to be put away—that they had already *sloped* from your memory—that at the early age of eighteen you had "forgotten them," and that, as to religious instruction, your mind was a "perfect blank!"

It is not my business to reconcile these flat, palpable contradictions. I have established from your own repeated avowal, your utter and profound ignorance of the Catholic religion, when you left the Church and became an infidel. You never came back to finish, or rather to *begin* your *Catholic* education. Like one of the winged messengers let loose from the hand of the Patriarch, you found more congenial sustenance abroad, and you returned to the Ark no more. In all this you may have been sincere, and if you were, in nothing of this do I blame you. But I do blame you for assuming a character *which does not belong to you.*

When a man changes his religion he ought to be serious and sincere. When he does it with that direct reference to his account at the bar of God's eternal judgment, which leaves no doubt as to the sincerity of his motive, then, as I have said once before, I regard it as the grandest and most truly heroic act of which a rational being is capable on this earth. To assign the motives for such an act is equally fair and honorable. But, sir, I can conceive nothing more disgusting to an upright mind, than to discover what is vulgarly, but very expressively called "humbug" mixed up in the assignment of such motives. This foul admixture is what I charge upon your recent letter, and what I blame.

The American public are generous, and credulous also, toward those who profess to write for their amusement or instruction. Being chiefly Protestants, little acquainted with the religion which you have forsaken and denounced, they would be—they have been—particularly generous and credulous toward you. As an Irishman, it was unworthy of you to take unfair advantage of these noble sentiments.

It is true, that if they read your pages with a cold, impartial criticism, they would see enough to put them on their guard. But your profound ignorance of the Catholic doctrine, when you become an infidel, which you assert and repeat, *usque ad nauseam*, *they*

will construe, like yourself, as the reproach of your parents and priests. On the other hand, your introduction of yourself as one brought up in the "camp of the enemy," was obviously intended to deceive them. Here is your bow to the public. "I was baptized by a priest—I was confirmed by a bishop—I often went to confession—I have worn my amulets—and I have said my Pater Nosters and my Hail Marys, more times than I can now enumerate."—page 10.

Now, this announcement of your competency to treat the subject, is sufficiently brief, and sufficiently stupid. Barring the "amulets," Voltaire could have said the same of himself. But ninety-nine out of every hundred of your American readers would say on perusing this—"There, there, at length, is a man who knows Popery *from within, from personal knowledge*—a man who, with the modesty of true genius, merely insinuates the extent of his information, and thus avoids egotism and the offensive display of his gifts."

Such feelings on the part of the American public ought not to be trifled with by you. Of your own knowledge of Popery, as you call it, you know nothing—and you have avowed it. Then you are no more competent to speak or write of it, than Dr. Brownlee was. What you know of it, true or false, you like him, have learned from its enemies. But there is a difference. Dr. Brownlee never had the chance *to learn* and *then forget* the Catholic catechism before the age of eighteen.

Let the public, then, understand that you are to take rank among those anti-Catholic writers, who draw from such fountains as that mammoth reservoir—"McGavin's Protestant." Anti-Catholic retailers like you may take from that source theological lore to any extent, and deal it out to those who have a relish for it. It would seem that such persons are *still* numerous enough to make the Nineteenth Century ashamed of itself, if it were the age of light which it professes to be.

In this letter I have proved, on your own testimony, that you were utterly ignorant of Catholic doctrine when you left the Church and became an infidel. In my next I shall have the more pleasing task of tracing your progress out of infidelity and into Presbyterianism, which was a decided improvement in your spiritual, and possibly, in your temporal condition. Meanwhile, I feel the same pity and benevolence toward you as before.

✠ JOHN HUGHES, Bishop of New York.

LETTER III.

To "Kirwan," alias the Rev. Nicholas Murray, D. D., of Elizabethtown, New Jersey:

DEAR SIR—You tell us that "ignorance is the parent of papal devotion."—Second series, page 86. How was it, then, that

ignorance produced so contrary an effect upon you? You appear to have been rather a good boy, when you said your Catechism, at nine or ten years of age. But at eighteen, your mind was a "perfect blank as to all religious instructions." Could ignorance be greater than this? How is it, then, that instead of the Catholic saint, which *your rule* of "papal devotion" should have led us to expect, we find you at that period of your life, as you have taken pains to tell us, "an infidel?" It seems that from ten to eighteen years, as *your* "ignorance" grew *more*, your "devotion" grew *less*—proving that, at least in your case, "ignorance is *not* the parent of papal devotion," but rather of infidelity.

I insist as you perceive, on determining the state of your intellect at the period of your fall from the faith. Your *subsequent* acquirement of knowledge and education, I have no wish to question or deny. But the public will be naturally interested in ascertaining the condition of your mind, at the critical period, for you, when you rejected the Catholic Church, and embraced infidelity. A life so important to the philosophical and theological world as yours requires to be divided into distinct and successive epochs, and to have each of its periods considered separately from the others, if one would do justice to the whole.

First, then, we must *leave out the Presbyterian education*, which you have acquired since you became an infidel, at the age of eighteen. Secondly, we must *leave out the education of the Catholic catechism*, which you had forgotten. Thirdly, we must *leave out any knowledge which you might have derived from Catholic devotions*, for you tell us that you said your prayers "in Latin, which you did not understand."—page 33. Fourthly, we must *leave out all instruction by hearing*, for you tell us "*you never heard a sermon preached in a Catholic chapel in Ireland; nor a word of explanation on a single Christian topic*, or *doctrine*, or *duty*."—page 29. Now, according to your own statement, this was the condition of your mind when you left the Catholic Church; and I doubt whether Christendom could furnish one other instance of such mental nudity—such utter destitution of all Christian knowledge.

And now, forsooth, YOUR "Reasons" for leaving the Church! What reasons? The existence of reasons in such a mind, on such a subject, was a metaphysical impossibility. Reasons necessarily imply comparison; comparison necessarily supposes knowledge of the things compared; but in your case, as we take it from your own pen, there was no knowledge of the things to be compared, and therefore there could be no comparison, and therefore no reasons —that is, no reasons for a mind in the condition of yours, as you have described it.

But you had, you say, "Common sense." I doubt it. "Common sense" is by no means so *common* as you seem to imagine. If you take the term to signify the general opinion of the age and country you lived in at the time, it is evident that your renouncing Catholicity, and becoming an infidel, was not, and could not be called, an

exercise of "common sense." If, on the other hand, you mean that intrinsic faculty of the human mind, by which a man decides mentally according to the evidences of the case, it is equally clear in your case, that common sense had no evidence to act upon; and although I do not deny its existence in the abstract, yet its agency could have had nothing to do with your real or imaginary conversion. Tell an African beneath the tropics about *ice*, of what avail will his "common sense" be to him in determining the truth or error of your statement?

But supposing he admits the *existence* of ice, will his "common sense" enable him to determine any of its properties? Not at all. His "common sense" is just as likely to decide that ice will burn, as that it will chill, the hand, or other part of the body to which it might be applied. Now your case and his case are equal illustrations of "common sense," in the absence of the elements from which *its office* is inseparable, namely, knowledge of the things to which it is applied. For you, religious knowledge, at the period of your change, consisted of *two parts;*—the one Presbyterian or Protestant, *which you had yet to learn;* the other Catholic, *which you had forgotten, or had never known.* In the absence of both these divisions of religious knowledge were you not much in the condition of the African, decided on the properties of ice, by the standard of "common sense?"

I think, sir, that you will admit this reasoning to be conclusive. The premises are your own, the conclusions are logically and fairly deduced. And if so, then it follows that, at the time of your pretended conversion, you had not and could not have had any reasons for your change of religion. And if so, it follows again, that in assigning those mentioned in your letters as inducing you to make the change, you have been *imposing* on the good faith of your fellow-beings, and exhibiting a want of that regard for truth which would be so becoming in a minister of religion, and especially one who professes so high a respect for "common sense," and so intimate an acquaintance with his "unfettered Bible." Does the Bible warrant such statements as the following?

You tell us how the priest used to question you in confession, and how you used to answer him.—page 20. You complain that he did "not speak to you in English," but "in Latin."—same page. You tell us a few minutes after that you "did not understand Latin."—page 33. Now the difficulty is, *how* could you answer questions in a language which *you did not understand?* It seems that when you went to confession something like the wonders of Pentecost took place between you and the priest. He spoke to you in an unknown tongue, and you answered him with the utmost ease, *although you did not understand the language in which he addressed you!* There is nothing more miraculous on record than this, if what you say were true. *But it is not true.* The priest spoke to you in English; you answered him in English. Why then do you "bear false witness against" the priest, charging him with having spoken

to you "in Latin," which "you did not understand?" Does Presbyterianism require such services as *this* at your hands? In former times you found "that you could play your pranks better after confession than before;"—but after thirty years of reading the Bible, might not one expect that you would give up "playing your pranks" altogether?

We have already seen that when you left the Catholic Church your mind was, in your own words, a "perfect blank as to all religious instruction." The reader will be curious to learn when and how you procured the necessary outfit to cover the mental nudity in which you forsook us and to appear before the public (as you have appeared in your recent letters) decked off in the second-hand raiment of Catholic theology. This is a natural and not unreasonable curiosity; and considering how much your letters are in the style of autobiography, I am surprised you did not account for your *Protestant knowledge* as well as your *Catholic ignorance*. Let me supply the omission as briefly as possible.

It seems that like other spars of Irish shipwreck you drifted to these shores at an early age. You had the good or the bad fortune to be picked up by Presbyterian patrons. You were a stranger and *they took you in*. Whether they were gifted or not with that "second sight" peculiar to the children of the *clouds*, in North Britain, it does great credit to their penetration to have discovered in you (under all the disadvantages of that ignorance and infidelity to which you have so often directed our attention) what *poetry* has called

"A *gem* of purest ray serene."

Under the influence of this benevolent anticipation, *they* sent *you* to College. As your mind was a "perfect blank," of course you had nothing to *unlearn*. There was no Popish rubbish left from the ruins of the former edifice. The foundations were unobstructed and clear, and the new architects had only to proceed with their work and build you up according to the approved rules of Presbyterian "constructiveness." *They* did so build *you* up accordingly, and now, you are what you are.

In assigning reasons why you left the Catholic Church and now cannot return, I am surprised you have omitted all this. To most Catholics, and indeed to many Protestants, *this reason alone* would be quite sufficient to account for it all.

And yet, there is nothing in the poverty which caused you to fall into such hands, of which it would not be great weakness, on your part, to be in the least ashamed. If circumstances had not placed you in a *false position*, I think you would feel proud of the poverty which you inherited from your Irish parents; for it is the most incontestable evidence that your Catholic ancestors were "true men," in their generation. If they had been unprincipled hypocrites, capable of betraying their conscience and their God, at almost any period within the last three hundred years, they might have renounced their religion, and pocketed the bribe which the Gospel, as

"by law established," had set apart as the recompense of apostacy from the Catholic faith. But they did not. They supposed that *their posterity* would be worthy of them;—they supposed that *one* Esau, selling his birthright for a mess of pottage, was enough in the history of our race; they submitted to be plundered of their earthly goods; they submitted to be deprived of education; the cruel edict of ignorance thus enacted against them, was a *Protestant* edict; they submitted to its penalties; but, on the other hand, they asserted the right and superiority of glorious *principle* over base and mercenary *interest;* they proved that the material tyrant cannot vanquish the immaterial and immortal mind; they bore and defied his torture, while they writhed under it; they spurned and repelled his offered bribe of apostacy, whilst to human view it was the only alternative between them and ignorance, poverty, starvation and death. But they welcomed all sooner than betray principle or violate conscience.

O, sir, they were glorious men and *true*, our Irish Catholic ancestors; I am prouder of them, so far as I am concerned, than if at the sacrifice of truth, or honor, or principle, they had bequeathed to me the titles and wealth of the Beresfords, Nor can I believe that you, in your heart, entertain any other sentiments in their regard. You, like myself, have borne the penalty of their constancy to truth and conscience; and in your pulpit in Elizabethtown, in your most fervid and eloquent appeals to your Presbyterian audience, if a recollection of your heroic and invincible Catholic *forefathers* should perchance, flash across your memory, you will feel *proud of them*, and *ashamed of yourself.* "How came you there?" If I held you capable of other sentiments I should be uttering a libel on the Irish heart in particular, and on human nature in general.

Sir, I think you made a great mistake in publishing your letters anonymously; especially when you took the unmanly and unwarrantable liberty of blazoning forth my name in connection with them, whilst you concealed your own. But having done this, you have made another great mistake in allowing the soft, warm breath of thoughtless flattery to melt so prematurely the waxen ties of your mask. Your letters have been compared to those of Junius, but you have not imitated your model successfully, in the important affair of *keeping your own secret.* You have made another mistake still, in weaving in your *own biography*, your *own personality*, as the woof of your polemical web. Another mistake still you have made in bringing in your parents to embellish your pages. It would be wrong for you, I suppose, in your new light, to pray for the soul, of your deceased father; but you might have written a very clever book against Popery without invading his grave or disturbing his ashes at all. The same may be said in general of those little stories with which your first letters are adorned, about "yourself," and your "house," and your "hall," and the "dark room up stairs," and the "drunken priest" to whom you ministered brandy, etc. etc. These "awful disclosures" would do very well in the pages of Maria Monk, Miss Partridge, or some of the other *vestals* of their

class, of whom the Catholic Church is not worthy. Even in the writings of Monk Leahy, I do not say they would be out of place.

But in the production of a scholar and a gentleman like you, I am sorry to see them. They have a kind of *mean*, "tell-tale" appearance—they are a betrayal of former friends and associates, which, to my mind, at least, indicates the absence of manly, generous feeling, as well as of elevated taste. But as you have thought otherwise, I must review them somewhat at length in my next letter. Meantime I remain with pity and good wishes as usual.

✠ JOHN HUGHES, Bishop of New York.

LETTER IV.

To "Kirwan," alias the Rev. Nicholas Murray, D. D., of Elizabethtown, New Jersey:

DEAR SIR—I think it has been clearly proved in my last letter, and from evidences the more indisputable, as they are furnished by your own pen, that you had no reason, either *intellectual or moral*, for leaving the Catholic Church. The only reason, deduced by inference from what you have written of yourself, will be found in a thick, dark cloud of ignorance and infidelity, such as, I trust in God, never enveloped the mind of any other Irish Catholic peasant at the age of eighteen, either since or before.

Yet, sir, I do not believe that your ignorance of the Catholic religion, when you left it, was so unmitigated as you pretend. It will be very difficult for you, however, either to retract or explain, in *your real character*, what you have published of yourself under the duplicity of your *mask*.

I know not what intoxicating influence flattery and self-complacency may have produced on a mind and memory like yours. But I do know that whoever writes under a mask, and in a character even partially feigned, and especially if he writes on any grave subject, in which mankind take a deep interest, does so at the imminent peril of his own reputation. He is nearly certain to be found out. And when this happens, his attempts to reconcile the discrepancies between his *assumed* and his *real* character are sure to produce, in the public mind, a feeling of ridicule not unmingled with a feeling of contempt.

In the introductory note prefixed to your letters I learn that they were furnished to Samuel I. Prime, "under the injunction of *secrecy* as to the author's name." If you lived in Spain or Sicily, there might be some reason for this unnecessary precaution. But if your purpose was to tell "the truth," even "the whole truth," and "nothing but the truth," in your testimony for Presbyterianism or against Catholicity, what motive could you have had in this free country for this studious concealment of your name? *Here* the

press is free, and writing *against* Popery is even at a premium. Why then, *as an honest man*, conceal your name? This looks badly. Mr. Prime, indeed, loaned you *his endorsement*, whatever that may be worth. *He* introduces you to the public, *vouching for your veracity* in these words: ". . . . It is proper to say that the writer's character is an abundant guarantee for the fidelity of all matters of fact here stated, and that he is prepared to maintain them, if they should be called in question." Now, sir, there are some things you state as matters of fact, which I beg leave most emphatically to call in question. I hope you may be able to maintain them, or if not, I hope Mr. Prime will be willing to forfeit his recognizances.

I. You state, as a matter of fact, that nearly at the age of manhood, "*on as full an examination of the subject as you could give it, you came to the conclusion that you could not remain a Roman Catholic.*" —page 12. Now, sir, I refer to your own testimony, quoted in my last letter, as a proof that your mind "*was a perfect blank as to all religious instruction*," and I insist that therefore you did not give the Catholic religion as full an examination as you could, for you could, at least, have revived in yourself the knowledge of "the Catechism" which "you had forgotten."

II. You state, as a matter of fact, that "in one of the large interior towns of Ireland, ... *you resided in a house, and over the store in which you were then a clerk.*"—page 13. You then proceed to tell us about a drunken priest, Father B., whom you helped out of the gutter, and wind up the whole narrative with the remark, "and a young man as I was." This phrase, in ordinary language, would refer to a period as far back as memory goes—a period in which reason was but in the dawn of its development—say eight, nine, or ten years of age; but at that period, if we can believe you, you were already a "clerk in a store!" Pray, dear "Kirwan," what kind of a clerk were you? "Young as you were," by your own account, you were able "to shut the store windows at night;" you were able "to help a man out of the gutter;" you were able to "clean off his Reverence;" you were able to "give him his brandy next morning," and yet you were just in the period of dawning reason and earliest memory, in which you tell us that "young as you were," all this made an impression on you. The circumstantial part of the story is still more wonderful than the leading facts. For instance, you could not see the man in the gutter, and you were "attracted toward him by a *singular* noise." Pray what kind of a noise is a *singular* noise? And then, the night was so dark that had it not been for the singular noise he might have perished. But on the other hand, it was light enough to recognize "Father B., the miracle worker." And instead of helping the poor man, as a *decent* "clerk in the store" should have done, you ran in, blabbling to the lady of the house that Father B., was drunk in the street. And the "*lady* of the house" gave the "clerk in the store" "a stunning slap on the side of the face," and "the clerk in the store" "staggered under

the blow, and then turned round in the best nature in the world to assist in cleaning off his Reverence." Next morning you "gave him his brandy," and "young as the clerk in the store was, all this made an impression upon him." Sir, if the dullest lawyer in the country had you under cross-examination on this subject, he could not fail to convulse the gravity of the bench with irrepressible laughter. Observe, I do not raise any question as to whether the priest was drunk or not; I let that pass. I have myself seen among the convicts of the penitentiary, individuals pointed out as having once been respectable Presbyterian ministers, and who were there for crimes even *more heinous* than drunkenness. But no man of right feelings would pretend to justify an opposite religion, or to condemn theirs on account of their crimes and misfortunes. I beg leave, then, to call in question the facts which you state in your *circumstantial evidence* in this case. And I direct your attention particularly to the contradiction implied by the fact that you were a child at the *same time* that you were "a clerk in the store."

III. You state as a fact that, on your father's demise, your mother paid the priest money enough to have his soul prayed for by name, on every Sunday for two or three years. That, when the money was expended, his name was given out no more. That, when she inquired the cause of this, the priest told her, that "*your father's soul was still in Purgatory, but that she had forgotten to send in the yearly tax at the time it was due.*"—page 14. You add, *that with this fact in particular, you are entirely conversant.*

Now, sir, I question this "fact." I deny this "fact." I pronounce it to be a *fabrication, and not a fact.* And if the courtesy of language authorized it, I should feel bound to designate it by a still harsher word. No priest would ever dare to decide when, or whether any soul was released from Purgatory. No Irish mother, or wife, or widow, would ever speak to a priest in the manner in which you describe your mother as having spoken to him. It is true, *she* had not, like her son, the benefit of a Presbyterian education. She bore the penalty of her ancestors, and her creed. But she knew the principles of the Catholic faith better than you do; and your superior *general* information does not authorize you to envelop her in this gross imputation of ignorance as to her faith. *I am willing to go to any reasonable expense to prove this a fabrication, if either you or Mr. Prime have the courage to meet me, in a formal investigation.*

IV. You state that "Father M., held frequently his confessions at your house." "*That he sat in a dark room up stairs with one or more candles on a table before him.*" That "*those going to confession followed each other on their knees from the front door, through the hall, up the stairs, and to the door of the room.*"—page 19.

Now, sir, your house is likely to become as well known as Shakspeare's. A relative of yours has taken the pains to describe it, in a late number of the *Freeman's Journal.* According to him, it would be a building in the primitive style of Irish architecture. The same,

very likely, which prevailed when the round towers were constructed. Up stairs would be *up a ladder* to what is called a *loft*. And if Father M. heard confessions there, I can see the great propriety of one or more candles on the table. For according to the primitive architecture of Ireland, light was received into the dwellings, either horizontally, by the door, or vertically by the chimney. The former was made for the purpose of ingress and egress, and the latter for the double purpose of *always* letting the smoke *out*, and *sometimes* letting the day *in*. If then, Father M. had heard confessions in such a place, without one or more candles on the table, what a beautiful theme this circumstance would have afforded to a morbid imagination like yours.

Sir, I feel somewhat humbled at being obliged, as a reviewer, to notice this, as well as other portions of your "Kirwan's" letters, which, in my opinion, *propriety should have induced you to leave under the protection of domestic privacy*. If you were still a Catholic, like your pious, albeit uneducated, mother, you would feel rather proud than otherwise of what appears to be the fact as regards the humility of your ancestral "halls." Poverty is not regarded, by those with whom you now associate, as respectable. And yet it has been ennobled by the example of Our Redeemer and His Apostles. It is still ennobled, in the estimation of the Catholic Church, when it is selected by voluntary choice, and is never dishonorable, except when it is immediately connected with, or resulting from moral guilt.

Our glorious Catholic ancestors were driven back into the cabins of Irish primitive life; and Protestantism, *in anticipation of the good things of heaven, made sure* also of the good things of the earth. The churches, the glebe lands, the monasteries, the castles and domains of our Catholic forefathers, became the usurped inheritance of Protestantism, by right of legal spoliation, from the period when the Reformation took the interpretation of the Bible into its own hand—aided of course by acts of Parliament.

When, therefore, you describe the Catholic "Priests" "moving about as spectres, as if afraid of the light of day," you trace a picture which seems to call up to my imagination the lives of the Apostles, and of their Divine Master, going about meekly and unobtrusively in the discharge of their heavenly mission; whilst the contrast suggested by the antithesis as in favor of the Presbyterian ministry, would suggest to my mind the idea of an inflated clerical pedant that makes the avenues of life narrow wherever he passes in bustling and gassy rotundity. But I merely hope that you, judged by your own pen, are not a fair specimen of the class to which you now belong. At all events, I "call in question" the description of "our house," and hope that you and Mr. Prime will maintain it.

V. You state as a fact, that "on your first *remembered* journey to Dublin, you passed by a place called, *if you mistake not*, St. John's Well." You tell me that I know it is one of the holy wells. I

answer that I know nothing about it. But you appear all at once singularly scrupulous, and I look upon the phrase, "If I mistake not," as equivalent to the phrase, "Young as I was," when you were already a "clerk in the store." I cannot dwell on your evidence respecting what was "called, if you mistake not, St. John's Well; but I have no hesitation in saying that the story is, either in whole or in part, a fabrication. It is found on page 21 on your first series, and I call your attention to it, in the hope that you and Mr. Prime shall maintain what you have there stated as facts.

VI. The story about the sun "dancing" in the heavens and in the chapels on Easter Sunday morning, and the attempt to produce a delusive corresponding phenomenon in the chapel by "an individual managing concealed mirrors, so as to produce the wonderful effect," (page 27,) I pronounce to be equally *a fabrication*, or a mere playful supposition, uttered for the amusement of children. I hope that you and your endorser will see to this matter also.

VII. Again: you tell us as a fact, that you "saw good papists eating eggs and fish and getting drunk on these days (Fridays and Saturdays). But that this was no violation of the laws of the Church."—page 32. This, sir, as far as regards what you call "good papists" and "getting drunk," and yet not violating the laws of the Church, *is a fabrication.*

This same page records the *turning point* of your life, the *crisis* of your conversion. You came to the conclusion that as regards the eating of meat on one day, and not on another, God could not make it a sin by distinction of days—so that if a man can plow on Thursday, by your rule, God cannot make it a sin for him to do so on Sunday. And here, in point of fact, is the first, and perhaps the best, reason which your letters furnish for your conversion. It seems that after mature deliberation, you found that to forbid a man's eating meat on Friday is an unreasonable regulation, and you rejected it. It would appear by inference that as regards meat, on such days, what your conscience approved your appetite appropriated; and with singular *naïveté*, you tell us that "*as far as you now remember this was your first step toward light and freedom.*"—page 32.

By-the-by, this calls up a period in the calamities of Ireland which had almost passed into oblivion; and which corresponds more or less with that of your conversion from Popery.

About twenty-five or thirty years ago, Lord Farnham, and other gentlemen, of the evangelical nobility, introduced into Ireland a religious movement called "the second Reformation." It was a season of distress among the peasantry, such as succeeds, year by year, in the history of our unfortunate native country. Lord Farnham had almost obtained a patent from the legislature for the efficiency, and admirable simplicity of the new contrivance for converting the Irish. It was this. The kitchens were turned into scriptural reading-rooms for the starving population of the neighborhood, once a week. The day selected *happened* to be Friday, in almost all cases. After Bible-reading, soup was given out instead of syllo-

gisms, and the "second Reformation" went on admirably until the potatoes of harvest became mature enough for the people's use. Lord Farnham and his colleagues supposed that *if the landed proprietors and gentry could only succeed in establishing an amicable understanding between the conscience* and the *stomach* of the "lower orders," Ireland would soon become a Protestant country. But I need not dwell upon it, as you are old enough to remember how it was ridiculed by Cobbett and other writers wherever the English language was spoken.

Now I do not say that you are a child of the "second Reformation," but the fact of your having made the first step toward light and freedom through the medium of something like a Friday-beefsteak, looks very much like it.

See, Rev. Nicholas Murray of Elizabethtown, into what a position your "playing pranks" behind "Kirwan's" *mask* has betrayed you!!

Besides the bow which Mr. Prime has volunteered you, you have made one for yourself—still under the mask, however. You tell us that, even before "you took up your pen you were not unknown to the men of our age, not unsolicited." . . . "*The* men of our age" (!!!)—or of any age, are very few, and posterity has reserved to itself, almost absolutely, the right of determining who they are. To save your modesty, therefore, I am obliged to suppose that the printer has made a mistake here, and that if one could have the benefit of a peep at your manuscript, it would be found that you had written, "the men of our (vill)-age."

Ah, sir, it seems that your misfortune through life has been to have been under the influence of bad advisers—since you tell us you were "solicited" to write against Popery. The circumstance reminds me of an anecdote which I have lately read in a London paper, and which I trust will not offend you, as it has already been employed in a description of England's highest *Protestant* nobility. It seems a drover found it difficult to keep his cattle together in the crowded approaches to the English metropolis. And in his extremity he called out to his neighbor, "I wish you would loan me a bark of your dog." You know, sir, that *broad* ridicule is the forte of the English as compared to the French, and a Cockney wit tells us that Lord John Russell has turned the drover's hint into the philosophy of politics, and that whenever *his* herd betray a tendency to straggle from the whig path, he "*borrows* a bark" from Sir Robert Peel. However this may be, I am satisfied that "*the* men of our age," if there be any such, would never have *borrowed* a bark of you.

This letter is already too long, and I must bring it to a close. But in doing so, I cannot forget how often you have told us that you were once an infidel. There are evidences scattered up and down through your letters, which, to an unprejudiced and impartial reader, would make it appear doubtful whether you are still so. Some of these I shall present in my next. I shall not venture to

pronounce an opinion on the subject, as the Almighty alone can penetrate the hearts of men.

In the mean time, however, I remain, with increasing pity, but with undiminished good will,

✠ John Hughes, Bishop of New York.

LETTER V

To "Kirwan," alias the Rev. Nicholas Murray, D. D., of Elizabethtown, New Jersey:

Dear Sir—It is deeply to be regretted that the serpent of infidelity was ever permitted to nestle in your bosom;—for when I consider that you reduce the standard of revelation to the test of common sense—when I consider the looseness of your moral principles, so far forth as they are exhibited by your own pen—when I behold *the spirit* of Voltaire and Thomas Paine in the profanity and ribaldry with which you treat every sacred subject which your common sense does not approve, I am compelled to say that even on the supposition that infidelity had been expelled from your breast before the writing of your letters, still,

"The *trail* of the serpent is over them all."

Your moral principles, as set forth by yourself, even in my regard, are much more in keeping with what might be expected from a skeptic of the world, than from a clergyman of any Christian denomination. You have the grossness to impute to me that I am consciously a deciver of my fellow-creatures, and yet you do not hesitate to express respect for my character. Is this a principle of Presbyterian inculcation? Or has it shot up through the Confession of Faith from the older and deeper root of your early infidelity?

Again, you urge me to renounce the Catholic religion, in which, you suppose, I do not believe; and yet, with that loose morality which would better become a professed infidel, you implicitly encourage me to persevere in carrying on the supposed villany of deception! The reader would hardly believe this statement possible, so I shall quote your own words to prove it. You say: "*And since in the maturity of my judgment I have examined this matter, I have greatly commended your wisdom in witholding the Bible from the people. If I were a Bishop or a Priest of your Church I would do the same.*"—page 29. So then, dear "Kirwan," you have the candor to avow *on principle*, and in the "*maturity of your judgment*," that if your lot had been cast among villians, you would be as great a villain as any of them. Is this avowal worthy of even an infidel?

That you should be where and what you now are, is easily accounted for—by the ignorance of your youth which you have de-

scribed, and the poverty which you have not described. Ignorance and poverty are mysterious dispensations of God's providence. And, on that account, I would treat with indulgence whatever errors *in your early life* are to be ascribed to either. But for the deliberate conclusions, uttered in your recent letters, and in the "maturity of your judgment," in which you avow yourself ready to act an evil part with Bishops and Priests, on the mere condition of your having been one of them, I cannot but hold you *im*morally responsible.

Thank God, however, you are neither a Bishop nor a Priest; and your once having been talked of as a candidate for Maynooth, was, happily for the Church, only "talk" after all. You are a Presbyterian minister in Elizabethtown, where your ministry can do no harm; for, if your creed be true, those who are foreordained to eternal life, will be saved *with, as well as without*, your pastoral offices.

In my last letter I showed, according to your own account, that the prohibition to eat flesh-meat on Fridays and Saturdays was the first practical reason for your change of religion. It was an "unreasonable regulation, and you rejected it; and as far as you now remember this was your first step toward light and freedom."—page 32. On the very next page we find you soliloquizing in a style of infidel rationalism, which Pagan Greece, or Protestant Germany, could hardly have surpassed. "I thus reasoned with myself; God is a spiritual and intelligent Being, and he requires an intelligent worship. What worship I render Him in the Mass I know not," (of course, since you had forgotten your Catechism,) "my intelligent worship only is acceptable to Him, and is beneficial to me. I am a rational being, and I degrade my nature, and insult my Maker, in offering to Him a worship in which neither my reason, nor His intelligence, is consulted."—page 33. Now, dear "Kirwan," when we consider the state of your mind at the period when this pretended soliloquy occurred, "a perfect blank as to all religious instruction," it becomes a grave question, which I leave to the decision of casuists in mental philosophy, whether or not, in the higher ordinary sense of the term, you could rightfully call yourself a "rational being."

But I make the quotation for another purpose. The whole passage betrays a strong affinity to the spirit of Paine's "Age of Reason." The high contracting parties were God on the one side, and *yourself* on the other. *Both were intelligent beings*—your Maker would be *insulted*, and *your nature* would be *degraded*, if you held the intercourse of worship with Him, *except on the principle of reciprocal intelligence.* You had just tasted of the forbidden food on the preceding page, and acquired the knowledge of "good and evil." You had partaken of Egypt's *flesh-pots*, and the manna had become insipid and distasteful. For *your* mind, there was no "intelligence" in it, and so, very naturally, you gave up—the Mass.

But now, the floodgates of the knowledge of good and evil being

once opened, we may expect the mysteries of revelation to be inundated by the deluge of *your* "intelligence," *your* "reason," *your* "common sense." Accordingly, the adorable mystery of the Christian Eucharist, in treating of which the Fathers of the Church were struck with holy dread and religious awe, is described by you as an "absurdity."—page 35. So it has always appeared to the *animal man.*

I need scarcely inform you, sir, that the infidels of all ages would have been quite satisfied, if they had been allowed to *construe the Bible* according to what they call *common sense.* In reference to this standard, they and you appear to be perfectly agreed. Thus, you make the Bible and common sense the ultimate tribunals in the decision of religious belief. Thus, in the exercise of common sense, you no doubt deny the Divinity of Christ implicitly, at least, since you call it "blasphemous" to designate the ever glorious and Blessed Virgin Mary, "as the Mother of God." If the Person of Christ was simply Divine, and Mary was truly his mother, she is, and has been always called, Mother of God, as well as mother of man; and your denial of this can be logically sustained, *only by your denial of the Saviour's Divinity.* In fact, I suppose your "common sense" has already pronounced against the mystery of the Incarnation. Thus also, you take sides with the infidels of the Redeemer's age, as well as of our own, and you tell us, in spite of the evidence furnished by Him in His human character, and assert *that* God *only can forgive sins.*—page 67. In the spirit of a true infidel, you describe the priesthood of the Catholic Church, throughout the world, and for eighteen centuries, as having been actuated solely by the love of money.—page 70. Again still, in the spirit of the infidel, you sneer at the history of religion as counter to your appeal to "common sense," and tell us, that "with you the authority of our popes and councils are not worth a penny."—page 70.

The angel Gabriel saluted the Blessed Virgin Mary, as the Scripture records, "Hail, full of grace;" but you, the Presbyterian minister of Elizabethtown, speak of her as you would of a female selling candies at the corners of the street, from whom you had just bought a supply for the young "Kirwans," and call her the "good woman" *condescendingly.*—page 74. The Holy Eucharist under your "common sense," you declare to be so "absurd as to defeat itself."—page 75. You decide that the words, "This is my body," mean, this is *not* my body, and with that swelling vanity peculiar to an evangelical minister who takes "common sense" as his rule for interpreting Holy Scripture, yet exhibit your sleight of hand with a puff of self-complacency, and call upon us to admire—"just see how *a little common sense* simplifies every thing."—page 76.

Lest I should interpose by venturing to suggest that a thing ought to be received for what our Saviour says it is, you warn me off, and tell me in true, arrogant style, that "you will have none of my nonsense about the substance contained under the species.—page 76. Now, dear "Kirwan," I have scriptural authority for

what you here call nonsense. The Holy Ghost descended on the Apostles under the species of "tongues of fire:" He descended on the Saviour under the species of "a dove," and you have decided that the distinction *of the Evangelists* between the species and the substance is "nonsense; . . . it is 'darkening counsel by words without knowledge.'"—page 76. I recommend your case to the General Assembly. In fact, you have become so enlightened in matters of dogmatic theology, under the inspiration of "common sense," that you are almost fit for a residence in Boston, where the Reverend Theodore Parker will no doubt have the charity to extend to you the right hand of Christian fellowship.

In reference to the Holy Eucharist, your infidel principle of "common sense" as interpreter of Scripture, prompts you to say that "nothing equals it in absurdity in all Paganism."—page 76. Pray, did it ever come in the way of your extensive reading to have seen a book called the "PRESBYTERIAN CONFESSIONS OF FAITH, as *amended* and ratified by the General Assembly at their sessions in 1821, and printed by Tower and Hogan in 1827?" If so, turn to pages 73 and 74, and you will find it ruled that in certain cases men are placed by their Creator in such a situation, that *if they do a thing* they "commit a sin against God," and if they do *not* do it, they "commit a *greater sin!*" Here is a *Presbyterian doctrine* to which you might apply your "common sense" with some advantage to your own brethren. The rich theme of ridicule which it would furnish for a pen of such profanity as yours, will be obvious to you at a glance.

You tell us that "the manner of our public worship is heathen, and was originally adopted for the seducing of the Heathen to Christianity."—page 82. This idea would seem to have been derived by you rather from Gibbon, than from Voltaire or Thomas Paine. You have the candor, however, to admit the *high antiquity* of our manner of worship, when you describe the use to which it was applied in the primitive Church. The conversion of nations has been itself regarded as a proof of the Divine origin of Christianity. You, however, have discovered that it was owing to a system of *seduction*, carried on through our Catholic "manner of worship," by which the poor Heathen were "seduced" into the new Religion! Could any but an infidel give utterance to such a sentiment?

But detail is unnecessary. The high mysteries of the Christian faith you reduce to the standard of "common sense," on almost every page. Thus: "Extreme unction," you have already pronounced "extreme nonsense."—page 82.

"How simple and 'common sense' is all this."—S. S. page 27. "Blessed be God, you have not turned your keys on the 'common sense' of the world."—page 29. Of your infidel ribaldry I will give but one specimen, which I think can hardly be surpassed in the annals of sneering skepticism. "Your daily changing of a wafer into the real body of Christ, and then eating him, beats any thing St. Fechin ever did. Your preparing an old sinner for heaven by rubbing him with olive oil, and then opening its gates to him by the

keys which are only in your possession, far surpasses Fechin's turning acorns to pork. We believe the swine themselves are constantly doing this in our Western woods."—page 39. You tell us that the respect entertained by Catholics for relics has the *true* relic for its *object*—and that, on Catholic principles, "it is all the same" that the object of reverence or respect should be the head of "St. Paul" or the head of "Balaam's Ass;" and you add in *your own name*, and with a sneer becoming an infidel, "*and I suppose the difference, sir, is very little.*"—page 70. So then, Rev. Nicholas Murray, you regard the head of an ass and that of an apostle with equal respect; for the reason, no doubt, that in your estimation, both are figuratively of the same species, or perhaps that in this instance both are scriptural subjects.

It seems the Tract Societies and Sunday Schools have adopted your letters, and given them a very extensive circulation. I do not know a *shorter method* of turning the young who may be subject to *their training* into infidels, than by placing such a book in their hands. Each of their pupils has as good a right to explain the Bible according to what he will call "common sense," as you have had. But they will not be restrained in their blasphemous ribaldry by the limits which a black coat and a white cravat have prescribed for your pen.

They will apply the arguments of "common sense" which you have wielded against Baptism and the Holy Eucharist, to the antecedent doctrines of original sin, and the Atonement, and *they* will find no "common sense" in either. But why should I moralize for you on such a subject, when I have no evidence to prove that such a result has not been the very object of your letters; and that your zeal against Popery is not merely the gilding of the infidel pill which you would wish to see swallowed by tract distributors, Sunday school teachers, Sunday school children, and all.

Sir, the language and sentiment which I have had to pass under review in this letter are so unworthy of a man professing Christianity, that I must withhold, at its close, even the expression of my pity for you, whilst I cherish toward you, as usual, good wishes and good will. ✠ JOHN HUGHES, Bishop of New York.

LETTER VI.

To "Kirwan," alias the Rev. Nicholas Murray, D. D., of Elizabethtown, New Jersey:

DEAR SIR—The task which I imposed on myself at the commencement of these letters is nearly accomplished. I wished to investigate the alleged reasons which induced you to forsake the Church—and which forbid your return. The result is before the public, and may be briefly summed up.

You will observe that I have not pretended to defend a single

Catholic doctrine from your coarse and profane invective—that I have not raised the question with you as to whether those doctrines are true or false: that I have confined myself to watching narrowly the state of your mind, your motives and movements, as described by yourself, until I saw you clearly beyond the bounds of the Catholic Church and landed in the cold, dark regions of infidelity. If your own statements as to the utter ignorance of your mind in regard to any and all religion when you became an infidel, are to be relied on, it follows that in assigning the reasons for your change, as set forth in your letters, you have been attempting a gross imposition on the credulity of your Protestant readers. You give a double certificate of the process of your conversion. One side attests considerable religious information: the other certifies bluntly that "*your mind was a perfect blank as to all religious instructions.*" Both are from your own pen. It remains for you to reconcile the contradiction as well as you can.

Allow me, in the mean time, to suggest the only plausible, natural and satisfactory reason for the important event in regard to which you have taken such superfluous pains to enlighten the public.

It is understood that you arrived in this country a poor Irish orphan boy. This was not your fault. It might have been your merit. Whether you were *then* an infidel or a Catholic is best known to yourself. At all events you attracted the charitable notice of certain Presbyterian patrons. In the intentions of their benevolence toward you, your renunciation of Popery was a condition either already accomplished or necessarily implied as a *sine qua non* of your education. Now, what could be more natural, under these circumstances, than that you should become a Protestant, after the fashion of training provided, and the creed professed by your patrons? If in all this your conscience approved of what your friends recommended, so much the better for you. I only mention the circumstances to supply a hiatus in your narrative. They are quite sufficient to explain your conversion, and the public would not be so unreasonable, had you made them acquainted with all this, as to ask for any other. It is now nearly thirty years since these things took place. You begin to be well stricken in years—you are approaching the confines of old age; and the same indulgent public would have dispensed with your reasons for not returning now to the Communion which you thus forsook in your boyhood. It is admitted on all hands that, in cases like yours, a wife and children are substantial objections to such a step. When the husband and father is, moreover, a Protestant clergyman, it requires an extraordinary grace to overcome them.

I now leave it to yourself to say, whether it was not unwise on your part, after having appeared with your natural countenance so long, to put on the *mask* in the fiftieth year of your age? Whether it was worthy of your rank and station among *the* men of our age, to weave a narrative of your conversion with materials derived from *imagination*, while the plain history of the case lay open before your

consciousness and memory? Yet when I regard the profane spirit of your letters; when I consider that you imitate closely infidel tactics against Christianity in your mode of assault—that you ridicule where you cannot reason—that where you pretend to reason it is not against the Catholic doctrine, *as Catholics hold it*, but against such doctrine misrepresented, turned into burlesque, and thus fitted for your purpose—when I reflect on all this, I am not surprised that you constructed your laboratory in the "camera obscura," and shunned the open day—that you insulted the memory of a fallen but not otherwise dishonorable priest, by affixing *his* name to your letters rather than your own.

You wish me to dispute with you on matters of general controversy. I must beg leave to decline the proposed honor. I cannot consent to dispute with any man for whom I feel no respect, and therefore I can enter into no controversy with you; especially until you have extricated yourself from the inconsistencies and self-contradictions pointed out in this review. You suggest "the inference that I am a devil."—p. 64. You proclaim "your high respect for me."—p. 75. Now, sir, I entertain no respect for any man, and especially a *Minister of the Gospel*, who can cherish and avow "his high respect" for "a devil," even by inference.

You wrote your letters in the midst of the awful famine which strewed the highways and ditches of your unhappy country with dead bodies, last year. Among them may have been some of those for whom, Mr. Prime says, you wrote your letters, viz.: "your kinsmen, according to the flesh." Now, it was not uncommon for persons, whose *Irish* hearts had not become withered by hostile seasoning, to become insane, during that awful crisis—turned into maniacs by the news of an hour. Sectarianism was forgotten—humanity was stirred to its depths in the bosom of the entire American people—Jews, Christians, Catholics, Protestants, Presbyterians, believers and unbelievers of every name, were vying with each other in their efforts to send bread to the dying. And they did send bread; they constructed an historical monument of charity, glorious as the land which reared it, and sufficient to atone, in some measure, for the bigotries of a thousand years. It was in the midst of this death-struggle of your native land, that you had the impiety to invent, and the inhumanity to apply, the following profane and horrible *pun on the words of our Saviour:* "He that eats this bread will never hunger. All that you (Catholics) have to do, if your principle be true, *is to give your wafer to the poor famishing Irish, and they hunger no more.*"—page 77. How well this sustains Mr. Prime's statement that in writing your Kirwan's letters, you were actuated by a "sense of duty to your kinsmen, according to the flesh, your countrymen and brethren!"

But supposing I were to enter into controversy with you on general topics, it is manifest that besides being a *party*, you claim to be a *witness*, an *advocate*, and what is more, a *judge*, in your own cause! You profess to teach me what the Catholic religion is, although you

had "forgotten your Catechism at eighteen years of age," and I take it for granted you have never looked into it since, except in the same spirit and for the same purposes which induce the infidel to read the Scriptures. If I pretend to know any thing of my religion, you politely tell me that "you will have none of my nonsense." Why, then, do you ask me to enter into controversy with you? Besides, who would be the judge? "Common sense," you reply. But *whose* common sense, yours or mine? If you submit to mine, I condemn your position at once. If you will not submit to mine, what right have you to suppose that I should submit to yours? To what tribunal do you appeal? That of history? But its authority with you is not worth a penny! To the Bible? But the Bible by itself will give no decision. It requires an *interpreter*, as much as the Constitution and laws of the country. Who shall be the interpreter? Methinks I hear you speaking of *your* "common sense" again for that office—so that we come round the Protestant circle to the starting point.

If you say the appeal is to the "common sense" of mankind in general, (restricting the term to those who profess Christianity,) the verdict will not be unanimous; but it will be in my favor by a majority of three to one. To what tribunal, then, would you be willing to submit, in case I were disposed to join issue with you in a controversy on the great questions on which Catholics and Protestants are divided? But the inquiry is purely hypothetical; for although I reserve to myself the right of reviewing your labors, when I think proper, depend upon it there will not, there can not be, any dogmatical controversy *between us*. If your genius and inclination lie in the direction of profanity, you can continue to insult the mysteries of the Catholic faith as you have done. For this you have but to copy from Protestant writers of your own class, who have gone before you. But I see no reasons why I should undertake to discuss the reprint of their opinions, found in your book, rather than in the original text as found in their own. As far as either come in the way of my subject, I shall do this at my own convenience, in the sequel of those letters which I have addressed to my "Dear Reader," and *not* to you. In the present review I purposed only to consider those little incidents of waning faith, accumulated misgivings, and autobiography which preceded, or were connected with your *transition* from the Catholic faith to a Protestant denomination. This portion of your letters was your own, and was (what cannot be always said of works of imagination) perfectly *original*. Having done this, it only remains for me to assure you of my sincere good wishes, and to say, for the present, Farewell.

And now I will take the liberty of addressing a few words to the general reader in connection with this subject. What advantage does religion, of any name, derive from such books as "Kirwan's" letters? Do they promote piety? Is charity increased by them?

Do they convert Catholics? Is the faith of Protestants so weak that it requires the support of such buttresses? The questions on which Catholics and Protestants are so unhappily divided have been discussed by able men on both sides, until the argument has been exhausted. These are considerations which address themselves to sincere minds of all parties. Those who will reflect a moment will perceive that the Catholic religion has withstood and now withstands such attacks, just as the pyramid does the assaults of the wandering Arab. If it were the system which such writers as "Kirwan" represents, it could not subsist a single year. Good men from within, who know what it really is, would not stay; good men from without would not come to it. Now a whole volume might be filled with the names of illustrious converts from the different denominations of Protestantism, who, after mature deliberation, have joined the Church within the last quarter of a century, many of them at the sacrifice of their worldly interests and prospects. How could this have come to pass if Catholicity were what these writers allege?

Does not this single *fact* outweigh a ton of such theory-books as the Key of Popery, or "Kirwan's" Letters? What are these books generally made up of? Assertion, party invective, charges, sometimes entirely false, and always grossly exaggerated.

Thus, such writers as I speak of will tell you that the Catholic Clergy are a vast corporation of swindlers. But how will any man of even moderate judgment reconcile *this* with the *fact* that no other clergymen are so ready to encounter danger in the discharge of their ministry, whether in the cholera-hospitals, the fever-sheds, or wherever it becomes a martyr of charity to meet death? They will tell you that the Catholic religion is the deadly enemy of liberty. But then how comes it that all the elements and principles of social right and civil liberty are of Catholic origin, and that the best lawyer among us would be somewhat puzzled if requested to point out a single *addition* made to them by Protestantism? This is *fact*, in opposition to theory. When Protestantism came it found several Republics, and did not find one *absolute* monarchy in Christendom, except Russia, which was not in communion with the Pope. They will tell you that the Catholic Religion is an enemy to knowledge. But the fact is, that if you remove from the map of Christendom all the great institutions of knowledge, in every department, founded and endowed by Catholics alone, very little will be left remaining. They will tell you that the Church is the enemy of happiness. But the fact is that nations appear to have been much more happy, if apparent contentment be any symptom, before the Reformation, than since. Religious and civil, not to speak of general, wars have followed each other in almost constant succession in most of the countries of Europe since that event; and if these be signs of happiness, I am much mistaken. They will tell you that poverty is a certain companion and consequence of the Catholic religion. This, even if it were true, amounts to little; for the Divine Author of Christianity

did not intend his religion for the special advantage of bankers and stock-jobbers, as these writers would lead us to suppose. And if the "Gospel was preached to the poor," it follows that poverty would be, if any thing, a sign in favor of the true religion, rather than the contrary. Italy and Spain may be called poor nations, but yet I am not aware that any one is allowed in those Catholic countries to die by the roadsides of starvation. Protestant England, on the other hand, is a country of *great wealth* and *great pauperism*. But in England and Ireland, such writers point to the contrast between the Catholics and Protestants. They seem to forget, however, that by one thousand and one different ways, sometimes directly, at all times indirectly, the Protestants of those countries have been, legally till within less than twenty years, *helping themselves* in the way of worldly prosperity, *at the expense of the Catholics*. Now this is the fact, and no man of common information and candor will deny it.

I might go on indefinitely in pointing out the mutual contradiction between the facts of history and the theories of your anti-Catholic writers, of a certain class. But as regards Ireland in particular, not only were the laws made so as of a certainty to reduce the Catholics to poverty, but if ignorance is an impediment to the attainment of wealth, the legislature determined that the Catholics should be poor for ever; and with the stigma of so barbarous an enactment on the escutcheon of Protestant Britain, it requires singular power of face in such writers as the Rev. Dr. Murray, of Elizabethtown, to allude to the subject at all. Let me contrast the facts of history, in the very terms of the several statutes, with the theory of our modern instructor.

"If a Catholic kept school, or taught any person, Protestant or Catholic, any species of literature, or science, such teacher was, for the crime of teaching, punishable by law by banishment—and, if he returned from banishment, he was subject to be hanged as a felon.

"If a Catholic, whether child or adult, attended, in Ireland, a school kept by a Catholic, or was privately instructed by a Catholic, such Catholic, although a child in its early infancy, incurred a forfeiture of all its property, present or future.

"If a Catholic child, however young, was sent to any foreign country for education, such infant child incurred a similar penalty—that is, a forfeiture of all right to property, present or prospective.

"If any person in Ireland made any remittance of money or goods, for the maintenance of any Irish child educated in a foreign country, such person incurred a similar forfeiture."

Such were the laws. "Kirwan's" forefathers, in their day, and himself in his early life, were their victims. Now, with these facts staring him in the face, this man says, "If the ignorance of Ireland has any thing to do with the degradation of Ireland, *I charge that ignorance on Popery*."—page 50. The italics are his own, and to judge by the statement one would be led to suppose that he has not escaped from under the edict *against* knowledge to this day.

No, no; let candid Protestants look for and examine the true

facts in all these cases; let them judge for themselves, and they will be surprised to discover how much that is true has been held back from them on all such subjects, and how much that is false, or falsely represented, has been circulated among them instead of the truth, by mere book-writers and men of the shop. And as regards the Catholic religion, if they wish *to know what it is*, even for the sake of information, let them consult authentic sources, and be slow to receive their knowledge of it from those who are seldom either qualified or disposed to state it truly. In my other series of letters I propose to state it as it is understood by Catholics; to explain its doctrines, where explanation is judged necessary; and to sustain them by such proofs from Scripture, history, and reason, as are most likely to have weight with men, whether Catholics or Protestants, who are not yet prepared to reduce the awful mysteries of Christian revelation to the infidel's standard of judgment—"common sense."

✠ John Hughes, Bishop of New York.

August, 1848.

APPENDIX.

THE O'CONNELL ADDRESS.

[As reference is made to the following letter in a portion of this volume, the Editor deems it but right to give it in full:]

To the Editor of the Courier and Enquirer:

Dear Sir—Finding myself indirectly alluded to in your remarks of yesterday morning, I beg leave to trouble you with the following observations, which I request you will do me the favor to insert for the information of all whom the question may concern.

You say, "'An Adopted Citizen' will find below an Address sent to this country by Daniel O'Connell, Father Mathew, and sixty thousand others, and if he questions its authenticity, we refer him to the Catholic Bishop and priests of New York and Boston."

As one of the parties here "referred to," I take the liberty of assuring you that I have no means of judging of the authenticity of the Address except such as has been afforded to all the readers of your excellent journal by its publication. My first and decided *impression* is, that, as it appears, it is not authentic. In this opinion I shall persevere until its *authentic* history shall have been made known. How it has been procured—under what circumstances—how much of the truth may be published in connection with the Address—how much of the explanation may be suppressed, are questions the answers to which must be furnished before I can make up my mind to believe in its authenticity.

Should it prove to be authentic, then I have no hesitation in declaring my opinion, that it is the duty of every naturalized Irishman to resist and repudiate the Address with indignation. Not precisely because of the doctrines it contains, but because of their having emanated from a foreign source, and of their tendency to operate on questions of domestic and national policy. I am no friend to Slavery, but I am still less friendly to any attempt of *foreign origin* to abolish it.

The duties of naturalized Irishmen or others, I consider to be in no wise distinct or different from those of native-born Americans. And if it be proved an attempt has been made by this Address or any other address to single them out on any question appertaining to the foreign or domestic policy of the United States, in any other capacity than that of the whole population, then it will be their duty to their country and their conscience, to rebuke such an attempt come from what foreign source it may, in the most decided manner and language that common courtesy will permit.

The reference made to me, among others, in your remarks, appeared to me to require this explanation, without which your readers might suppose that I had means to determine the authenticity of the Address.

I am, sir, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

March 11, 1842. ✠ JOHN HUGHES, Bishop, &c.

A CARD TO THE PUBLIC.

[The following card appeared in the daily papers of November 1st, 1841, just before the famous election when the Catholics made out a ticket of their own:]

☞ BISHOP HUGHES, unable to reply to the many misrepresentations of the public press in any other way than by a card, respectfully begs leave to assure the community that he is neither a Whig nor a Loco Foco, nor a politician of any description. He does not permit himself or any of the clergy to meddle in the business of politics. He does not ask for sectarian schools, nor did he ever—he does not ask that any of the public money should be given to his denomination, nor did he ever.

Any system of education which shall not interfere with the religious rights of any denomination, will satisfy him. The present system is not of this description; it insists on giving what is termed the "legal quantity of religious instruction. It has many opponents in this city on strong constitutional grounds.

Let the people examine it and judge for themselves. The Public School Society or their friends first made the school question a political test. They attempted, and almost succeeded in uniting the two political parties in favor of the Society, right or wrong; so that its opponents, if they voted at all, would be compelled to vote for the Society, and against themselves. This was too much.

From this alternative they had no escape except to throw away their votes on a ticket of their own. This alternative, forced on them by the Public School Society, or its friends, gave occasion to the meeting at Carroll Hall. It was not a political meeting.

It was not a meeting of Catholics, as such, as may be seen by the terms of the call that convened it. Bishop Hughes did NOT "preside" at the meeting.

The persons composing that meeting unanimously determined to support no man who was pledged to the Public School Society. Bishop Hughes approved decidedly, and continues to approve, of this determination. These are the facts of the case. But between this and meddling in politics he draws a wide distinction.

THREAT TO ASSASSINATE BISHOP HUGHES.

IN the letter to Mayor Harper, Bishop Hughes refers to a letter received by him from a person in Philadelphia, threatening to assassinate him. The following correspondence took place in consequence of that letter:

MAYOR'S OFFICE, NEW YORK, *May* 22, 1844.

TO THE RT. REV. BISHOP HUGHES:

REV. AND DEAR SIR—My attention has been directed to a letter, bearing your name, and addressed to me, in the columns of the *Courier and Enquirer*. If there had been any thing in it requiring an answer from me, you would doubtless have thought it proper to send me a copy before publication; and as you did not, I am right, probably, in supposing that your exclusive object was to address the public.

I perceive, however, in the first paragraph, that you have been threatened with personal injury, by one whose name is not withheld from you. This is a matter properly falling within my cognizance; and I have to request, therefore, that you will favor me with such information and evidence as may be in your power, available for my official action in the premises.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, your ob't serv't,

JAMES HARPER.

[*Repiy of Rt. Rev. Bishop Hughes.*]

263 MULBERRY ST., NEW YORK, *May* 24, 1844.

RESPECTED AND DEAR SIR—I have just received your letter of yesterday. You are right in your conjecture as to my motive in publishing my letter without hav-

ing first furnished you with a copy. I addressed it to you as the chief magistrate of the city, both because it contained matter which might have reference to your official character, and also to win for it, by that address, that respect to which it might not be entitled by my signature.

I am grateful for the kind manner in which you refer to it in your letter now before me. The good opinion of one whom I reckon among the best of men—Mr. Thurlow Weed—had long since secured for you the humble feeling of my sincere respect.

If you will have the kindness to advise me by bearer of the time and place when it would be most convenient for you to give me an interview, I shall do myself the honor of waiting on you with the letter referred to, and also such other evidence as you may be pleased to require, and as it may be in my power to communicate.

I have the honor to remain,

With sincere respect, your ob't serv't,

✠ JOHN HUGHES, Bishop, N. Y.

NEW YORK, *May* 25, 1844.

RT. REV. BISHOP HUGHES:

REV. AND DEAR SIR—I have your favor of yesterday, and will be happy to see you at my office on Monday, at 12 o'clock—or at any other time you may name as more convenient to yourself—in relation to the matters referred to in your communication.

With respect, your obedient servant,

JAMES HARPER.

MAYOR'S OFFICE, NEW YORK, *May* 28, 1844.

Hon. J. M. SCOTT, *Mayor of Philadelphia:*

DEAR SIR—Some days ago, a letter, addressed to me as Mayor of New York, was published by Bishop Hughes, of the Roman Catholic Church, in which I was informed that he had received a communication threatening him with death. Supposing that the threat had been made by some person in this city, I thought it my duty to call on Bishop Hughes for the name; and in answer to that call, the Bishop has placed in my hands the paper enclosed, which appears to have been written by one of your citizens, the brother of a man who was slain in the recent deplorable occurrences at Kensington. Of course, the subject is not within my jurisdiction, and I therefore send the paper to you, not doubting that you will take such action upon it as may be necessary and practicable.

It is not for me to suggest what that action should be, but I may take leave to remark, that the writer of the threatening letter is apparently a man of some intelligence; that he wrote under the influence of highly exasperated feelings, which time and reflection may have subdued, if not entirely done away; and that, if he really entertained and still entertains the murderous purpose of which he speaks, his mind may perhaps be brought into a better frame by earnest and friendly expostulation.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

JAMES HARPER.

The following is a copy of the threatening letter referred to in the above:

PHILADELPHIA, *May* 8, 1844.

BISHOP HUGHES:

SIR—The bleeding body of my lifeless brother George now lies before me, assassinated by the minions of that religion to gain an ascendancy for which you commenced a movement in New York. I have sworn that his life shall be revenged, and I will compass sea and land to accomplish it; and if I cannot glut my revenge

on the ruins of the temples of your accursed religion in this city, I will reserve a well sharpened poignard for your breast. You, as Judge Doran has said, deserve the censure of all Catholics for your course; and if the Catholic temples, and the . . . . .* connected with them, called Female Asylums, cannot be reached, the foreigner who dared to attempt to turn our institutions to the aim and ends of that religion that has cursed Italy, Spain, Austria, South America, and Mexico, shall be made to bite the dust. I will avenge the abuse that you have made of your own countrymen, and will have satisfaction for the blood of a *Native American, my own brother.*

CHARLES A. SHIFFLER.

Wednesday morning.—Last night I had the pleasure of seeing the influence of your hell-born religion met by the indignation of an outraged community, and the victims burned in the houses from which they were advised to shoot down the Native Americans. But I have a higher aim: the hellish priests who dare to compare Catholic with Protestant countries, and the temples of their infernal orgies—they must come down. The Catholic religion is a stain on the history of man. It must be blotted out, and their temples scattered in the dirt. Let your minions dare to tell us that the Catholic religion has not been a curse wherever it has been established; let your emissaries dare to insult this community by repeating your sentiments on this subject. Thank God, I have seen St. Michael's in ashes; I hope to see others. The blood of American citizens calls loudly for Catholic blood, or the destruction of the instruments of their power.

C. A. S.

St. Augustine's is surrounded, and it will probably fall. The reaction of the people against your infernal religion is general; it will receive its death blow, I hope, in this country, and never be its curse, as it has been everywhere else a curse to every country.

MAYOR'S OFFICE, PHILADELPHIA, *May* 31, 1844.

Hon. JAMES HARPER, *Mayor of New York:*

DEAR SIR—Your favor of the 28th is received. My jurisdiction as Mayor of Philadelphia extends only over the city proper—a small portion of that great mass of buildings known as Philadelphia.

The Shiffler who was shot, did not live in the city, but in an adjoining district; and presuming that if the writer of the letter you enclosed in your favor of the 28th was really a Shiffler, he also would be found out of the city proper, I applied to the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions, whose jurisdiction extends over the whole country, submitted your communication to them, and employed the very intelligent officer whom they sent to me in an investigation.

He assures me that the person who has died has left only two brothers—one seven, and the other fourteen years of age, and neither bearing the name of Charles—the latter at work as a tobacconist, and too young to have been the author or the writer of that letter, which is obviously the production of a cultivated man. We are driven therefore to the conclusion that the name is an assumed one, and that no such person exists as Charles A. Shiffler, brother to the one who was shot.

Should any further light be obtained, I will make immediate communication to you.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
J. M. SCOTT, Mayor.

*It is not deemed necessary to give the filthy expression used by the writer. ED.

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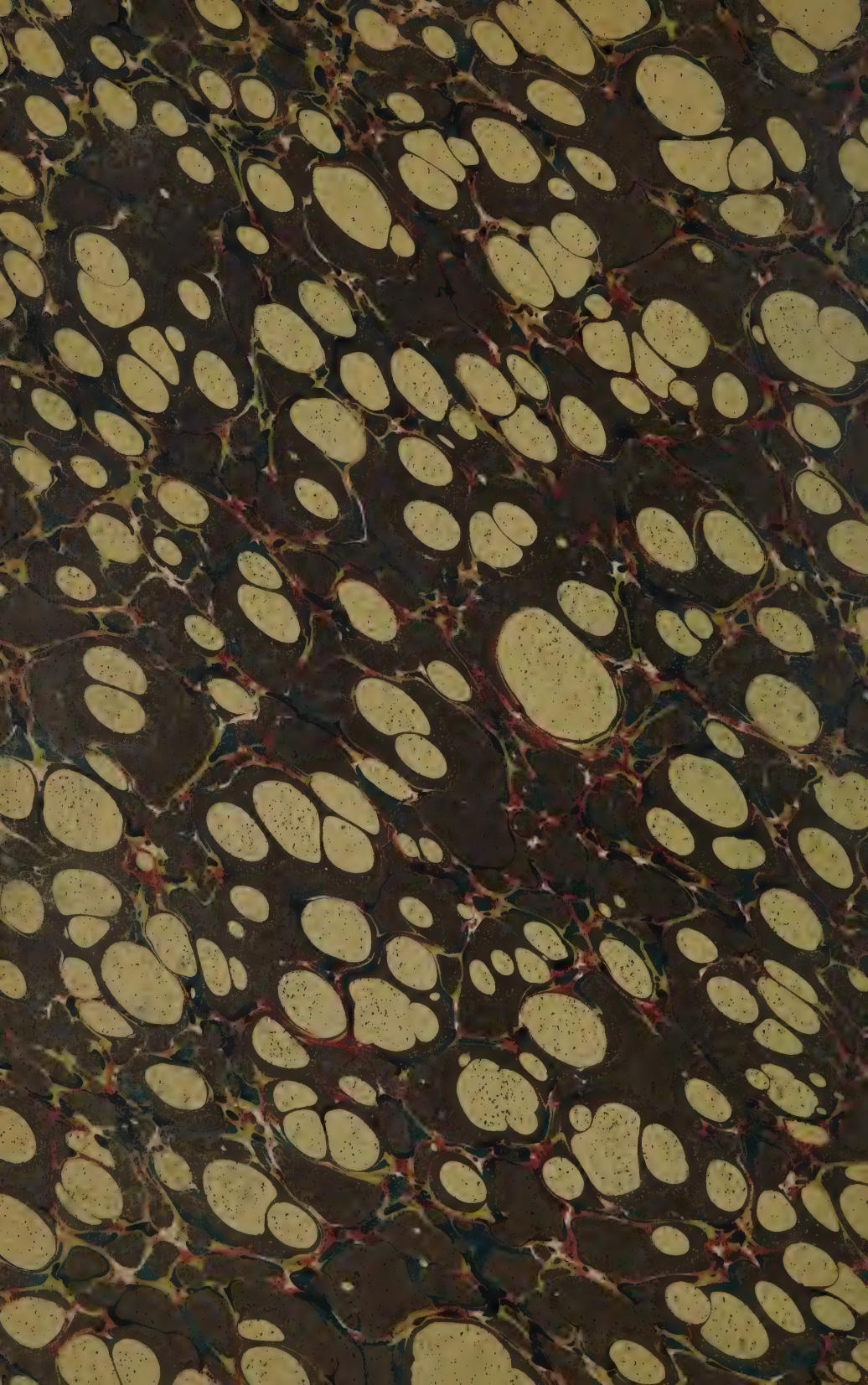

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